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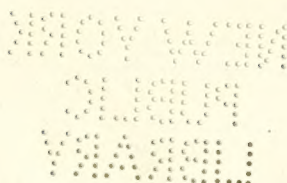
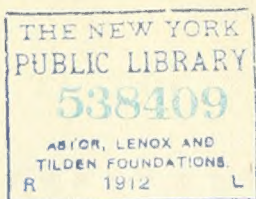


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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

- The historical relation of Vincennes and Knox County to the Northwest Territory and the Nation—Gen. George Rogers Clark's adventurous nature and patriotic zeal lead to the acquisition for the common country of a scope of land as vast as an empire..... 5

CHAPTER II.

THE PRESENT REMINDERS OF A FORGOTTEN PAST.

- The Mound Builders—The memorials they left in Knox County—Ornaments and implements of stone—The pipe a fine specimen of their mechanical skill—Had knowledge of pottery and were tillers of the soil—Wabash Indians—The Miamis—Shawnees—Pottawatomies—Weas, or Quiatenons—Kickapoos—Indian treaties—Glacial deposits and remains of prehistoric mammals..... 8

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST BLACK ROBED PRIEST TO VISIT VINCENNES.

- Early communications between the peoples of Canada and the Old Post—Fate of these missionaries brought by Champlain from France to America—Routes of voyagers to western country—Fame forgets some good actors in military drama presented at Vincennes a century and a third since—The village of Chippecoke—The Wabash Country

supposed to contain gold and silver deposits—Illinois Indians mould bullets on Bunker Hill—Marquette's exploration of the Mississippi river and his supposed visit to Vincennes.....	22
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

SPECULATIONS OF HISTORIANS ON FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VINCENNES.

The Indians' hospitable treatment of French voyageurs—Random data relating to early settlement of Vincennes, which introduces General Gage and his demand on the inhabitants at the post to show land titles—Extent of fur trade in the northwest and how viewed by Louis XIV—La Salle in the Wabash Country—The Vincennes antiquarian and historical society placed the founding of Philadelphia and Vincennes about the same time.....	33
--	----

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VINCENNES.

A tribute to the missionaries and their labors—National acts of European nations make local history—Important results growing out of Clark's conquest—How foreign powers acquired territory in North America—Vincennes an historic spot—The mad rush for land and its baleful effects on Burr and Clark—Cross and sword implanted in new soil—"Key to the Northwest Territory" dedicated to religion and civilization—First church west of the Alleghany mountains.....	46
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL LIFE OF FIRST SETTLERS.

Homes of the people—Functions of society's votaries in the eighteenth century—The difficulties of travel—Policies of French insure unity among themselves and secure good will of Indians—Land allotments for agricultural purposes—Natives not annoyed by lawyers or courts—How many of the inhabitants viewed education and religion—Father Marest and Father Mermet teach and preach—Father Mermet and the Mascoutins—Father Rivet and the first public school west of the Alleghanies—Racial suicide not in vogue in early times—Adventures of voyageurs celebrated with balls—The Earl of Selkirk entertained by Vincennes' four hundred.....	57
--	----

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARRIVAL OF MORGANE DE VINSENNE AT THE OLD POST.

Peace and quietude of the ancient village—Historians find the problem of De Vinsenne's origin difficult of solution—Battle with the Chickasaw Indians—De Vinsenne and Father Senat burned at the stake—De Vinsenne's military career—Three brothers of the Richardville family killed by the Chickasaws—The fourth brother, wounded, taken prisoner—Escapes after nearly two years' captivity..... 69

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ADVENT OF THE OLD POST'S FOURTH COMMANDANT.

Arrival of St. Ange Belle Rive from Fort Chartres—His faithful and beneficent administration—Improves the fort, church and village—Specimen of land grants issued by him—Wabash Indians show a streak of hostility—Pontiac interviews St. Ange—Brief biography of the old commandant—His death in St. Louis..... 77

CHAPTER IX.

A PEN PICTURE OF VINCENNES' POPULATION AT AN EARLY DAY.

Missionaries pave the way for the pioneers—The French always allies of America—The effect of the savage and the wilderness on refined natures—Glimpses of the Wabash Country by early travelers—Spaniards said to have occupied the post for a very brief season, and sold land in this vicinity—Except Colonel Vigo, no Spaniard ever became a permanent resident of Vincennes..... 82

CHAPTER X.

THE BEAUTIES AND BOUNTIES OF NATURE.

The early settlers avocations—The forests yield abundantly of fruit and nuts—Superior quality of grapes—Primitive implements and modes of agriculture—Peculiar harness for beasts of burden—The bee hunter—How the French viewed the British—Descendants of distinguished French families—Messieurs. Poulet and Richardville—The Wabash Creole an interesting character..... 88

CHAPTER XI.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY BECOMES DOMAINS OF THE BRITISH.

France and England's first decisive clash of arms on the American continent—Defeat of General Braddock—The fall of Quebec, and death of General Wolfe and the Marquis De Montcalm—The treaty between France and England—Pontiac, and the wily chief's conspiracy—Old Fort Chartres and its commanders—The Piankeshaws and other tribes at Vincennes convey more than thirty-seven million acres of land—St. Marie and the happy inhabitants at the Old Post..... 97

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST ENGLISH AND AMERICAN COMMANDANTS AT VINCENNES.

Lieutenant Ramsey's brief visit—Lieutenant-Governor Abbott, of Detroit, assumes charge as superintendent of Post St. Vincennes—A kind and considerate English officer—The old fort rechristened "Sackville"—Its site determined after years of controversy, and a marker placed to designate the spot—The location of Fort Knox a mooted question—Fruit trees and vegetable gardens features of the premises of early inhabitants—"Forts" as defenses of settlements against Indians built in several sections of Knox County—Description and legends of beautiful Fort Knox.....110

CHAPTER XIII.

A PATRIOT WHO DESERVES THE NATION'S PRAISE.

Father Pierre Gibault proves himself a worthy ally of America—His great love for liberty and humanity endear him to all loyal citizens—His inestimable services to General Clark in the conquest of the Northwest Territory—How the patriotic man won the British subjects at Kaskaskia and Vincennes to the American cause—Colonel Francis Busseron a valuable aid to Gibault in perfecting his patriotic plans—Captain Busseron, prominent in civil and military affairs—Foster father of Alice of old Vincennes—Burning of the old La Salle house.....123

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LOYALTY OF A SPANISH SOLDIER TO AMERICA.

Colonel Francis Vigo shows his sympathy for an oppressed people—Spends money to aid the cause of liberty and dies in poverty—Cap-

tured by Indians and taken before Hamilton—Vigo's substantial aid to Colonel Clark—His sad death and neglected grave—Short sketch of John Badollet, a colleague of Vigo—First registrar of public lands and his successors—Alleged uprising at Vincennes against Spain—Seizure of Vincennes merchant by Spaniards.....134

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONCEPTION OF CLARK'S NORTHWESTERN CAMPAIGN.

George Rogers Clark leaves Virginia to become a citizen of Kentucky—A tower of strength with people of adopted state—Elected to legislature—Urges needs of his constituents before Governor Henry and legislature—Procures gunpowder from Virginia for protection of Kentucky settlements—The voyage with the ammunition—Reveals to Governor Patrick Henry plans of his proposed campaign against British in Northwest Territory—Expedition leaves Corn Island under distressing conditions—The voyage down the Ohio—The march from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia—The bewildered guide—Arrival of Clark and his men at Kaskaskia—The surprised natives—Capture of the Fort—Rochblave, commandant, taken prisoner to Virginia—Councils with the Indians.....150

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES FROM THE BRITISH.

Colonel Clark casts a longing look at Vincennes from Kaskaskia—Father Gibault visits the old post to convert its inhabitants to Americanism—Capt. Helm takes charge of Fort Sackville—Clark wins the "Grand door of the Wabash"—Trouble with the Troops—Clark makes friends with Spaniards—His speech to the Indians—Virginia establishes Illinois County—Hamilton's march from Detroit to Vincennes—Helm's alarming letter to Clark—Hamilton takes Fort Sackville from Helm—Clark's ignorance of Hamilton's presence at Vincennes—Vigo gives Clark valuable information—Clark decides to move against Hamilton—The dreadful march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes—Clark's message to the inhabitants of Vincennes—Firing on the fort—The battle between the contending forces—Clark demands Hamilton to surrender—The fight resumed—Hamilton surrenders—Articles of capitulation—Capture of British boat on the Wabash—Hamilton taken in irons with other British prisoners to Williamsburg—His blood-stained record.....173

CHAPTER XVII.

VIRGINIA EXTENDS CIVIL GOVERNMENT TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

A fight with the Delawares—Clark's reinforcements arrive—Death of Labalme—Arrival of Col. Todd as lieutenant-governor of Illinois County—Appoints Mr. Le Gras to act for him at Vincennes—Queer conduct of court in issuing land grants—Governor Harrison's letter on the subject—High cost of living at the old post—Indian hostilities—Death of Col. Todd—Treaty of peace between England and America—Indians make war on American settlers—Clark's position in the Spain affair and treatment of Spanish merchants—Last days and death of General Clark—Virginia cedes the Northwest Territory to the United States.....215

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ORGANIZATION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

Arthur St. Clair appointed first governor—Preceded to the territory by General Harmar and Major Hamtramck—First laws promulgated—Indian hostilities on the frontiers—Killing of troops on the Wabash—Joel Tougard sends Indian to happy hunting grounds—Tougard's flatboat experiences—Col. Vigo and other traders encounter band of Indian pirates on Wabash—Antoine Gamelin holds conferences with warriors of several nations—Views of Washington, Knox, St. Clair and Hamtramck on the Indian situation—Famine-stricken inhabitants—Father Gibault to the rescue—Judge Henry Vanderburg—Early customs—Typical French dwelling—Count Volney's views of the people and country—Capt. Toussaint Dubois—His tragic death—John Jackson and Judge Bowman—Bowman's suicide—Dr. Capman and his pupils—Legend of Dark Hollow.....236

CHAPTER XIX.

OLD VINCENNES BECOMES FIRST CAPITAL OF TERRITORY OF INDIANA.

William Henry Harrison appointed first governor—Officers, laws and population of territory—The sentiment on slavery—First general assembly—Old legislature building—Benjamin Parke—Harrison treats with Indians—Value of manufactured products in 1810—Arrival of Harrison at Vincennes—The Harrison mansion—Efforts to preserve it—Indian complaints not without justification—The prophet

and Tecumseh—Tecumseh and Harrison in council—The celebrated pow-wow—Harrison addresses a speech to the prophet and Tecumseh—Seat of government changed to Corydon—Governor Posey arrives—The battle of Tippecanoe—Names of Vincennes men who took part in it—General Harrison bullet proof—Pen picture of Tecumseh—The battle of the Thames—Death of Tecumseh—Harrison elected president of the United States—His inauguration and sad death—His tomb at North Bend.....276

CHAPTER XX.

A FEW OF VINCENNES' NOTABLE CITIZENS IN EARLY DAYS.

Governors Gibson and Posey—Logan's speech—General Zachary Taylor—His daughter wooed by Jefferson Davis—The "Trysting Boulder"—General Robert Evans—Judge William Prince—His romantic courtship—Nathaniel Ewing—Judge John Law—The fading of forests and streams—Disappearance of beasts and birds—The buffalo and the paroquet—Sporting items of the past and present—Horse racing and cock fighting—Old Man Black—Fishing resorts and big game fish—Athletic, sporting, hunting, fishing and outing clubs—The feats of William Lake, pedestrian—The Skinner-Murray prize fight—Pugilist Tom Allen trains at Vincennes—Camp Dexter, the Mohawk, and the much-named Wabash river.....315

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KNOX COUNTY.

The products of the soil—First courts and judges—Formation of first townships—First jail and court house—Murder of the De Bussieres and Julius Kluck—Lynching of Canfield and Epps—Last legal hanging—Burning of county records—Building of second court house—The Beckes-Scull duel—Present court house—Orphans' home—Poor asylum—Highland orphan asylum—Good Samaritan hospital—Gravel roads and railways—Early agricultural and medical societies—Brilliant lawyers and doctors of the past and present—Members of the bar today—Names of men who have held official positions in county from its organization to date.....335

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BEAUTY AND BOUNTY OF LAND AROUND THE OLD POST.

Townships and towns of Knox County—Their earliest settlements—Old-time industries—Merchants of pioneer days and the present—The Shakers of Busseron Township—First Presbyterian church in Indiana built in Palmyra Township—The Old Maria Creek Baptist church—Brief mention of the commercial, social, religious and fraternal life of Busseron, Bruceville, Bicknell, Deckers, Dicksburg, Emison, Edwardsport, Freelandville, Frichton, Monroe City, Oaktown, Purcell's, Sandborn, Wheatland and Westphalia.

367

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES OF CITY AND COUNTY.

The Vincennes university—Brief history of its trials and tribulations for nearly a century—First and present trustees of the institution—After a lapse of years their efforts to establish a just claim are rewarded—The public schools of Vincennes—Pioneer and present schools of the rural districts, towns and hamlets—Graded schools of Oaktown, Emison, Monroe City, Decker, Frichton, Wheatland, Bicknell, Edwardsport, Sandborn, Bruceville and Freelandville. . . .

393

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROGRESS ALONG THE RELIGIOUS HIGHWAYS.

The relationship between the first church and first fort of the Northwest Territory—The old St. Francis Xavier's church—Its first bishops and priests—Its present pastors—The rare and priceless collection of ancient volumes in the Cathedral library—Brief sketches of the Catholic and Protestant churches of Vincennes, where the laity look with favor on all faiths—Pictures of St. Xavier's, St. John the Baptist, Sacred Heart, Methodist, Baptist, St. James, Christian, First and Bethany Presbyterian, St. John's Evangelical and St. John's Lutheran churches

411

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SOCIAL AND FRATERNAL SIDE OF VINCENNES.

Twentieth century society at the old post—Beautiful and hospitable homes—Brief mention of some up-to-date clubs—The first Masonic

lodge in Indiana—Its distinguished members, and the important parts they played in the history of the Northwest Territory—An array of secret societies, fraternal and industrial organizations, historically and politically considered—Soldiers of city and county to be honored with a fifty thousand dollar monument—The university cadets in the Spanish war—Reminiscences of men and the orders they founded... 433

CHAPTER XXVI

OLD AND NEW VINCENNES.

Incidents in the history of its shadowy past and events of the living present—Aaron Burr's visit to the Old Post, and the prominent men with whom he held audiences—Slavery in early days—Formation of the borough—Its first officers—The common lands—Banks and financial institutions of the past and present—Public libraries—The public press—Municipal matters of today—Early merchants—Old landmarks—Manufacturing industries and commercial enterprises of modern Vincennes—Their large volume of business—The city's present advantages and future possibilities—Public utilities..... 464



GEORGE E. GREENE

HISTORY OF Old Vincennes ^A_N_D Knox County

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE HISTORICAL RELATION OF VINCENNES AND KNOX COUNTY TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY AND THE NATION—GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK'S ADVENTURESOME NATURE AND PATRIOTIC ZEAL LEAD TO THE ACQUISITION FOR THE COMMON COUNTRY OF A SCOPE OF LAND AS VAST AS AN EMPIRE.

History, authenticated and systematically compiled, that deals directly with pioneer life of the great northwest territory, is as charming as the most beautiful romance and as fascinating as any picture ever drawn with the facile pen of fiction. The historian, in the development of a field that invites his thought and inspires his pen, unearths facts that lie buried beneath the dust of ages, which shine forth as the light of truth reveals the story of their being with a delightful brilliancy that the recital of fanciful tales cannot impart.

The story of the growth and development of the boundless territory of which Vincennes was the capital will begin at a period when the landscape was a gloomy and impenetrable wilderness, whose tranquility was broken only by the cries of savage men and still more savage beasts, when the dark and dense woods rang with the melody of feathered songsters and caught the rhythmic rippling of many waters, and end with the brilliant achievements of today, which the twentieth century has wrought, ever revering the memory of those men whose hearts of steel and muscles of iron, whose indomitable courage and nobility of purpose impelled them to invade that hostile land and blaze the way for the higher civilization and its attendant blessings which we now enjoy.

The historical relation Vincennes and Knox County bears, not only to the northwest territory, but to the nation at large, is so consequential

that every patriotic American, be he young or old, should be swayed by the lessons of patriotism to be learned from a recital of the incidents preceding and following their conquests of arms, which were precipitated by the revolution.

The capture of Vincennes from the British was an event of such moment that it subsequently contributed very largely to the greatness of the American nation. The Grecian and Roman conquests for supremacy, the gory fields of Trenton and Princeton, the exploits in every sanguinary conflict which marked the dark days of the revolution, including the battles of Bunker Hill, Brandywine and Concord, to recount which quickens the heart and heightens the pulse, furnished no loftier examples of valor, bravery, skill and devotion to country. And all the battles fought during the revolution did not result in the acquisition of as much territory as was acquired by this signal victory.

From that early day in the spring of 1775, when George Rogers Clark disdained the offer of Lord Dunmore as a commissioned officer in the royal service of Great Britain, Vincennes, Knox County, Indiana, was destined to play an important part in the history of this great republic. While the fires of revolt against the mother country were smouldering in the bosoms of the people of the thirteen original colonies, ready at any moment to burst forth into lurid flames of revolution, Clark forsook his native county of Albemarle, in the "Old Dominion," where he had distinguished himself as a warrior when just out of his teens, and made his first pilgrimage to the wilds of Kentucky. A mere youth, he was drawn at first from the Virginian hills to the habitat of Daniel Boone by a spirit of adventure, which grew with his growth. He made the trip alone and on foot, encountering dangers innumerable and overcoming obstacles which would have been unsurmountable to the average man, fighting blood-thirsty Indians and savage beasts on hills and mountains, and in glens and deep ravines, armed only with a bowie-knife and flint-lock musket. The haunts of Boone, and Harrod, and Todd, and Logan, not only intensified his adventuresome nature, but it awakened anew his patriotism, his love of liberty and devotion to country. He saw at a glance the resourcefulness of the new territory he had just invaded and that of the trackless wilderness that lay beyond the Ohio river which, at that time, had not been noted on the maps and was, comparatively, unknown. The spirit of revolution thrilled his heart, the fires of patriotism burned in his breast, and he returned shortly to his beloved Virginia, only to again go forth into the new world, as it were, to conquer an empire vaster in domain than the united kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland—which was the ultimate result of Clark's capture of Vincennes from Hamilton.

The history of Vincennes and Knox County is the history of Indiana and the northwest territory, and it is the purpose of this publication to give honorable mention to every patriot and pioneer, and to their descendants, who have contributed in any way towards the glory of the past, the

greatness of the present, or the grand possibilities the future has in store for this city, county, state or nation. Alongside the name of Clark, high up on the same scroll, we will write that of Pierre Gibault, Francis Vigo, Harrison, Johnston, Francois Morgan de Vinsenne, Marquette, La Salle, and a host of other names familiar throughout the length and breadth of the land, and which are identified with the history of the past as well as the affairs of the present. The civil, judicial, legislative, political, religious, social, educational, military, official, commercial, industrial and agricultural life of the city and county, from the first dawn of civilization up to the high noon of today, will be presented. The busy marts of every trade and industry will be reviewed, the atmosphere of every profession will be invaded, the history of every church and school house will be given, the products of every farm and the output of every mill and factory and shop described and estimated, the traffic and tonnage of railroads and common carriers, the volume of wholesale and retail business commuted, the value of lands, lots and buildings approximated, and the manifold advantages possessed by Knox County and Vincennes for the pursuit of commercialism, industrial farming, and the many comforts and conveniences both afford as places of residence, will be minutely noted as the story of progress is unfolded.

The antiquities of the locality will not be lost sight of in the compilation of the pages which comprise this volume. The savant, and all students of archæology, whether founded on sacred or profane history, romance or fiction, will find its perusal interesting. Its chapters will reveal that long before the ax of the sturdy pioneer resounded in the woodlands, ere the dusky children of the forest awakened its density with the echoes of their voices, while only the cry of the wild broke the stillness of wilderness solitudes extending from the gulf streams to the great lakes, when mastodons roamed the earth and prehistoric man was monarch of these vast domains, Vincennes and Knox County was peopled by a race long since extinct, which has left imperishable monuments of its existence, but only fragmentary evidences of its modes and customs.

CHAPTER II.

THE PRESENT REMINDERS OF A FORGOTTEN PAST.

THE MOUND BUILDERS—THE MEMORIALS THEY LEFT IN KNOX COUNTY—
ORNAMENTS AND IMPLEMENTS OF STONE—THE PIPE A FINE SPECIMEN
OF THEIR MECHANICAL SKILL—HAD KNOWLEDGE OF POTTERY AND WERE
TILLERS OF THE SOIL—WABASH INDIANS—THE MIAMIS—SHAWNEES—
POTTAWATOMIES—WEAS, OR QUIATENONS—KICKAPOOS—INDIAN TREA-
TIES—GLACIAL DEPOSITS AND REMAINS OF PREHISTORIC MAMMALS.

Old Vincennes! As one stands within its modernized confines and views its immediate surroundings, or looks searchingly beyond the landscape that environs the ancient city, the shadowy light of far gone years, which wrought a magical influence and seemed to have lived with the invisible spirits of the mighty, breaks forth from the darkness of ages and enchants his vision with its mysterious beauty. The murmuring waters of the Wabash, "the venerable hills, rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun," proclaim that he is standing on hallowed ground—that he is within the precincts where the gods of the aborigines thundered their terrors; where heroes have bled in battle, and heroines of beauty and virtue have blossomed into girlhood and bloomed into womanhood amid scenes of wild and savage splendor; where military genius has been immortalized in deeds of glory, and where the forests, with a gleam of their pristine beauty and grandeur still lingering, recall the abodes of brutality and cruelty. Looking out from the portals, as it were, of the old town, on either side the eye falls upon a great treasure-house of antiquity, which awakens awe and invites silent communion with the venerable forms of unseen and unknown beings and a steadfast contemplation of their imperishable works. The enchanting scene provokes an enquiring mind to penetrate into the mysteries of nature and the handiwork of a forgotten race and search out the unchangeable beauties in remnants of a woodland world. Before the advent of the red man, and even before the Mound Builders peopled this locality, it is conjectured that a race designated as Fishermen were here, as evidenced by discoveries of bone heaps and *tumuli* of a character peculiar to that race. There is no doubt

that the Mound Builders at one period of the world's existence inhabited this locality in large numbers, as indicated by the numerous mounds to be found in all sections of the county. But whence these mysterious people came, or whither they went, has always been a matter of historical conjecture. Among many learned writers of the day there is a great diversity of opinion respecting the

MOUND BUILDERS AND THEIR CULTURE.

The revelations of history and tradition, the rock-carved hieroglyphics and inscriptions, the earthen effigies of which they were the authors, are all susceptible of different interpretations by the students of archæology, and do not reveal with any degree of certainty the identity of this prehistoric race. The crumbling mounds and broken down embankments, a study of their locations and an observation of their forms, are the only avenues left open, according to Mr. Allen,* to seek information. In this respect the state geologist's report, printed some years ago, and an account by the late Orland F. Baker, published in Goodspeed's History of Knox County, 1886, furnishes a bit of interesting reading. The works in Knox County of the vanished people we are discussing consist of mounds† of habitation, sepulchral and temple embankments, and number more than two hundred, with probably as many more not yet explored. "Mounds of habitation are found a short distance to the north and southwest of Vincennes, along the summit of the high bluff of White river south of Edwardsport, on the graveled road between the latter town and Sanborn, and on the top and sides of the Dicksburg hills, in Decker township. A group of fifty-two mounds on the old Vaulting farm, six miles southeast of Purcell station, show more attention to regularity than is elsewhere seen, being arranged somewhat in regular lines from north to south, and from east to west. Sepulchral mounds are rare. The only one certainly identified is situated centrally in the last mentioned group. Explored by Samuel Jordon, it was found to contain human skeletons and round-bottomed pottery. Plumb-bobs, stone shuttles, spinerets and numerous fragments of pottery have been found on the land adjoining, which was formerly owned by the late Samuel Catt, in survey twenty-two, Decker township. Other *tumuli* of this character will reward the ambitious archæologist who desires to prosecute further explorations at this point. This region was well to the center of the Mound Builders' nation. Remote from the dangers incident to a more exposed situation, and encircled by a bulwark of loving hearts, forts, walled inclosures and citadels were unnecessary, and not erected as at exposed points on the frontier.

* E. A. Allen, *History of Civilization*.

† The measurements of these mounds were taken by James E. Baker, civil engineer, Kansas City, formerly of Vincennes.

Perhaps the seat of a royal priesthood, their efforts essayed to build a series of temples which constituted at once a capital and holy city—the Heliopolis of the west. Three sacred mounds thrown upon, or against the sides of the second terrace or bluff east and southeast of Vincennes are the result; and in size, symmetry and grandeur of aspect, rival, if not excel, any prehistoric remains in the United States. All three are truncated cones or pyramidal, and without doubt erected designedly for sacred purposes; their flat areas on their summits being reserved for oratorical forums and sacred altars, as in the Teocalli of Mexico. The Pyramid mound, which is about one mile southeast of the city, on what is known as the Miller farm, (commons lot 83, division "B.") is placed on a slightly elevated terrace surrounded by a cluster of small mounds. It is oblong with extreme diameter from east to west, at the base of three hundred feet, one hundred and fifty feet wide, and is forty-seven feet high. The level area on the summit, 15x50 feet, is crowded with intrusive burials of a later race. The Sugar Loaf mound, on the land of Dr. George Knapp, just east of the city's eastern corporate limits, is built against and on the side of the bluff, but stands out in bold relief with sharply inclined sides. Its diameter from east to west is two hundred and sixteen feet; from north to south, one hundred and eighty feet, and towering aloft one hundred and forty feet above Vincennes plain, it commands by twenty-seven feet the high plateau to the east. Its area on top is 16x25 feet. A section of the Sugar Loaf mound was developed quite a number of years ago, by sinking a shaft directly from the top, and the log of results then shown is as follows:

Materials.	Feet.	Inches
Loess sand	10	0
Ashes, charcoal and bones	0	10
Loess sand	17	0
Ashes, charcoal and bones	0	10
Loess sand	9	0
Ashes, charcoal and bones	2	0
Red altar clays, burned	3	0
	—	—
	41	20

"The shaft evidently closely approached or actually reached the former surface of the hill. It settled beyond all dispute that the mound was of artificial origin, and indicated that it was a temple of three stories in height. The Terraced mound, on Burnet's heights, skirted by Fairground avenue, almost within the city limits, has an east and west diameter of three hundred and sixty feet; from north to south, two hundred and eighty-two feet, and rises to an elevation of sixty-seven feet above the

plain, with a level area on top of 10 x 50 feet. A winding roadway from the east furnished the votaries of the sun easy access to the summit.

"The Dicksburg Hills, which comprises a chain of elevation, rear their summits one hundred and fifty feet above the level plain and hence required no additional elevation to catch the first kiss from the god of day, the deity whom the Mound Builders worshipped. These hills are very imposing viewed from any direction, but the view presented from White river to the east of them is probably the more pleasing. In extent they cover an area of from thirty-five to forty acres and their broad and flat summits were easily shaped for the establishment of sacred and sepulchral mounds. No very extensive explorations have been made of these hills (which have a strong suggestiveness of containing minerals), in quest of information pertaining to the Mound Builders, who have left unmistakable signs of having been there in implements wrought from stone and other articles of different material. The specimens of the handicraft of the Mound Builder as executed in stone and displayed in private collections, show a symmetry of form and perfection of finish, which could scarcely be equaled by a skilled mechanic if deprived of steel implements, the emery wheel and diamond dust. They consisted of hoes, spades, awls, knives, saws and spear and arrow points of flint and quartz; axes, chisels, hammers and pestles of drift granite; pipes,* beads and ornamental gorgets of greenstone, jasper and cornelian; and plumb-bobs (pendants), made from the specular ores of Missouri; all the last harder than steel, indicating a maturity of skill (not possessed by human beings between whom and the lower order of animals it would be difficult to draw a line of distinction, to be found only where society is stable and advancing towards a degree of civilization.

The LaPlante hill, one and one-half miles south of the city, is noted for its height and symmetry; and its gigantic proportions, when clad in the mantle of springtime's verdure, give it the appearance of a picturesque miniature mountain. There is a legend that a portion of the hill is composed of foreign soil, brought by the Indians from Missouri, to make a tomb for their medicine man, who had delivered the tribe from a terrible scourge and afterwards came here and died among his people; the earth having been transported from the spot where the invocation of the Great Spirit, preceding the deliverance, took place. It has never been explored and that it was used as a temple mound by the Mound Builders is as much a matter of conjecture as that it was the burial place of Indians.

*We are apt to judge the culture of a people by the skill they display in works of art. The article on which the Mound Builder lavished most of his skill was his pipe. This would show that with them, as with the modern Indians, the use of the pipe was largely interwoven with their civil and religious observances. In making war and concluding peace it probably played a very important part. To know the whole history of tobacco, of the custom of smoking, and of the origin of the pipe, would be to solve many of the most interesting problems of ethnology. [E. A. Allen, *History of Civilization*, vol. i, p. 398.]

Robeson's hills,* just across the river, are another chain of miniature mountains of which a commanding view may be obtained from the wagon bridge. Studded with giant trees and decked with wild flowers of variegated hues, in the summer time the hills are a grand feature in a landscape picture of surpassing beauty. There are many legends connected with these hills relating to the Indians, who undoubtedly used them for entombing their dead.

There seems to be no doubt in the minds of archæologists that the Mound Builders practiced agriculture, which of course, could not have been anything more than rude tillage, such as was followed by the village Indian tribes.† "This is evident," says Mr. Allen, "from the tools with which they worked. In a few cases copper tools have been recovered which may have served for digging in the ground, but in most cases their art furnished them nothing higher than spades, shovels, picks and hoes made of stone, horn, bone and probably wood." The stone implements, in the opinion of Mr. Allen, were doubtless furnished with handles of wood. "That we are right," says he, "in regarding these implements as agricultural tools, is shown not only by their large size, but also by the traces of wear discovered on them. We must admit, however, that agriculture carried on with such tools as these, must have been in a comparatively rude state."

There is yet much mystery connected with the modes and customs of the Mound Builders and the real purposes for which their variety of effigy mounds were builded, despite the luminous light historians of today are throwing upon the subject. Some writers have concluded that the mounds were constructed as a great tomb for the dead, but Mr. Allen is not one of that class. He says it should not be supposed "that the mounds were the sole cemeteries of the people who built them. Like the barrows of Europe, they were probably erected only over the bodies of the chiefs

* In and around Vincennes the topography of the country gives evidences of the glacial period. The Dicksburg, La Plante and Robeson Hills are no doubt the deposits from glaciers, as the soil on the summits of each is altogether different from that which is found at the base, and the timber growth of the hills (especially noticeable on Robeson's), is unlike the varieties which grow on the level plain. The Indian legend relative to the Missouri soil on La Plante's Hill probably had its origin on account of that elevation being a glacial deposit. That the Dicksburg Hills belong to the glacial epoch is further evidenced by the fact that in range of them skeletons of mastodons have been found. Skeletons of these prehistoric mammals have also been unearthed on the farm adjacent to Robeson's Hills; but the most remarkable find of remains of mammalia was recently made at Beaver Dam, north of Robeson's Hills, when the shovel of a steam dredge lifted from the bed of that stream the huge skull of a mastodon. The upper jaw held a portion of one tusk, which measured nine inches in diameter. Bones of these prehistoric monsters are frequently found in Johnson township, and have recently been discovered on the Brevoort farm, near St. Francesville, and on Tindolph's farm, in the vicinity of Bunker Hill.

† E. A. Allen, *History of Civilization*, p. 409.

and priests, the wise men and warriors of the tribe. The amount of work required for the erection of a mound was too great to provide one for every person. The greater number of the dead were deposited elsewhere than in mounds, but it is doubtful whether we can always distinguish the prehistoric burial places from those of the later Indians." The remains of mounds indicate that different sections of country are distinguished by different classes of mounds. While the western country has a greater number of burial mounds than any other kind, the temple mounds seem to predominate in the south. Beyond the northern lakes their presence has never been noted and it is said that no definite trace of them can be found in Texas. "And, yet," says Mr. Allen, in speaking further of these "vanished people," particularly of the remains of their industry, "we must not forget that these are the antiquities of our own country; that the broken archæological fragments we pick up will, when put together, give us knowledge of tribes that lived here when civilization was struggling into being in the east. It should be to us far more interesting than the history of the land of the Pharoahs, or of storied Greece. Yet, strange to say, the facts we have just mentioned are unknown to the mass of our people. Accustomed to regard this as the new world, they have turned their attention to Europe and the east where they would learn of prehistoric times. In a general way we have regarded the Indians as a late arrival from Asia, and cared but little for their early history. It is only recently that we have become convinced of an extended past in the history of this country and it is only of late that able writers have brought to our attention the wonders of an ancient culture and shown us the footprints of a vanished people."

Neither the period of the arrival of the Mound Builders in this country nor the date of their withdrawal from it has been stated by writers of antiquities, but it is known that at a very early day this broad land, with its rolling prairies and dense woodlands, its mighty lakes and endless rivers, was inhabited by a race of people whose knowledge of the arts seemed several stages in advance of a barbarian age. They had preceded Columbus to this country many years, and had established settlements, reared monuments and practiced religion long before the ill-fated discoverer landed on these shores. That they were not unlearned in war is shown in their implements of warfare and the fortified inclosures they left behind them and that they were tillers of the soil and had perfected an organized state of society is quite evident. But whether or not they were associated with the American Indian by tribal ties, or otherwise, has never been determined. It is the general supposition that the Indian, who seemed to adopt many of the customs of the Mound Builders—from mining minerals and metals and working them into implements of usefulness and articles of ornament—banished them from the domains over which for so many years he ruled as lord and master and earned the title

of the first American. Though long since withdrawn from the stage of action, the part played by the Indian in the history of the northwest territory—especially the Wabash country—has been of such importance as to call for a review at this juncture of his dealings with the white man.

The habitable continent of America at the time of its discovery was traversed by the Indians, who, from their resemblance to the inhabitants of the Indies, were given their name. They were divided into nations, families and tribes, according to locality, habits and degree of consanguinity. The Algonquins were the Primitive family, the chief elements of whose language constituted the base of the original language of the aborigines of North America. Modifications of this originated, no doubt, in the offshoots of the parent stock finding a habitation in adjacent territory and subjected to local influences. The representative family of this stock was recognized in the Miamis, whose territory was most extensive. The different tribes which have from time to time inhabited the territory with which we are concerned, occupied a relation more or less remote from the Miamis, who appear to have been the original and exclusive occupants of this part of Indiana. About one hundred and ninety years ago the Pottawatomies took either forcible or permissive possession of a portion of the Miami territory in Indiana and occupied it until their removal westward. The Weas, an immediate branch of the Miamis, the Kickapoos, Shawnees, Winnebagoes and other tribes, have occupied territory on and adjacent to the Wabash river and its tributaries.

THE MIAMIS.

When the white man first acquired a knowledge of the aboriginal races of America, the Miamis possessed and occupied an extent of territory greater than any other nation or tribe on the continent, exerting also a more powerful influence over the adjacent tribes. The Algonquin family, of which the Miamis are the representative division, occupied about half the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi and extending north to the St. Lawrence and the lakes, including among others the Knistniaux, scattered throughout the extensive domain lying between Hudson's bay and the Rocky mountains; to the southward, covering the area occupied by the middle states of our national union. At that date the Algonquin family possessed more warriors than all the other nations combined.

Because of the widely extended dominion of the Miamis and the numerous branches acknowledging the relation, they were in times past known as the Miami confederacy. We find among them no traditions that they had ever occupied other or different territory than that occupied by them when their existence first became known to the white race; hence it is fair to presume that they never were a migratory people. On the

20th of July, 1748, a treaty of alliance and friendship was concluded between the Miamis and the agents of Great Britain, at Lancaster, in the province of Pennsylvania, whereby the Miamis, by the name of Twigh-trees, were accepted as friends and allies of the English nation, recognized as subjects of the British king, entitled to the privileges and protection of the English laws. Anterior to this date, however, the French missionaries and traders, for a long series of years, had exerted a very powerful influence over the same tribe; and in after years, also, the early supremacy of the French over them was not forgotten and numerous trading posts continued to be established and maintained in the face of the British alliance.

By the treaty of Greenville, in August, 1795; by the treaty at Grouseland, near Vincennes, on the 21st of August, 1805; by the treaty at Fort Wayne, on the 30th of September, 1809; by the second treaty at Greenville on the 22d of July, 1814; and again at the Spring Wells, on the 8th day of September, 1815, the Miamis, in connection with other tribes, ceded to the United States certain joint interests in lands lying chiefly in Ohio and Indiana. In was reserved, however, to the treaty of St. Mary's, Ohio, on the 6th day of October, 1818, between the chiefs, warriors and head men of Miamis, on the one part, and Jonathan Jennings, Lewis Cass and Benjamin Parke, commissioners, representing the United States, on the other, for the Miamis to make the large cessions of territory to the United States, which most interest the people inhabiting the Wabash valley. By the provisions of that treaty, the United States acquired title to the following territory: "Beginning at the Wabash river, where the present Indian boundary line crosses the same, near the mouth of Raccoon creek; thence up the Wabash river to the reserve at its head, near Fort Wayne; thence to the reserve at Fort Wayne; thence, with the lines thereof, to the St. Mary's river; thence up the St. Mary's river to the reservation at the portage; thence with the line of the cession made by the Wyandotte nation of Indians to the United States, at the foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie, on the 29th day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, to the reservation at Loramie's store; thence with the present Indian boundary line to Fort Recovery and with the said line thereof, following the course thereof, to the place of beginning."

In consideration for the cession aforesaid the Miamis were to receive a perpetual annuity of \$15,000, payable in silver; also, 160 bushels of salt; and, in addition thereto, were to be provided by the United States one grist and sawmill, one blacksmith and one gunsmith shop, with the necessary agricultural implements.

The Miamis, for the most part, were of medium height and well built, active and excessively fond of racing; their heads were more round than most other tribes, with countenances rather agreeable than otherwise and in

their habits cleanly, with a disposition favorable to the cultivation of the soil.

THE SHAWNEES.

This tribe is classed with that branch of the Algonquin family known as the Lenni Lenapes and claim that their ancestors were not inhabitants of the American continent but originated beyond the waters of the Pacific; that, becoming dissatisfied with their country, they marched in a body to the seashore, when, under the guidance of a leader of the Turtle tribe, they walked into the sea, the waters of which separated before them, and they walked, dryshod, along the bottom of the ocean until they reached the opposite shore. The earliest mention of any settlement of this tribe was in the beginning of the seventeenth century, on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania. Mr. Jefferson, in his "Notes on Virginia," in speaking of the arrival of Captain John Smith on this continent, in 1607, says that during the following year a fierce war was raging against the allied Mohicans, residing on Long Island and the Shawnees on the Susquehanna and to the westward of the river by the Iroquois. An enumeration of the Indians inhabiting territory adjacent to the Delaware river, places this tribe among others in that vicinity. Forty years later Charlevoix refers to them as occupying a location on the south of the Senecas; and in 1682 they appear to have been a party to the treaty with William Penn, under the great elm tree at Kensington; subsequently at the treaty of Philadelphia, in February, 1701, the Shawnees were parties, represented by their chiefs Wap-a-tha, Le-moy-tu-ngh and Pe-moy-aj-agh. Within the period of fifty years afterward, we find this tribe occupying territory far to the south, in Kentucky, Georgia and the Carolinas, as early as 1708, from which, in consequence of their restless, warlike disposition, as a measure of safety, they migrated to Ohio about the year 1752. A few years antecedent thereto, with the consent of the Delawares, they built a town at the mouth of the Wabash, on Delaware territory. The relations of these two kindred tribes were very amicable and so continued for a number of years, but subsequently a difficulty arose between them which terminated in a fierce battle, in which the Shawnees were defeated and again removed westward of the Ohio river. After the removal of the Miamis from the Big Miami river, in 1763, they established themselves at Upper and Lower Piqua, making those points their headquarters. At one time, it is said, they numbered nearly four thousand at the former place. Owing to their close proximity to the border settlements on the Ohio, a fierce warfare was waged upon the whites for a number of years, in which the Delawares, Wyandottes, Mingoes and Miamis were participants, the Shawnees being the most aggressive and troublesome. Their warlike dispositions, added to their faithlessness in the observance of compacts with other tribes, exerted a strong influence toward gradual degeneracy. Though courageous and powerful, they were deceptive and

treacherous, arrogating to themselves a prominence not only over other tribes, but also over the whites. A characteristic account of the grounds upon which they claim superiority was given by one of the chiefs of that tribe at a convention held at Fort Wayne, in 1803, when he declared that "the Master of Life, who was himself an Indian, made the Shawnees before any other of the Indian race and they sprang from his brain; He gave them all the knowledge He Himself possessed and placed them upon the great island and all the other red people are descendants from the Shawnees. After He made the Shawnees He made the French and English out of his breast, the Dutch out of His feet and the Long Knives out of His hands."

Along the valley of the Ohio the progress of settlement was resisted by this tribe with persevering continuity, the decisive engagement with the army of Gen. Wayne, at the rapids of the Miami of the Lakes, August 20, 1794, being the first effective check upon their movements. In the meantime, however, stimulated by the action of British emissaries, they participated in most of the predatory excursions into the Kentucky settlements along the border; and through their agency, also, it is believed, more property was destroyed and more lives sacrificed than by all the other tribes of the northwest. Nevertheless, they encountered frequent reverses in the progress of their warlike expeditions; for example: Bowman's expedition, in 1779, into the Mad river country; Clark's, in 1780 and 1782 and Logan's, in 1786, to the same locality; Edwards', in 1787, to the head waters of Big Miami and Todd's, in 1788, into the Scioto valley. The castigation received at the hands of Gen. Wayne, in 1794, had a most salutary effect; so that, in the treaty at Greenville, on the 3d day of August, 1795, we find them participating in the preliminary councils, and expressing a wish to conclude a firm and lasting peace with the white people.

Conspicuous among the refractory elements at the treaty last named were Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet; the former of whom manifested his hostility by endeavoring to induce an alliance with other kindred tribes for the enforcement of their opposition and the latter by a system of jugglery, to insure support by the power of superstition. In the spring of 1808, having by his artful policy drawn around him a considerable number of followers, with Tecumseh, his brother, he removed from Greenville, Ohio, their former residence, and by permission of the Pottawattomies and Kickapoos, settled on the west bank of the Wabash near the mouth of the Tippecanoe near the city of La Fayette, the place thereafter being known as the Prophet's Town. From that time the Prophet's adherents began to increase in number until they became formidable, making their presence felt along the border settlements in a manner to excite the gravest apprehensions among the settlers and the Government authorities at Vincennes for the maintenance of peace, resulting, finally in the battle of Tippecanoe. After this important event took place

the Prophet's followers were not long in deserting him, and his own people, after contending against the fates for the succeeding four or five years, finally succumbed to the authority of the United States and accepted a home beyond the Mississippi.

THE POTTAWATOMIES.

Next to the Miamis, perhaps the Pottawatomies were considered the most powerful of the several tribes who formerly inhabited the Wabash country, having, early in the eighteenth century, crowded the Miamis from their dwellings in Chicago and forced a settlement on territory which had been held by the Miamis from time immemorial. They belonged, like nearly all the tribes on the Wabash, to the great family of Algonquins and were related, by ties of consanguinity, to the Ojibways—better known as Chippewas. The first trace of them was in the regions of Lake Superior, on the islands near the entrance of Green Bay, where they adopted into their tribe many of the Ottawas from Upper Canada. In the name of Pottawatomie there is a marked significance developed touching certain characteristics from which they acquired some early distinction. The name is a compound of Put-ta-wa, signifying a blowing out or expansion of the cheeks, as in blowing a fire; and me, a nation, which, being interpreted, means a nation of fire-blowers. The Pottawatomies have been generally aggressive in character, not infrequently locating themselves on territory not their own without consulting the right of the reputed owners to object. After the close of the war with Great Britain, in which most of the tribes in the Northwest had been engaged in opposition to the whites, a treaty was held at the Portage des Sioux, on July 18, 1815, between the Pottawatomies and the United States, for the purpose of establishing "perpetual peace and friendship between all the people of the United States of America and all the people composing the said Pottawatomie tribe or nation." By this treaty at St. Mary's on October 2, 1818, the Indians ceded to the United States all the territory embraced within the following limits. "Beginning at the mouth of the Tippecanoe river and running up the same to a point twenty-five miles in a direct line from the Wabash river, thence on a line as nearly parallel to the general course of the Wabash river as is practicable, to a point on the Vermillion river, twenty-five miles from the Wabash; thence down the Vermillion river to its mouth, and thence up the Wabash river to the place of beginning. The Pottawatomies also ceded to the United States all their claim to the country south of the Wabash river." The most important treaty of the Wabash Valley, held with this tribe, was that on the "Old Treaty Ground," at Paradise Springs, on the Wabash, near the mouth of the Mississinnewa river, on the 16th day of October, 1826. Under this treaty they ceded to the United States territory comprised within boundary "beginning on the Tippecanoe river, where the northern boundary of the tract ceded by

the Pottawatomies to the United States, by the treaty of St. Mary's, in the year 1818, intersects the same; thence, in a direct line, to a point on Eel river, half-way between the mouth of the said river and Pieresh's Village; thence up Eel river to Seek's Village, near the head thereof; thence, in a direct line, to the mouth of a creek emptying into the St. Joseph's, of the Miami, near the Metea's village; thence up the St. Joseph's to the boundary line between the states of Indiana and Ohio; thence south to the Miami; thence up the same to the reservation at Fort Wayne; thence, with the line of the said reservation, to the boundary line established by the treaty with the Miamis, in 1818; thence with the said line to the Wabash river; thence with the same river to the mouth of Tippecanoe river and thence, with the Tippecanoe river to the place of beginning." And the said tribe also ceded to the United States all their right to land with the following limits: "Beginning at a point on Lake Michigan, ten miles due north of the southern extremity thereof, running east to the land ceded by the Indians to the United States, by the treaty of Chicago; thence southerly thereof, ten miles; thence west to the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; thence with the shore thereof to the place of beginning." In the course of time, nineteen other treaties with the Pottawatomies were concluded by the United States, by which certain reservations withheld by former treaties, were ceded to the United States. By the final treaty held on February 11, 1837, between John T. Douglass, on the part of the United States and this tribe, all their remaining interests in Indiana came into possession of the United States and they accepted a tract of country appropriated to their use beyond the Missouri river and agreed to move thither. They were accordingly moved in the fall and winter of 1838 and 1839.

THE WEAS OR QUIATENONS.

This tribe is also a branch of the Miamis and belongs as well to the Algonquin family, and it is said, were here in 1702, when M. Juchereau de St. Dennis came with his Canadian companions and formed a settlement on the Ouabache. At this date there were four other villages of the tribe here—Ouj-a-tanon, Petitscotias, Les Goas and Peanquinchias (Piankeshaws)—the last named being the larger of the five and all of them capable of mustering twelve hundred warriors. The Weas ceded to the United States (by the Greenville treaty, 1795), a tract at Quiatenon, or Weatown, six miles square. This cession, though small, appears to have been the first made by them as a separate tribe, or jointly with other interested tribes, and embraced a portion of their most valuable possessions. By a subsequent treaty in which the Weas, jointly with the Miamis, Eel rivers, Delawares and Pottawatomies, at Grouseland, Vincennes, on August 21, 1805, declared that those tribes were "joint owners of all the country on the Wabash and its waters above the Vincennes tract," and

which had not been ceded to the United States by that or any other treaty and as such they agreed to recognize a community of interest in the same. By the provisions of the same treaty the joint interest of these tribes in certain lands south of White river was relinquished to the United States, in consideration of which the Weas were to receive an annuity of \$250. Again, by the treaty of Fort Harrison, on June 4, 1816, the Weas, with the Kickapoos, entered into a treaty of peace with the United States and confirmed the treaties before made by them, involving the title to lands on the west side of the Wabash river. Under a subsequent treaty entered into October 2, 1818, the Weas, for themselves, ceded to the United States, all the lands owned by them in Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, except certain special reservations made in their interest, from which the United States stipulated to pay them, in addition to their former annuity of \$1,150, the sum of \$1,850, thus making the aggregate annuity \$3,000 annually in silver. On the 11th of August, 1820, at Vincennes, this tribe made a further cession of all their lands reserved by the last preceding treaty, to the United States, in consideration of the sum of \$5,000 in money and goods; the receipt of which was then and there acknowledged. Inasmuch, also, as it was contemplated by the foregoing provisions, that the Weas should shortly remove from the Wabash, their annuities were thereafter directed to be paid at Kaskaskia, in Illinois.

THE KICKAPOOS.

This tribe was also of the Algonquin family, and appears first to have occupied with the Pottawatomies a portion of the territory between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi river. By invitation of the Miamis they went further south and at the beginning of the eighteenth century were numerous and powerful. As a result of a furious war between them and the Sacs on the one side and the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, Michiganians and Temorias on the other, these latter tribes were almost annihilated, though a short time previously they aggregated four thousand warriors. By the provisions of the treaty at Greenville, August 3, 1795, the Kickapoos ceded their interest in certain lands disposed of by that treaty to the United States in consideration of annuity of \$500. By provisions of article 7 of that treaty they were allowed "the liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably and offer no injury to the people of the United States." Again, by the treaty at Fort Wayne on the 7th day of June, 1803, this tribe, with others, made further cession of rights and privileges to the United States, "as a mark of their regard for and attachment to the United States, whom they acknowledge for their friends and protectors." Subsequently, by the treaty of Fort Harrison, on the 4th day of June, 1816, they, with the Weas, acknowledged the cession by them of certain lands on

the north-west side of the Wabash, on the Wabash and Vermillion rivers, and again entered into a league of friendship with the United States, having, by former treaties, on the 30th of September and 9th of December, 1809, made joint cession of the same territory to the United States. By final treaty with the United States, on the 30th day of July, 1819, at Edwardsville, in the State of Illinois, they ceded to the United States, "all their land on the south-east side of the Wabash river, including their principal village, in which their ancestors formerly resided, consisting of a large tract to which they have had, from time immemorial and now have, a just right; that they have heretofore ceded, or otherwise disposed of, in any manner whatever;" also, all other lands in the state of Indiana not before ceded by them, promising to continue under the protection of the United States and no other nation. In consideration for this last treaty they were to receive \$3,000 worth of merchandize, in addition to an annuity of \$2,000 in silver, as a consideration for former cessions made, together with certain lands in Missouri Territory; provided they never sell said lands without the consent of the United States. Aside from the alliance of some of the tribe with Tecumseh and his brother in their proposed scheme for the confederation of the tribes, the Kickapoos have kept faithfully and maintained the integrity of every stipulation of their treaties.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST BLACK ROBED PRIEST TO VISIT VINCENNES.

EARLY COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF CANADA AND THE OLD POST—FATE OF THREE MISSIONARIES BROUGHT BY CHAMPLAIN FROM FRANCE TO AMERICA—ROUTES OF VOYAGERS TO WESTERN COUNTRY—FAME FORGETS SOME GOOD ACTORS IN MILITARY DRAMA PRESENTED AT VINCENNES A CENTURY AND A THIRD SINCE—THE VILLAGE OF CHIPPECOKE—THE WABASH COUNTRY SUPPOSED TO CONTAIN GOLD AND SILVER DEPOSITS—ILLINOIS INDIANS MOULD BULLETS ON BUNKER HILL—MARQUETTE'S EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND HIS SUPPOSED VISIT TO VINCENNES.

The lack of precision of some historians in fixing the date of the first settlement of Vincennes has been more or less annoying to students of history who value positiveness of statement in the chronicling of an event above the details of mere conjecture. The Indians, of course, has their "happy hunting grounds" here long before the advent of the white man. The French missionaries were the first white settlers, and came here as early as 1609, although it was not until the year 1702 that the first permanent white settlement was perfected, the first fort builded and the first church erected west of the Allegheny Mountains. These three important events comprised the germ, as it were, from which the civilization, religion and military glory of the Northwest Territory budded, blossomed and bloomed, emitting a wholesome fragrance that permeated a scope of country within the borders of which now dwell one-fourth of the population of the United States.

In the earlier days, following the establishment of Nouvelle France and the domination of Louis XIV over the same, and especially after the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, Canada was bound to Vincennes religiously, socially and commercially and through the marital ties existing among the aborigines, by a friendly chain in which Detroit, then only a spot in the wide expanse of the great Northwestern domain, was an important and closely-connecting link. Before Marquette, before La Salle, before Juchereau, intercommunication was had by the peoples of Canada and this section of the Northwest Territory.

Quebec was founded by Champlain in 1608, more than a decade after Cartier had taken voyage up the St. Lawrence river to a settlement composed entirely of Indians who, in after years, took unto themselves squaws of French-Canadian extraction, which he subsequently named Mount Real, on account of the topography of the country, which showed an elevation of great eminence surrounded by a plateau of surpassing beauty. The original name of the settlement was *Hochelaga and was known to the ancestors of the French who formed the first permanent settlement at Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, on the Bay of Fundy, in the year 1605. It was the zealous Christian spirit of Champlain which led him to bring from the sunny shores of southern France a quartette of Franciscan friars to the bleak and barren coasts of a country overrun with savages, "whose untutored mind" had not yet learned to "see God in clouds or hear Him in the wind." Forsaking the comfortable homes of their native land and turning their backs forever upon the place of their birth, their kindred and friends, to carry the cross into the very heart of a howling wilderness wherein death, danger and cunning treachery confronted them at every step and to proclaim the Word of God to beings who refused to listen, furnished such thrilling examples of self-sacrifice and devotion as to meet only with a counterpart in the sacred annals of the deeds of martyrs. All but one of this devoted band of religious pilgrims were the victims of Indian treachery, and their bleached bones have long since returned to the dust whence they came, and the silent solitudes and the chief actors in the tragedies that witnessed their dissolution have disappeared forever. One of these four "heralds of the cross" established a Catholic mission here, harmonious with the primeval forests, in 1609, although he came to Vincennes several months before actively engaging in missionary work. All record of this holy man, however, disappeared when some sacrilegious vandal, as late as 1873, purloined from the Cathedral library a letter, addressed by the priest to his mother in France, recounting his experiences in the New World.

As early as 1646 the remote wilderness centres of the Northwest Territory had been visited by forty-five Jesuit missionaries, besides nineteen assistants. To these light bearers in a wilderness of darkness and men like Champlain, Marquette and La Salle, explorers for the purpose of increasing man's knowledge of worldly affairs and awakening his sense of spiritual bliss, their missions were as epic poems, resplendent with stanzas having the rhythmic measure of celestial music, which made them forget the hardships and perils of their undertakings. To these devout Frenchmen the birch canoe was made to answer the purpose of the steamboat of a later day. With this frail craft they not only navigated the lakes and rivers of Canada and ascended the Mississippi and all its tributaries,

* Today an eastern suburb of the modern city of Montreal.

but also *surmounted the most dangerous rapids, passed from river to river, penetrated into the bosom of trackless forests and struck into the recesses of inhospitable mountains." By this means of navigation, which was the only way possible at such an early date for these indomitable *voyageurs* to traverse this vast region, †"the French succeeded in securing its trade, cultivating the friendships of its inhabitants and gaining a power which, if ably wielded, must have permanently subjected the whole of this country to their language, their customs, their religion, and perhaps, to their dominion."

It was, therefore, more through religious enthusiasm than any other agency, that the first settlements were established in the Northwest Territory. ‡"It was religious enthusiasm which colonized New England; religious enthusiasm took possession of the wilderness on the Upper Lakes and explored the Mississippi. Puritanism gave New England its worships and its schools; Catholicism and the Jesuit priests built for Canada its altars, its hospitals and its seminaries. The influence of Calvin can be traced in every New England village; in Canada not a cape was turned, nor a mission founded, nor a river entered, nor a settlement begun, but a Jesuit led the way. Religious enthusiasm not only raised altars, chapels and churches and built schools and hospitals, but wherever it erected a church it constructed a fort, planting the sword beside the cross.

It was religious enthusiasm that built the first fort at Vincennes more than two centuries ago, which was the prelude to one of the most thrilling and sensational military dramas—presented more than two-thirds of a century later—ever enacted upon any stage of any continent. The *dramatis personae* were of a class which have long since withdrawn from the flare of the foot-lights, their places having been usurped by an altogether different set of actors which new schools of acting, demanded by the changing tastes of patrons, have created. The scenic effects were grand beyond description. Dense woods, hemmed either bank of a beautiful river, reflecting their great nude limbs in its mirrored depths. Beyond these towering forest giants stretched wondrous expanses of prairie lands, their dead and dying vegetation, stirred by gusts of chilling winds, heaved like the troubled bosom of an ochreous ocean. On the east shore of the classic stream nestled an Arcadian village, its peaceful inhabitants dwelling in white houses, thatched with golden straw, within hail one with another. Above the house-tops, the frowning bastions of a rude fort and the belfry of the quaint church gleamed in the sunlight and cast their shadows towards the river, at whose landing *batteaux* of handsome design, *pirogues* and dug-outs, laced together with raw-hide, were moored or beached. Aside from the fort and church—inanimate things, yet full of animation in this instance—there were little less of artificial properties

* Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*.

† Milburn.

‡ Milburn.

to add to the settings of natural scenery. There was no large audience to greet the hero of the play with deafening plaudits or sounding platitudes as he strode upon the stage. He made his entrance after boldest announcement, and his presence was an inspiring, if not an ominous, one to all except the small aggregation of which he was the star. No actor ever threw his heart and soul into a part as did the leading man in this great drama—this noble son of Virginia, a commonwealth so prolific in heroes, warriors and statesmen. He displayed talents of the highest order, military genius unsurpassed; possessing qualifications but rarely combined in one man and a versatility not often allied with a sound judgment. "To great quickness of perception and clearness of mind, he added a solidity of judgment, a boldness of thought and a vigor of action, that carried everything before them. The hardihood of his designs, the alacrity with which he reached decisions, the rapidity of his movements surprised his friends as well as his foes, inspiring fear on the one hand and confidence on the other. This latter characteristic of the man led his critics to remark, that his actions always had the appearance of rashness, until the results were developed, and then they seemed to have been conceived in consummate prudence and profound sagacity.* Throughout the play his appearance and manners were prepossessing and commanding, his address dignified and winning, yet it required no effort, when occasion demanded, for him to fly into a tempest of anger and terrify his beholders with the fierceness of his aspect. He knew men and men's natures, and had studied them well, selecting for his company a very capable corps of actors from the backwoods—frontiersmen and border-fighters, born close to Nature—who essayed their respective *roles* with a profound knowledge of the characters they had assumed, displaying histrionic ability that was both marked and marvelous. The whole *caste*, from the first walking gentleman down to the drummer boy and supernumeraries, acquitted themselves admirably. So well, in fact, did all the performers play their respective parts, that when the curtain descended on the final act of the drama, to be again rung up by an *encore*, a grand transformation scene—the immensity of which beggars description and whose spectacular *finale*, for brilliant effects, has never been approached by any company, on any stage of the world's vast theater—was presented. A new era in the eventful career of Vincennes had been wrought. The old town became the key, as it were, to unlock the door to a scope of country of matchless beauty, vast in extent and pregnant with resources—the emporium of an empire, the seat of government of a trackless territory now embracing the great states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a portion of Minnesota. Regretfully, it must be said, that the actors who played tragic *roles* in this great historical drama, with its all-important scenes laid at Vincennes, have been permitted, by the faithful

* Hall, *The Romance of Western History*, pp. 418, 419.

chroniclers of the times, to pass from the worldly scenes of action without a meed of praise; aye, without even a friendly criticism of how well they played their parts. Men whose brilliant deeds would add additional lustre to the pages of American history—the history of which we write—have been accorded but a passing notice, or ignored entirely, by historians. Verily,

We build with what we deem eternal rock;
Die too: the deep foundations that we lay,
Time plows them up, and not a trace remains.
We build with what we deem eternal work;
A distant age asks where the fabric stood;
And in the dust, sifted and searched in vain,
The undiscoverable secret sleeps.”

While it is of little or no consequence to the average reader to know of the first white man to visit a certain locality, or the date of its founding, there are quite a few persons desirous of gaining such information, especially if either the place or the visitor subsequently become noted or famous.

Because of the establishment of friendly relations between Canada and this particular spot in the Northwestern country almost simultaneous with the founding of Quebec, it is not unreasonable to suppose that missionaries were here many years before the establishment of a military post. The quest for sinners among savages by the Jesuits, the tribal relations of the Indians, and the knowledge possessed by the latter and French-Canadian trappers, gained through communication with fur hunters here, of this immediate locality as superior hunting grounds, abundantly supplied with a variety of game, had a magnetic effect in drawing these three different classes of people hither, at a very early day, from the great lakes of the northland.

The French colonial records of Quebec, Canada, make mention of this country and the beautiful river, called by the Creole natives “Ouabache” [pronounced “We-ba”—meaning a summer cloud, moving swiftly] and of the labors of the missionaries and the achievements of trappers and traders, placing the settlement at 1702. The earliest written account of “Poste St. Vincent” (Vincennes) and the country, and the Indians inhabiting the place, [a Piankashaw-Miami tribe then occupied with a village, a strip of ground bounded by Busseron and Perry streets and extending from the banks of the river easterly as far, probably, as Eighth or Ninth street, called “Chip-Kaw-Kay,” and pronounced by the settlers * “Chip-pe-coke” or “Brushwood”] is found in a book printed in the city

* “Chippেকে” (an appellation which clung to Vincennes for some time after it became a settlement of the white man), while occupied as an Indian village, and as the exclusive habitation of the Piankeshaws, ever had its portals open to all representatives of tribes belonging to the Miami confederation. Above the door of its

of Paris in 1761, entitled "Letters Edifying and Curious,"† which contains a letter written by Gabriel Marest, Missionary of the Company of Jesus, to Father Gerom of the same company. The letter was written at Kaskaskia and dated November 9, 1712, one hundred and ninety-eight years ago. Still, the place was known to exist twelve years before that and French traders and missionaries were here twelve years, if not, in reality, ninety-one years, previous. What did the first Frenchman think

quaint circular council-house was the tribal totem of the turtle, and within its walls many conferences were held between the red and white man as well as numerous secret meetings to which only the Indians were admitted. In appearance it was not unlike a marine light-house, and towered above the huts and shanties that afforded shelter to the villagers. The boundaries of the village were probably Busseron street on the south and Perry street on the north. Near the south side of Buntin street, between the river bank (*colline gravois*) and First street, was a large mound, which was used for burial purposes. This, however, was removed when ground was broken for the elevator (on the site) now operated by J. & S. Emison, and the bones of many graves were exhumed. Just how far eastward the limits of the village extended is not known—but it is very probable that they reached from the river as far back as Eighth or Ninth street. At least, it is reasonable to suppose that the Piankeshaws had jurisdiction over that portion of the city. There is a ridge, or elevation, extending from Willow, between Eighth and Ninth street, as far north as Scott street, which was, possibly, before the streets were improved and graded, the only section of the city not subject to inundation. That the Indians made use of this high ground (especially in the southeast end of the city) for burying their dead is evidenced from the fact that well-preserved skeletons are frequently unearthed in that locality. While Joseph V. Hershey was having ground broken March, 1910, for the foundation of his house, in Eighth street, between Vigo and Church streets, the workmen exhumed three skeletons of Indians. The bones of all three denoted that they were the remains of men of unusually large proportions. Of the larger one Mr. Hershey measured the femur of the right leg, which was the only section of the frame intact, and concluded that—calculating upon the proportions of an ordinary man's anatomy—the deceased was fully eight feet in height. In 1875, on the same lot, while excavations were being made, the remains of a warrior were uncovered. The bones were in a fair state of preservation, and beside them were war paint, and a hunting knife with buckhorn handle, encased in a raw-hide scabbard, all of which were well preserved. While the Piankeshaws were the only Indians who had a permanent home here, there were other bands who established temporary wigwams in Vincennes and at various places in the county. The venerable Thomas Dubois says his mother told him often that a tribe of Indians had their camp in her back yard. A large hill, in Washington township, on a farm of L. A. Meyer, near Maria creek, and east of the Frisco (E. & T. H.) railroad, is said to have been the burial ground of the Indians, and tradition has it that the dead there entombed were placed in a sitting posture with their faces turned towards the north.

† There are quite a number of volumes bearing this title—"Lettres Edifiant et Curieuse"—in the Cathedral library, from one of which the interview of Father Mermet with the Medicine Man of the Mascouten Indians, published in another chapter of this volume, is taken. In another book of the same series Father Marset refers to the unusual number of buffaloes and bears to be found along the banks of the Wabash, of the fine quality of the flesh of these animals; and, of course, in this respect, speaks from experience, and as one having the tastes of an epicure, for he says—"the meat of a young bear is very delicious, for I have tried it."

and see when his canoe passed the place then? More than two hundred years have rolled into the abyss of time since that eventful era! If he could rise up now, and pass down the same streams, what would he see and think? Were it possible for him to get in communication with Quebec, from which he took his departure in a frail birch canoe two long centuries ago for the Gulf streams, he could learn that last June an automobile party departed from the same place, with the Gulf of Mexico its destination, and made the trip in one-hundredth part of the time he had consumed in his lonely voyage, with only the silent stars to bear him company. Water navigation in his day was the only means of transportation known in the inhospitable region he called his own; locomotion overland by steam and electricity was unheard of, and, even the thought of aerial navigation, in ships having speed compared to the winged fleetness of the water fowl he was wont to slay with the most primitive implements of destruction, was to him neither a vision remote nor a dream of the far distant future.

Father Marest, in the letter referred to above, speaks of the richness and fertility of the country and of the abundance of ore. He expressed the belief that experienced miners could find especially lead and tin, and did not doubt that "gold and silver would be found in abundance." Whether or not lead ore, or tin, or gold, or other metal, is present in this region has never been determined by any scientific demonstration or test. In fact, the bowels of the earth around here have never been penetrated for the purpose of obtaining hidden treasures other than coal, gas and oil, which articles are found in the subterranean recesses underlying this locality in such innumerable quantities and possessed of such superior qualities as will, of necessity, eventually place Vincennes in a distinct class with the leading cities of wealth and progress. For many years, however, the Illinois Indians made annual pilgrimages in the fall of the year to Vincennes, by fording the Wabash river below the city, coming here ostensibly for the purpose of moulding bullets for the winter's chase. Whether the lead from which these missiles of death were cast was obtained therefrom, or not, the moulding operations were always performed on Bunker Hill, south of town, the supposition of the older inhabitants being that the raw material used in the manufacture of the bullets was then there extracted from the earth.

Bancroft, the historian in his history of the United States says, "that no bay, no lake, no river, no mountain in all the vast expanse of this continent has ever yet been visited by any explorer but that a Jesuit missionary had been there before him." The "*robes noir*" (black robe) priests, all of whom came direct from France, were swayed by a Divine impulse to christianize the savages that dominated the wilderness of the northwest territory. Taking their bearings from Quebec to penetrate the wilds of a country that had not, up to that time, been invaded by a white man, they pointed the bows of their frail water craft towards the south and west, tra-

versing the northern lakes, establishing missionary stations along the borders thereof, crossing the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin, descending the Mississippi, building chapels at Peoria, (then called St. Louis) at Cahokia, Prairie du Rochen, Kaskaskia, St. Joseph, Quiatenon and Vincennes. Wherever, between the lakes and the Ohio, (the Wabash) a chapel could be erected, at whose altar the Indians might be persuaded to bow, they established it, and gathered around it every dusky denizen of the forest who had not been brought irredeemably under the influence and charlatanism of the "medicine man." Jacques Marquette was among the most learned and intrepid of these missionaries, and, in all probability, was here before his exploration of the Mississippi, in 1673, or, at least, had been in the Wabash country prior to that event, as Bishop Brute in his writings says that "the St. Joseph portage was used by Father Marquette long before La Salle and Hennepin passed through it; that Father Marquette and Allouez passed through that portage on their way to the 'Ouachasche' country soon after 1660."

The late Hon. Henry S. Cauthorn, in "History of Vincennes," published in 1901, says: "While there is no positive evidence that Father Marquette was ever at the site of Vincennes, yet, reasoning by the inductive process, we are bound to conclude that he was here as early as 1660. It would be unreasonable to suppose that this indefatigable worker for the conversion of the Indians would fail to visit so important a point in the Wabash valley as this when he was known to be in its vicinity. This site was a favorite resort for all the Indian tribes on both sides of the Wabash river. It was a safe place of abode for them in consequence of its high situation and the conditions then existing in this part of the surrounding country. From the earliest times until very recent years the entire country on both sides of the Wabash river was covered with water many feet deep twice during each year during the January and June freshets. During these flood seasons the country for hundreds of miles in all directions from the site of Vincennes was covered with water many feet deep and offered no suitable abiding place for the Indians. As late as 1846 the Wabash and Embarrass rivers annually overflowed their banks and united their waters, covering the intervening space of eight miles to a depth of seven or eight feet. And in the same way, by overflow, the White river united its waters with the Wabash to the east to a like depth. In 1846 the steamboat Daniel Boone was carried by the force of the overflow current a short distance above Vincennes from the channel of the Wabash river out into the prairie for over a mile, and was only returned to the river with difficulty. And in the same year the United States mail was carried from Vincennes over the overflowed prairies on the Illinois side to the high ground on the Embarrass river at Lawrenceville, and this was not an unusual or singular occurrence, but happened frequently, until the country was protected by levees. These conditions made the site of Vincennes a resort and place of abode for the Indians, as it was always on high

ground above the reach of any flood. It was here they had their permanent village and fields, which were still visible when the white settlers came to the place. It was here they had their council houses and where all the surrounding tribes assembled many times during the year when they returned from the chase or forage. And such a place, where so many of the Indians could be easily found, it is contrary to reason to suppose that such a zealous missionary as Father Marquette would fail to visit when he was in the Wabash country. I wish to locate Father Marquette at the site of Vincennes, as it will fix the probable date of his visit. It is well known that he left the Jesuit mission at Kaskaskia a sick and worn-out man, in consequence of his labors and exposure, to return to St. Ignace, a few days after Easter, 1675. On this, his final trip, he traveled by way of the St. Joseph portage. He died May 18, 1675, ascending the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, and was buried in the sands of the lake shore before he reached his destination. Therefore, he must have visited the site of Vincennes, if at all, prior to 1675, and in all probability about 1660."

It is certain, beyond a reasonable doubt, that missionaries other than one of the four which Champlain brought from France, had been here prior to 1700. "They," says Mr. Cauthorn, in his History of Vincennes, referring to the Jesuit missionaries, "accomplished wonderful results in converting the Indians that inhabited the country about the present site of Vincennes. The records of St. Francis Xavier's church as preserved (I use the words 'as preserved' as Bishop Brute used them whenever he referred to these records) show from April, 1749, and for a half century after, the greater part of the entries of baptisms, marriages and funerals were of Indian converts. This vast number of Indian converts to the faith as evidenced by these records as preserved show that the work of the missionaries, while fruitful of good, was not the work of a day or month, but of many years. The untamed savages of the forest could not be converted to christianity at short notice. The labors of the missionaries were not only slow, but dangerous." In this connection, Judge Law, in an address delivered before the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, on February 23, 1839, says: "It was not only toil, hunger and cold that the Jesuit missionaries of the cross were called upon to endure, but many, very many, were tomahawked, or, what was far worse, burned at the stake. No sooner was it known that their predecessors had perished at the stake, or by the scalping knife, than new recruits offered their services to fill their places. In fact, a mission among the Indians was a labor of love to these heralds of the cross.

Jacques Marquette was a blood relative of the late Cyr. Poulet, the distinguished father of Mrs. John Burke, this city. Mr. Poulet, in discussing his pious and scholarly relative, always considered, as a matter of fact, that Marquette, prior to his first voyage of exploration and discovery along the Mississippi, had visited Vincennes and spent several days in this vicinity in his efforts to christianize the savages. But just how it were pos-

sible for Bishop Brute and Mr. Cauthorn to fall into the same error with reference to the probable visit of Father Marquette to Vincennes, and both to fix the date as early as 1660, six years before the distinguished Frenchman took his departure for America from the land of his birth, can only be accounted for from the fact that each of these careful and painstaking writers were equally unfortunate in coming in contact with the same erroneous data, made so either by the negligence of the printer who put it in type, or the ignorance of the historian who furnished the copy.

At the age of seventeen Marquette entered the Society of Jesus, and in 1666 sailed from his birth-place in Laon, France, for Canada as a missionary, and was one of the first explorers of the Mississippi river. He spent about eighteen months in the vicinity of Three Rivers, where he acquired the Montagnais and Algonquin languages, and in April, 1668, went to Lake Superior and there founded the mission of Sault Ste. Marie. In the following year he was sent to take the place of Father Allouez among the Ottawas and Hurons of Lapointe; but his stay here was short, these tribes being soon dispersed by the Sioux. Marquette then followed the Hurons to Mackinaw, and there in 1671 built a chapel at the mission of St. Ignatius, or Michilimackinac, to which Mr. Cauthorn refers as St. Ignace. In the following year he wrote of his success at Mackinaw to Father Dablon, the superior of the Jesuit missions in Canada. "I am ready, however," he continued, "to leave it in the hands of another missionary to go on your order to seek new nations toward the South sea, who are still unknown to us, and to teach them of our great God whom they have hitherto not known."* As early as 1669 in fact he had resolved upon exploring the Mississippi, of which he had heard from the Indians, and had made preparations at Lapointe to visit "this river, and the nations that dwell upon it, in order to open the passage to so many of our Fathers who have so long awaited this happiness." His desire was not gratified, however, until 1673, when Frontenac and Talon, the Governor and Intendant of Canada, having resolved to send an expedition under Louis Jolliet to explore the direction and mouth of the Mississippi, Marquette was instructed to accompany the party as a missionary. With five other Frenchmen they left Mackinac in two canoes on May 17th, and reaching the Wisconsin river by way of Green bay, Fox river, and a portage, floated down to the Mississippi, on whose waters they found themselves by the seventeenth day of June. On June 25th they stopped at an Indian village, where they were kindly received. Somewhere near the mouth of the Ohio, then called the

* The purpose of discovering the Mississippi, of which the tales of the natives had published the magnificence, sprung from Marquette himself. He had resolved on attempting it, in the autumn of 1669, and, when delay intervened, from the necessity of employing himself at Che-goi-me-gon, which Allouez had exchanged for a new mission at Green Bay, he selected a young Illinois as his companion, by whose instructions he became familiar with the dialect of that tribe. Bancroft, *History of the U. S.*, vol. III, p. 153.

Ouaboukigou, they met savages who assured them that it was not more than ten days' journey to the sea, and that they bought 'stuffs' and other articles of Europeans on the east side. Continuing their voyage, they arrived at a village called Akamsea, probably about the mouth of the Arkansas. Here they held a council, and having satisfied themselves that they were not more than two or three days' journey from the mouth of the river which undoubtedly emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, or off the Florida coast, and not, as had been conjectured, in California or Virginia, they resolved to return, especially as their further progress would expose them to the danger of a captivity among the Spaniards. They began their homeward voyage on July 17th, 1673, and, passing up the Illinois, instead of the Wisconsin, arrived in September at Green Bay. They had accomplished the object of their mission, and traveled in their open canoes a distance of over 2,500 miles. On the banks of the Illinois Marquette had promised the Kaskaskia Indians to return and preach to them. He was detained by sickness at the mission of St. Francis Xavier on Green bay a full year; but in October, 1674, having previously sent to his superiors an account of his journey down the Mississippi, he set out with two white men and a number of savages for the village of Kaskaskia. On December 14th he was stopped at the portage on the Chicago by infirmities and severe cold, and, dismissing the Indians, resolved to winter there with his two white companions. Resuming his journey March 30, 1675, he reached Kaskaskia April 8th, and immediately upon his arrival began the erection of an altar for the purpose of celebrating in an imposing manner the festival of Easter, but, conscious that his end was approaching, he soon thereafter brought his labors to a close and attempted to return to Mackinaw. He reached no further than a small river whose mouth is on the east shore of Lake Michigan, and which still bears his name, and there he died in the presence of the two Frenchmen who had attended him from Green bay. He was buried on the spot, but in 1677 his remains were carried to Mackinaw. The narrative of his voyage on the Mississippi was not published until 1681, when it appeared at Paris in Thévenot's *Recueil de l'oyages*, accompanied by a map. This narrative, as well as a journal of the missionary's last expedition, and his autograph map, may be found in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley." His narrative, for some years after its first publication, was regarded as a fable; but his claim has long since been fully established as the first explorer of the great river of the west, and the first European who saw it after De Soto.

CHAPTER IV.

SPECULATIONS OF HISTORIANS ON FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VINCENNES.

THE INDIANS' HOSPITABLE TREATMENT OF FRENCH VOYAGEURS—RANDOM DATA RELATING TO EARLY SETTLEMENT OF VINCENNES, WHICH INTRODUCES GENERAL GAGE AND HIS DEMAND ON THE INHABITANTS AT THE POST TO SHOW LAND TITLES—EXTENT OF FUR TRADE IN THE NORTHWEST AND HOW VIEWED BY LOUIS XIV—LA SALLE IN THE WABASH COUNTRY—THE VINCENNES ANTIQUARIAN AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY PLACED THE FOUNDING OF PHILADELPHIA AND VINCENNES ABOUT THE SAME TIME.

The establishment of commercial relations, which opened communication early in the eighteenth century between the wilderness of the northwest territory and the cities of continental Europe, could never have been effected had not the Indians been first won over by the early trappers and hunters. The first adventurers were French and knew exactly how to win the confidence and respect of the red man, without the bestowal of gifts. How they did it was by artifice which other nations could never fully comprehend. But that they succeeded admirably is shown in the fact that they not only persuaded the Indians to permit them to hunt and trap over the latter's vast domains, but induced the red men to join them and follow the chase for profit, and procure peltries and furs for commercial purposes instead of gathering them for home consumption, to be peddled out for fire-water and trinkets. And the result was that the fur industry in this locality, as will be shown in detail further along, became an enterprise of large proportions.

Unless he was entertaining a Frenchman, the Indian was as fickle as the wind towards his guests, displaying little or no regard for social ethics; and, yet, when he felt so disposed, was the most hospitable and generous host, dispensing not only hospitality but bestowing valuable gifts with a lavish hand to any one who appealed to his fancy and had the courage to boldly ask for shelter beneath the roof of his tepee or tanbarked home. Timidity, in the Indian's eyes, was a crime which could not be condoned. Whether at war or peace with their neighbors, the red men and women, and even the children, vied with one another in be-

stowing attentions and showing consideration for the voyaging *robes de noir* and their companions whenever an occasion presented. Before, however, the white man had begun to exert a civilizing influence over the savage to a marked degree, while the country was yet wholly in its primitive state, the friendly attitude of the red man towards the priestly *voyageurs* was so pronounced as to be almost incredible to those who had not been brought directly in contact with it. The adventurous voyages of the French, or, more properly the voyages of the adventurous French, were not more amazing than the consideration shown the *voyageurs* by the Indians; and this hospitality was not extended by the children of the forest in one section of the country, but was universal, and prevailed in all localities. When the early *voyageurs* began to explore the shores of the St. Lawrence, extending their explorations over its grand chain of tributary lakes, they encountered all along these water courses many tribes of savage and hostile Indians who, surprising though it may seem, offered them no resistance. When England and France were on the eve of having their first passage at arms on American soil, and the eyes of the nations of the Old World were turned in this direction, wondering what the outcome would be, French priests were pushing their frail canoes from the mouth of the Father of Waters up to the Falls of St. Anthony, thousands of miles distant, and were also plying the waters of the Wabash, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Wisconsin and many other important tributaries, in search of souls, when all the land about them echoed with the cry of the wild. The hostile red skins, many of whom looked for the first time on the features of "pale faces," not only allowed them to pass unmolested, but accorded them the most cordial reception, inviting them to their wigwams that they might receive family as well as tribal salutations and partake of hospitality wholly unaffected. On such occasions the fat hump of a buffalo, the steak of a bear, or the saddle of a deer or antelope, were prepared with extra care, and a bevy of dusky maidens, dressed in their gaudiest clothes and adorned with beads and trinkets, waved the brilliant plumes of the paroquet* above the devoted heads of the guests, while they ate or slept, that insect interlopers might not offend their appetites nor disturb their slumbers.

The attachments formed between the Indians and French were both instantaneous and lasting, and soon led to the amalgamation of the races; which probably gave rise to the tradition that long before the beginning of the eighteenth century an Indian village, which thrived at Vincennes,

* Paroquets (a variety of small parrot), which according to reports of travelers were abundant in the Ohio Valley a hundred years ago, are now found only in latitudes from further south. Cuming, in 1807, writing from the mouth of the Scioto, says: "We observed here vast numbers of beautiful, large, green paroquets, which our landlord, Squire Brown, informed us abound all over the country. They keep in flocks, and when they alight on a tree they are not distinguishable from the foliage from their color."—[*Early Western Travels*, IV, p. 161.]

was half French. And, from this story some historians, no doubt, get their idea of the first French settlement at the old post.

According to a version of Mr. J. M. Hiatt, speaking through "The Political Manual," a publication that came from the Indianapolis press in 1865, "About the year 1690, a French settlement, the first in Indiana, was made at Vincennes, the place then being within the territory claimed at that time by the French upon priority of discovery of La Salle."

The American Cyclopedia, in its treatment of Indiana, says: "Indiana originally constituted a part of New France, and subsequently a part of the northwest territory. The exact period of its settlement is not ascertained. In 1702 a party of French Canadians descended the Wabash, and established several posts on its banks, and among others, Vincennes. The Indians made little opposition to the newcomers."

Mr. George J. Langsdale, a brilliant newspaper man, and a writer of considerable ability, several years ago published a bright and sparkling volume entitled, "Monograph of Indiana History," in which he refers to the subject of Vincennes' first settlement in language as follows: "The exact period of the first settlement is not known, but between 1702 and 1710 a party of French Canadians descended the Wabash river and established a post at Vincennes, which subsequently became the capital of the territory until 1813, and remains the oldest town in the state."

*Denonville declared in 1688 that there were posts on the Wabash and Ohio rivers. This was before Juchereau's post at the mouth of the Ohio. Bishop Brute, the first bishop of the Vincennes diocese of Indiana, fixes the date of the founding of the post and church at from 1700 to 1702. David Thomas, a Quaker, a class of people not often led into exaggerations or misstatements, said in 1816 that the post was first visited in 1690 and established in 1702. He adds: "I think the chronology of the first should be preferred." In Hinsdale's "Old Northwest," the statement is made that in 1702 twenty thousand skins were shipped out of the Wabash plain. This strongly indicates the presence of a post somewhere, or several of them. General Harmar was sent to Vincennes in 1787, and in writing to the secretary of war under date of August 7, 1787, he observes as to the founding of the post: "Monsieur Vincennes, the French officer from whom it derives its name, I am informed, was here and commenced the settlement sixty years ago." That would be 1727. But his testimony is of no more worth than others who conversed with the original settlers or their immediate descendants. Major Ebenezer Denny, who accompanied Harmar to the post, says with some respect to tradition: "It was first settled by Monsieur Vincennes near 70 years ago, from whom it takes its name." This would be 1717. And his statement is entitled to as much credit as General Harmar's—no more. Another testimony is that of the

*F. A. Meyers, *Post Vincennes*, p. 10.

journal of Joseph Buell, an orderly sergeant in Harmar's regiment. He accompanied his regiment to Vincennes in 1787. Mr. Dunn in his "Indiana," reports him as "a man of excellent character, and withal a typical New Englander of the period in his religious and political notions." Mr. Buell wrote this of Vincennes at that time: "The people give themselves up to all kinds of vice, and are as indolent and idle a community as ever composed one town. They might live in affluence if they were industrious. The town has been settled longer than Philadelphia, and one-half of their dwelling houses are yet covered with bark like Indian wigwams." And Philadelphia was laid out by William Penn in 1682.

In the first edition of Bancroft's History of the United States occurs this significant statement: "Vincennes, the only settlement in Indiana, had rapidly and surprisingly increased. Its own population, consisting of two hundred and thirty-two white persons, ten negro and seventeen Indian slaves, was recruited by one hundred and sixty-eight 'strangers.'"

This was in 1768, when the whole country was in deadly strife with Great Britain, when France and England were resorting to any method whatsoever, and by all manner of means, honorable and otherwise, to force the North American Indians to become their respective allies in waging holy and unholy warfare, one nation against the other, for territorial possessions. In his last revised edition Bancroft says, after weighing all the facts by his superior judgment and mature methods of historical test: "The permanent settlement at Vincennes belongs to the year 1702. It is the oldest village in Indiana." In a footnote he quotes his authority for this fact. It reads: "Inhabitants of Post Vincennes to General Gage, 18 Sept., 1772. MS." He gave this evidence his full credence. The General Gage referred to bore also the no less numerous, as well as distinguished titles of "Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, Colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment, General Commander-in-Chief of All His Majesty's Forces in North America," and, acting under instructions from King George, issued from his official headquarters in the city of New York, a proclamation designed for the inhabitants of the Wabash country. The document was dated April 22, 1772, and proclaimed that "Whereas, many persons, contrary to the order of the king, have undertaken to make settlements beyond the boundaries fixed by the treaties made by the Indian nations; and a great number of persons on the river Oubache are leading a wandering life without government and without laws, interrupting the free course of trade, destroying the game, and causing infinite disturbance in the country, which occasions considerable disturbance to the king, as well as those of the Indians, his majesty has been pleased to order, and by these presents, orders are given in the name of the king to all those who have established themselves on lands upon the Oubache, whether at St. Vincent [Vincennes] or elsewhere, to quit those countries instantly and without delay, and to retire at their choice into some one of the colonies

of his majesty, where they will be received and treated as the other subjects of his majesty." This unwarranted and unlooked-for message came to the peaceful and contented inhabitants like a clap of thunder from a clear sky. After recovering from the effects of consternation it produced in the minds of the citizens generally, a *coterie* of the more prominent and influential residents of Vincennes, headed by St. Marie Racine, made reply to the document on the fourteenth day of September of the same year, stating, in substance, that their possessions were held by "sacred titles," dating from the first settlement of the place, which were of "seventy years' standing," and that their "land had been granted by order and under the protection of his most Christian majesty." To this remonstrance General Gage made answer, demanding forthwith the proof of their assertion, which he desired "to be transported to the feet of his majesty." But meanwhile, and ever after, he left them in the quiet possession of their homes and their lands—a highly important circumstance, the barrister would say—tending to strengthen the evidence that the date of the settlement of Vincennes was 1702, if not earlier.

Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle, one of the daring French *voyageurs*, who visited Vincennes at a very early day, was born of an ancient and honorable family in Rouen. Renouncing his patrimony, or in some way deprived of it by unjust laws, he became a Jesuit, and received in a college of that order a thorough education. But finding the life of a priest incompatible with his tastes, he quit the fraternity, receiving high testimonials of capacity and fidelity, and embarked as an adventurer for Canada, where he arrived between 1665 and 1667. In 1669 he descended the Ohio, *La Belle Riviere*, as far as the falls, where Louisville now stands. The assertion that about this time he descended the Illinois river to the Mississippi, rests on an anonymous report of conversations and is unsupported by his own petitions and documents. Afterward, however, he descended the Illinois and the Mississippi, and at the mouth of the great "father of waters," on April 9, 1682, set up a column with the French arms and took formal possession of the vast fertile valley or domain for his king. In a later effort, from the gulf of Mexico, to reach the mouth of this mighty river, he failed, and while wandering through the wilds of Texas was treacherously murdered by his men in 1687. As he fell his brutal murderers exclaimed: "There, you grand bashaw, there you are!" In 1699 D'Iberville succeeded better in finding "the hidden river" and founded Biloxi, about thirty miles below the site of New Orleans. There seems to be little doubt that La Salle* was here about 1683, as that was the

* We have met with an old volume containing an account of La Salle's second voyage into North America in 1683, written in French, "by Monsieur Joutel, a commander in that expedition." They landed at the mouth of the Mississippi, and ascended that river: "We came to the mouth of a river called the Houabache, said to come from the country of the Iroquois, towards New England" * * * "A fine

year in which he passed up the Wabash, giving the stream the name of "Ouabache," as indicated by his maps. Finding an Indian settlement, he stopped, as was his wont, to make friends with the tribes and drive bargains with them in trading in furs. A few years later the town was abandoned on account of the invasion and depredations of the Iroquois, whose hostility towards the French was very fierce, and which induced La Salle subsequently to retire to his fort on the Illinois, gathering all the other Indian tribes around him, where they remained until about 1711, when the Iroquois withdrew to the mountains. The Piankeshaws promptly returned to their village here, the Weas went to the mouth of the Tippecanoe and built wigwams, and the Twightwees located at the headwaters of the Maumee. The Delawares later took up their abode in the central part of the state, the Shawnees in the eastern portion, and the Pottawatomies at the foot of Lake Michigan. The fact that La Salle never miscalled the "Agouassake" (Wabash*), is proof of his intimate knowledge of the stream and a circumstance in itself tending to show that he, in some of his many exploring expeditions, had passed up the river. He was probably the first white man to make the short† portage between the upper Wabash and the Maumee, and open a near way for traders and trappers to a splendid hunting region. The intimate knowledge had by the early

river, its water remarkably clear, and current gentle." The expression "towards New England," shows how inadequate an idea they had of the extent of our country. Hall's *Romance of Western History*, p. 29.

* This would seem to force the conclusion that the "fort" established by Sieur Juchereau in 1702 was on the Wabash, and not the Ohio. Judge Law claims that no "fort" or "post" was ever founded by the French on the Ohio within the limits of either Indiana or Illinois. He says, further: "The French had no settlement on the Ohio in the early part of the eighteenth century—by a settlement I mean a fixed establishment, a garrison, a town. Sieur Juchereau, for aught I know, may have had a trading house there, but there was no regular French establishment; and, according to Father Marest, it was to such an establishment already garrisoned—a 'fort'—that Father Mermet went * * * As the French settled Vincennes and established a fort there early in the eighteenth century; and as the Mascoutens were located on that stream, and not on the Ohio, and being a branch of the Miamis, and a portion of the Algonquin race, of course supposed to understand the 'Illinois,' I think it conclusive that the 'local' of Father Mermet's labors was the 'post' or 'fort' at Vincennes, and not the site of the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi, where Sieur Juchereau may, or may not, have had a settlement."

† * * * In the southeast angle of the lake was the portage of the St. Joseph river, which La Salle was much accustomed to traverse. There was by it about four miles of carriage to the Kankakee. The northward current of the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, and the southward current of the western shore, naturally made the St. Joseph portage a return route to Canada, and the Chicago an outward one. At a later day, this same river was found to afford a carriage to an upper branch of the Wabash, and it became the principal channel of supplies for the settlers at Vincennes. One can well imagine how this broad prairie land struck the Canadian from his sterile north—the flower-studded grass of the spring and the tall waving bannerets of the later season, with the luxury of the river bottoms and their timbered margins. Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin*, pp. 24-26.

Jesuit explorers, traders and trappers of this region and its streams may have been obtained by traversing the country themselves, or from the nomadic Indians, which would naturally lead to the conclusion that trading and missionary posts (not military, not permanent settlements) were established on the Wabash prior to the erection of a fort or the founding of a settlement.

Mr. Cauthorn places the first settlement of Vincennes, as a possibility, at a much earlier date than any of his contemporaries. He says that the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society—among whose members were William Henry Harrison, John Gibson, Waller Taylor, Nathaniel Ewing, John Badollette, Elihu Stout, Moses Tabbs, Isaac Blackford, Thomas Randolph, John Law, John Ewing, Benjamin Parke and George Rogers—was organized to investigate and establish authentic evidence concerning the early history of the place, and the first subject that occupied the attention of the society was fixing the date of the first settlement by the French. "Before 1820," says Mr. Cauthorn, "the date of the settlement of Vincennes by the French was fixed at 1680. Here the matter quietly rested until the advent of Bishop Brute in 1834. He found in the church library connected with St. Francis Xavier church registers and many manuscript documents which had been neglected, as no one had before him been inclined to burn the midnight oil in looking them over, page by page, the only way to obtain the valuable historic information they contained, as they were not indexed, but a confused mass. But Bishop Brute did this. He furnished the public, from time to time, through the columns of the *Western Sun* newspaper results of this investigation. He was a studious, careful and truthful man, and made no statement unless fully sustained by authority in making it, and which can be relied on as correct. He stated that he had found evidence in the church records here and in the records of the mission of St. Louis of Peoria, and the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary at Kaskaskia, Illinois, and the recorder's office there, that both the town of Vincennes (not then known by that name) and the church of St. Francis Xavier here were both in existence as early as 1708, and perhaps earlier. And in one of his last communications published in the *Western Sun*, he says he will continue the search, and if anything additional is found indicating an earlier date, he will communicate it to the public. But his investigations were unfortunately terminated by his death in 1839. In this connection I will remark that in 1835 Bishop Brute, to familiarize himself with the wants of his immense diocese, embracing all of Indiana and Illinois, made a pastoral visit in person, traveling on horseback, to all the missionary stations in

† Mr. F. A. Meyers, a former citizen of Vincennes, now residing at Evansville, in an excellent little book entitled, "Post Vincennes," says that he learned from a former pastor of St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral, through documentary evidence, that a missionary priest had been here in 1689 and administered the holy offices of the church to the savages.

that vast territory and carefully examined the church records they contained. He made a detailed report of this pastoral visit through his diocese in his own happy manner to the Leopoldine Association in France in return for assistance lent him to build up his diocese, a great part of which report is inserted in Father Allerdin's (now bishop of Fort Wayne, Indiana) History of the Diocese of Vincennes.

"The communications of Bishop Brute on the subject of the early settlements of Vincennes published in the *Western Sun*, revived interest in the question, and the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society again considered it. John Law, at the request of this society, delivered his celebrated address on February 22, 1839, when the question was under discussion by this society for the second time. Upon this reconsideration, that society, before 1840, settled upon 1683 as the date of the settlement of Vincennes by the French. This decision of that society was generally accepted by the citizens of Vincennes as conclusive of the question, and it became a common saying as I well remember, and as many old citizens of Vincennes now living also remember, that Vincennes was settled the year after Philadelphia. It is well known as a historical fact that Philadelphia was settled in 1682.

"Were these men qualified and competent to examine, adjudicate and determine this question? It is sure they were far better qualified than persons living at a distance who have written upon and expressed opinions as to the true date of the settlement of Vincennes. To illustrate, I will only refer to three members of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, and the peculiar opportunities they possessed of examining and passing a reliable judgment upon the question. These three members are Nathaniel Ewing, John Badollette and Elihu Stout. The two first came to Vincennes almost with the advent of the territorial government in 1800. The first as receiver of public monies, and the second as the register of the United States land office in this land district. The third came a little later, in the spring of 1804. They were all members of that society and took an active part in the discussion of the question. Messrs. Ewing and Badollette were the equals intellectually of any of the able men who came to Vincennes in territorial days. They all located here permanently and died and were buried here. They all possessed superior advantages for examining and determining this question above all others from the very nature of their several employments. Elihu Stout published the first paper in the northwest territory, at this place, commencing on July 4, 1804, and continuing its publication until the fall of 1845, and from the nature of his business came in contact with the people generally and ascertained their views upon all public questions. Messrs. Ewing and Badollette constituted the board of commissioners appointed by the federal government to examine and adjust land titles founded upon the grants of land to the early French settlers from the different commandants of the post while the country was under the jurisdiction of France, and which grants had

been secured to the several grantees by treaty stipulations and acts of congress. These commissioners held their sessions at Vincennes from 1804 to 1810, and examined and passed upon these old French land grants reaching back to the first settlement of Vincennes by the French. And as there was no record of documentary evidence of these old French grants, the commissioners were compelled to hear oral testimony to establish them. This necessarily brought them in close contact in their official capacity with the old French settlers who could give testimony concerning these French land grants extending back, in many cases, to the first settlement of Vincennes by the French.

"These were the men who took an active part in the discussion of the question as to the date of the settlement of Vincennes by the French, and who finally fixed the date of settlement at 1683. Messrs. Ewing and Badollette were perhaps better qualified to determine this question than any other persons from the very nature of their employment in tracing back matters to the very beginning. Is not more reliance and confidence due and should be given in determining this question to the opinions and conclusions of men who lived and died in Vincennes and were actually a part of its history, than upon the mere dicta and opinions of men who never lived here, nor visited the place, or who were here only for a few days, and with these crude and imperfect impressions thus obtained in hasty visits, went off and published books purporting to be facts? Count Volney, the celebrated traveler who was here in 1796 for a few days only, states in the history of his travels that the place was settled by the French in 1735. David Thomas, who was here at a much later date, and for a few days only, follows in his wake and gives the erroneous date given by Count Volney. Monnette, Flint and Scott, who have all given an opinion on the subject of the date of the settlement of Vincennes by the French, were never here so far as I know, and derived their information from second-hand sources, upon which they based their opinions and conclusions. John B. Dillon, who published a book purporting to be a history of Indiana, cannot be regarded as any authority on the subject against the combined opinions of such men as I have referred to.

"It is a matter of sincere regret that the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society was permitted to perish for want of appreciation and support. The valuable collection of important physical specimens contained in its museum, and its documents and records were suffered to be carried off and scattered, and are not now, for the greater part, in existence, or at least are not accessible to the public."

Not the least feature to invite an early settlement* were the great

* William Henry Smith, who is a careful historian, and whose productions of Northwest Territorial history—of which he has written several volumes—read like charming romances, in his History of Indiana, says: * * * "It is about as difficult to determine when the first actual settlement of the whites was made in Indiana as to determine the exact time and route of the early explorers. For Ft. Wayne it has

rolling prairies, traversed by rivers, dotted with lakes, hemmed by forests, where both game and fish abounded. The limitless and verdant plains, above which the tall grasses waved like the wind-swept bosom of an emerald sea, were criss-crossed with beaten paths over which the buffaloes passed to and fro in vast numbers. The industrious beaver, otter, mink and musk rat filled the streams and alluvial bottoms with their houses and feasted on fish of many varieties; while elk, deer, bear, to say nothing of panthers, wild cats, lynx, skunks and catamounts, sought the deep recesses of woodland or glen. It was to gather these fortunes in furs from field and forest and stream that Canadians came here so early, so often and in such large numbers. It was the unlimited wealth wrapped, as it were, in the skins of these wild animals that made the fur trade of Montreal, Quebec and Detroit the most gigantic and profitable enterprise of colonial days. It was the commodities obtained from the wild beasts of this locality that gave Vincennes as early as the eighteenth century commercial recognition in France, and placed the wilderness of the northwest in direct communication with the marts of the old world, bringing at

been claimed that it had an important trading post as early as 1672, and several dates have been fixed for the first occupation of Vincennes extending over more than half a century. According to one tradition, French traders visited the site of Vincennes as early as 1690, and many of them remained there, marrying among the Indians and raising families. Another tradition puts the first arrival of the traders or explorers in 1680. Still another is to the effect that a party of French Canadians, in 1702, descended the Wabash river, and established several posts, Vincennes being one of them. The historians of the Maumee Valley claim that the first post was established on the present site of Fort Wayne. A part of the confusion which exists as to Fort Wayne has been caused through the misapprehension as to certain visits of the French missionaries. The missionaries left records of their work among the Miami Indians, and as the main villages of the Miamis, when record history first begins, were around the headwaters of the Maumee, it has been taken for granted that the labors of the missionaries were at that point. However, the Miamis first lived around Green Bay, Wisconsin, and when the larger part of the tribe migrated to Indiana and Ohio, a remnant remained at Green Bay. It was among that remnant the missionaries labored. As has already been stated, the maps covering the explorations up to 1684 show no settlements anywhere in Indiana, from the importance attached by the French Government to all such settlements, the conclusion is irresistible that prior to that time none existed. On the Wabash near the present site of Vincennes was an important Indian village, known as Chip-kaw-kay, and it is highly probable that when the first French settlers arrived they heard stories of prior visits made by traders, and after a lapse of time, these traditions became transposed into facts relating to the first actual settlement. To hold their claim upon the Mississippi Valley, the French, in 1702, determined to establish some posts along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and M. Juchereau did erect a fort at the mouth of the Ohio. Some writers have attempted to claim that Vincennes was the site of this fort, but all the records oppose such a view. M. de Denonville adds to the confusion. In a memoir on the French possessions in North America, dated the 8th of March, 1688, he says the French at that time had 'divers establishments' on the Mississippi 'as well as on that of the Oyo, Ouabache, etc., which flows into the said river, Mississippi.' What he meant by the term 'divers establishments' is doubtful."

a very early date from European shores to the banks of the Wabash a heterogeneous mass of humanity. This traffic in furs and peltries assumed such enormous proportions that the ambitious governor of Canada and his official household were charged with being silent partners in some of the concerns that were sending shiploads of products across the ocean. The volume of money arising from the trade created trusts [even in those early days], and monopolies sprang up to squelch the weaker traders and trappers; church and state alike sharing in the revenue derived from sums paid for privileges, which were diverted into channels of charity and for the benefit of widows and orphans. In short, the northwest had gone mad on furs. The worldly motive for gain and gold had supplanted the religious fervor that impelled men and women to leave luxurious homes of culture and refinement to enter upon lives of deprivation and danger in the solitudes of an unknown land. The good and enterprising King Louis XIV, awe-stricken by the spectacle, determined that Canada should not be wholly abandoned to temporal affairs at the sacrifice of spiritual needs and governmental necessities, and suggested to his ministry that immediate steps be taken to infuse the blood of LaBelle France into the veins of Nouvelle France. And subsequently royal heads of the kingly realm dispatched a fresh allotment of soldiers, young women of a marriageable age, settlers, horses, sheep and cattle to stay the impending danger of a commercialism that threatened the stability of the civil and religious institutions of La Grande Monarque in the new world.

Another eminent authority, Mr. John B. Dillon, whose name is linked with the thoughtful and profound historians of the day, having at that time a large collection of vastly important documents, which have been greatly and regretfully scattered since his death in 1879, says, in his *History of Indiana*, edition 1859: "After Lamotte Cadillac founded a permanent settlement at Detroit, and about the close of the year 1702, the Sieur Juchereau, a Canadian officer, assisted by the missionary, Mermet, made an attempt to establish a post on the Ohio, near the mouth of that river; or, according to some authorities, on the river Wabash, at the site which is now occupied by the town of Vincennes." And again Mr. Dillon says: "The Miami villages which stood at the head of the river Maumee, the Wea villages which were situated about Quiatenon, on the Wabash river, and the Piankeshaw villages which stood on and about the site of Vincennes, were, it seems, regarded by the early French fur traders as suitable places for the establishing of trading posts. It is probable that, before the close of the year 1719, temporary trading posts were erected at the sites of Fort Wayne, Quiatenon and Vincennes. These points had, it is believed, been often visited by traders before the year 1700."

Mr. J. P. Dunn, Jr., whose historical works are highly prized and have been given conspicuous places in every public library of the state, is irreconcilable to the idea that Vincennes was founded in 1702. He admits, however, that it is the "earliest permanent town" in the state, and that

"although there were three posts in Indiana during the greater part of the French occupation in the eighteenth century, Vincennes was the only one that could be considered a town." While we are only contending that Vincennes was formally established in 1702, there is an abundance of evidence to show that there were settlements here many years prior to that date. In a very able article, published in May, 1889, in the Magazine of American History, Prof. E. A. Bryan, then president of the Vincennes University, a man of profound learning, devoid of prejudicial or selfish motives, contends that Vincennes was visited by white men during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. In his judgment the fame of its beaver grounds, even if it were not well established by historical data, would alone remove all further doubt of the question. The maps* of that period lay down the Wabash and White rivers very clearly and correctly; and references to the river St. Jerome (Ouabache†) occur in documents published prior to 1700. From a mass of somewhat misty evidence, various dates, ranging from 1680 to 1735, have been assigned as the time of the first settlement which, as a matter of course, obtained prior to the establishment of the first fort. The large and open river, the limited portage from the Maumee, which obviated the lengthy water route by the Straits of Mackinaw or the extensive portage across southern Michigan or northern Indiana, had early made the Ouabache (Wabash‡) a favorite highway of travel, not alone to the pioneers of this section of country, but to the French traders, trappers and Indians who rendezvoused on the lake shores of Canada and made annual pilgrimages to the hunting grounds in this immediate locality. The country around the Indian village of Chippe-coke (Vincennes), which was one of the most populous on the Wabash, contained numerous lakes and bayous, wherein the aquatic and fur-bearing animals, with the skill of masons drilled in the deft handling of a trowel, reared their homes. Inviting prairie lands, easy of cultivation and annually fertilized with the productive sediment of the river, lay around and about

* Franquelin's Maps, 1684.

† The Wabash is strictly the principal stream of Indiana, from the surface of which it draws the far greater part of its waters. The head branches of the Wabash are in the Indian country, of course very imperfectly explored. * * * The entire length of the Wabash exceeds three hundred miles; it is a fine stream, without falls or extraordinary rapids. It was through the channel of the Wabash that the French of Canada first discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of Belle Riviere, or beautiful river, but considered the Wabash the main branch and gave the united rivers its name. Darby's *Emigrant's Guide*, 1818, p. 214.

‡ The Wabash Valley was occupied about 1700, the first settlers entering it by the portage leading from the Kankakee. Later the voyageurs found a shorter route to the fertile valley, ascending the Maumee, then called "The Miami of the Lake," whose heads are interlaced with those of the Wabash, and crossing the short portage leading to that stream, they could descend to the Ohio. As the Frenchmen found their way to the confluence of the two streams by the Wabash, and as they knew little of the Ohio, then called "the river of the Iroquois," they took the Wabash for the main stream. * * * Hiesdale, *The Old Northwest*, p. 44.

the town. Just below, with its gravelly bottom, was the river ford, a favorite resort for youthful bathers a third of a century ago. This particular place in the Wabash and the falls in the Ohio river at Louisville, Ky., were on a parallel line with and extended along the old Indian and buffalo trail, by which the swarthy sons of the forest and herds of bison, by hundreds and thousands, passed back and forth from the fertile prairies of Illinois to the blue grass pastures of Kentucky. The route across the country to the lower Illinois and Mississippi* settlements was one that impressed the traveler very favorably. It was not only inviting, but at once easily attainable, and provided comforts not usually to be found in journeys undertaken in those early days. The sheltering places to be found en route, the abundance of water and the plenitude of game, besides its directness, made it at once desirable and preferable to all other avenues of travel if, in reality, there were any others to be had at that time. "In view of all these facts," says Mr. Bryan, "it would be incredible that under these circumstances it should not have early become a favorite stopping place."

* The directors of the Canadian Company, as we have heretofore stated herein, said November 10, 1701, that "the River Ouabache will serve as a boundary between this colony and that which is established on the Mississippi, for it is by it that one goes to Carolina and that the English come also to our lands." It is very plain that the Ouabache was well known and a great line of travel between Canada and the South as early as 1701, at least. F. A. Meyers, *Post Vincennes*, p. 16.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VINCENNES.

A TRIBUTE TO THE MISSIONARIES AND THEIR LABORS—NATIONAL ACTS OF EUROPEAN NATIONS MAKE LOCAL HISTORY—IMPORTANT RESULTS GROWING OUT OF CLARK'S CONQUEST—HOW FOREIGN POWERS ACQUIRED TERRITORY IN NORTH AMERICA—VINCENNES AN HISTORIC SPOT—THE MAD RUSH FOR LAND AND ITS BALEFUL EFFECTS ON BURR AND CLARK—CROSS AND SWORD IMPLANTED IN NEW SOIL—"KEY TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY" DEDICATED TO RELIGION AND CIVILIZATION—FIRST CHURCH WEST OF THE ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS.

The lives and achievements of the early explorers of the northwest territory should excite our interest and invoke our sympathies. The missionary and the *voyageur* paved the way for the pioneers to fell the forests, clear the prairies, reclaim swamps, lay out farms, build cities, construct railroads—in short, to transform the bleak and howling wildernesses into landscapes of bewildering beauty, glorified with a lofty civilization unparalleled anywhere beneath the great blue dome of heaven. The one gave himself to the service of the church and the salvation of souls; the other, with an energy and hardihood almost as pronounced, to scientific research and the development of the fur trade, thus connecting by commercial ties the kings and castles of the old world with the hunting grounds and Indian wigwams of the new. The fur trade, however, which carried its votaries into the recesses of wilderness wilds, over pathless snows, through fastnesses of interminable forests, up the winding courses of treacherous streams, over the bosom of mighty rivers and lakes, almost as boundless as seas, was outstripped by religion, whose onward march the greed for gold could not stay. The bearers of the cross held the emblem aloft in the jungles of wild beasts and in the haunts of savages, where men followed, impelled by a force they could not resist, inspired by a daring enterprise and lofty ambition the world had never seen before nor has not since. As the ranks of these holy pilgrims were thinned by the cruel tomahawk, torturing death at the stake, or from disease, the voids were filled by others who pressed onward, undismayed by the fate of those whose places they had taken, coveting to bear the burden of the cross and



TECUMSEH AND THE PROPHET



CROSS AND SWORD AT VINCENNES 1702



to wear a crown of thorns even unto the end of their earthly pilgrimages. The examples of Marquette and LaSalle, of Fathers Marest, La Veigne, Senat, Mermet, Meurin and Gibault, with which we are familiar, and a host of other zealous missionaries who established their "tabernacles in the wilderness," impress us visibly, regardless of our religious opinions or belief, when we contemplate the great hardships they endured, the perils they suffered, the sacrifices they made in the pursuit of spiritual as well as temporal objects. *"Whatever else Jesuitism may have done, it has given to history one of the noblest of those armies of heroes and martyrs with the record of whose deeds and sufferings its pages are glorified. Nowhere does the love of souls, the contempt of danger and death, patient endurance of hunger, cold, nakedness and bonds, serene self-possession under stripes, and the joyful welcome of martyrdom stand out in more illustrious contrast to the ordinary selfish and sordid phases of our nature than in the early mission story of one region of this continent."

The mind of the Jesuit Father, however, was not entirely absorbed in religious thought at all times. While the conversion of a single Indian to the doctrines of the Catholic faith, or the baptism of an infant were considered a joy and a full recompense for the labor, toil and suffering entailed, the frontier priest found time to devote his talents and finely-trained intellect to temporal affairs. And this is the reason, strange as it may seem, that the best and only authentic accounts of the country bounded on the north by the lakes, on the east by the Miami, south by the Ohio, and west by the Mississippi, to be had two centuries ago, were gathered from detailed reports of the missionaries relative to their labors in this field, transmitted annually to their superior.

If it were possible to reproduce these reports, they would no doubt decide for all time the mooted question of the first settlement of Vincennes—a subject discussed at length from different viewpoints in paragraphs presented in preceding chapters, and which we cannot dismiss without further discussion. The evidence along this line already adduced, as well as that which is to follow, points unmistakably to the fact that the founding of Vincennes, the establishment of a military post, as well as a mission,† were contemporaneous with the founding of other such posts

* Milburn, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 72, 73.

† But few of the old records of the early French missions are available. During the French domination of Louisiana, many of the inhabitants of the Northwestern Territory who had emigrated from New Orleans, becoming alarmed after a great flood of the western waters returned thither, and, at the suggestion of the clergy, carried the greater portion of the mission and church records with them, for greater safety. There they were deposited in a vault of the principal church of that place, where they remained for many years untouched. When afterward they were brought to light and examined, it was discovered that they were entirely decomposed by the humidity of the atmosphere.

along the northern lakes and the Mississippi at the beginning of the eighteenth century; and further, that 1702 was the date when these events transpired.

The consequences of discovery and conquest on the North American continent made by European countries from the beginning of the sixteenth to the close of the seventeenth century, that bear relationship to the northwest territory, have more than a foreign connection with Vincennes and its first settlement. Some national act committed by either Spain, France or Great Britain has had, directly or indirectly, an influence on the old post—proud and haughty Vincennes—the gem city of the Wabash valley, whose past is enveloped in a halo of historic glory, whose present is made resplendent by the glorious sun of prosperity that shines, undimmed by a single cloud of distrust, upon the devoted and happy heads of a prosperous and enlightened people, and whose future greatness is assured by the grand possibilities to which a progressive spirit and an advanced education point the way. The seat of an empire, within the confines of which a war was waged as far-reaching in its effects as the conquests of the Persians in western Asia and Egypt, as productive of effects as the long hostility between Persia and Greece, finally ending in the expeditions of Xenophon and Alexander. These campaigns in the far east directly enlarged geographical knowledge; they increased the inter-communication of stranger peoples by facilitating locomotion; they stimulated industry and extended commerce; by increasing commodities they added to the enjoyments of mankind, although such enjoyments may not be of the highest order; and finally, by establishing Alexandria they gave rise to an emporium where the remotest east and west could meet. The conquests of the northwest territory, however, in which America and England were involved, were more holy and righteous, and provided a characterization of heroic generalship on the part of one American commander that has never been excelled in the military annals of the old world, either in ancient or modern warfare. Armies of the old world have devastated countries and slaughtered myriads, but they have left states and their rulers pretty much as they found them. Lust of conquest and love of glory have impelled European nations to engage in war, but Americans have never yet arrayed themselves in battle except for the establishment of human rights and for the preservation of human liberties. The physical and moral advantages gained by George Rogers Clark in capturing Vincennes from the British, in the conquest of the northwest territory, have been so great that a proper estimate has never been given them by their beneficiaries, else an ungrateful republic and unappreciative commonwealth would have never allowed their author to have gone to his grave “unwept, unhonored and unsung.” But this inexcusable negligence and lack of appreciation on the part of the nation and the states in which he held citizenship do not detract from the glory of Clark’s achievement or lessen its beneficent results. Generations yet unborn, and those who are to follow them, long after we have

gone and been forgotten, will sing his praises and pay tribute to the memory of one of the bravest soldiers and one of the most strategic warriors that ever lived. For the expeditions of Clark and his followers in the north and west of America were no less productive of results than those of Xenophon and Alexander in the east and west of Asia and Egypt. They, too, enlarged geographical knowledge by extending the jurisdiction of the colonies from the Alleghenies to the Mississippi river, carrying with it American liberty, American progress and American ideas. By the acquisition of territory greater in extent than some of the provinces of Asia or Egypt, they converted wilderness fastnesses into communities of civilization and progress, and created new fields for the cultivation of commercial and social relations. While the expeditions of the latter led to the establishment of Alexandria on the Egyptian border, giving rise to an emporium where east and west could meet, the expeditions of the former re-established Vincennes far beyond the line of the North American frontier, made it the capital of the northwestern territory, where north, south, east and west could meet untrammelled by British rule and unawed by the presence of Briton's red-skinned allies. Aye! more than this—Clark's expedition, culminating in the capture of Vincennes from Hamilton, made possible the Louisiana Purchase, which in turn was followed by the annexation of Texas, the securing of California and the Pacific coast, and the later acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines. It installed American freedom and unfurled the glorious banner of American liberty over a dominion extending from the Allegheny mountains to the Pacific ocean, and even unto the Orient, reclaiming a territory which would be otherwise under British or Spanish control.

To briefly recount a few of the many achievements and exploitations of three European nations on American soil is but to present an index to a summary of events pertaining to Vincennes as a field of international warfare and as a seat of international government, as well as furnish, incidentally, information relating to it as the scene of not a few international controversies during colonial days, if not to dispel the doubt of its first settlement, a point upon which all historians are further apart today than ever before.

Great Britain was the first European nation to send, by royal authority, adventurers to this country after the advent of Columbus. As early as 1496, only four years after the discovery of America, John Cabot, by birth a Venetian, but a subject of the king of England, having obtained a commission from Henry VII to discover unknown lands and annex them to the British crown, sallied forth accompanied by his three sons, falling in with the coast of Labrador, along which he proceeded as far as 67° north latitude. The year following he undertook a second voyage, and on the 24th of June, 1497, discovered the island of Newfoundland and before his return traversed the coast from Davis' straits to Cape Florida. In

1502 Sebastian Cabot again fell in with Newfoundland and on his return carried three of the natives of that island to England and presented them to his patron, Henry VII. England's claim to territory in America grew out of discoveries made by the Cabots, and the subsequent explorations and conquests of Sir Walter Raleigh, William Brown, Sir Francis Drake and others. But, thanks to American valor and bravery, to the strong arms and stronger hearts of our fathers and their ability to foresee future possibilities, the domains we have wrested from the claws of the British lion, are the choicest of all the parcels over which dissensions have arisen in the centuries that have gone by. And when one contemplates the glory of the deeds that comprise the victorious crown on Columbia's brow, Vincennes' contribution will shine forth as the brightest jewel in the coronet.

Acting upon authority from the Spanish government, John Ponce (Ponce de Leon) in the early spring of 1512 sailed from St. Germain in Porto Rico and discovered the continent of America in 30° north latitude, where the town of Pensacola now stands. Here he landed, and finding the country overspread with a delightful verdure and the trees and herbs in full bloom, he named it Florida, which for long after was the common name of both North and South America. Having taken possession of the "Land of Flowers" in the name of the king of Spain, he subsequently returned to Porto Rico, whence he reembarked, in 1521, to assume control of the province he had discovered nine years before. In Florida he was met by the natives with determined hostility, and in an attack made by them, the Spaniards were driven to their ships, and Ponce de Leon himself was mortally wounded and died after his arrival in Cuba. Ferdinand De Soto was the second explorer and soldier to go from Spain to America for conquest and adventure. Having led a reinforcement of 300 soldiers and materially aided Pizzaro in the capture of Peru, he set sail for Florida, landing at Esperitu Santo bay in May, 1539. He and his band of adventurers continued for four years to wander from one point to another, ever deceived in their expectations and ever allured by the report of the wealth that lay beyond. The Mississippi river, of which De Soto is the accredited discoverer, was reached in 1541, and the following winter was spent at Washita. As they were returning in 1542, along the Mississippi, De Soto died and his body was sunk in its waters. Upon the discoveries which the dead explorer and other members of his expedition had made, Spain laid claim to the western and southern part of the continent, just as she did to possessions in South America after the conquest of Peru.

It was not until the year 1524 that France attempted to make discoveries in America. For this purpose John Verrazano, a native of Italy, was sent out by Francis I, and having traversed the coast from latitude 28° to 50° north, returned to Europe; and in a second voyage some time after, he was lost at sea. In 1534 a fleet was sent from France under Jules Car-

tier for the purpose of making further discoveries in America. He arrived at Newfoundland in May, and on the tenth of August found himself in a broad gulf, which, with the river that falls into it, he named St. Lawrence, in honor of the day. In this voyage he coasted as far north as latitude 57°, expecting in vain to find a passage to China. The next year he sailed 200 leagues up the river St. Lawrence and named the country "New France,"* where he built a fort in which he found an abiding place during the winter, and in the ensuing spring returned to France. Upon these explorations and the subsequent ones of Roberval, Champlain and others, France regarded herself justly entitled by right of discovery to portions at least of this vast and resourceful Eldorado.

In 1753 a conflict arose between Louisiana and the Atlantic colonies which resulted in France being dispossessed of the immense territory acquired through conquest and discovery of her explorers and missionaries, and in September, 1760, Montreal, Detroit and all of Canada became the possessions of his majesty, the king of England. In February, 1763, the treaty of Paris was concluded, by which Great Britain became possessed of all New France, and all that portion of the province of Louisiana lying on the east side of the Mississippi, except the island and town of New Orleans, which remained under French dominion. The treaty of Paris, though signed on November 3, 1762, was not concluded until three months later, and during the interim (between November 3, 1762, and February 10, 1763) France, in a secret treaty, ceded to Spain all her possessions on the west side of the Mississippi, including the whole territory to the headwaters of the Great river and west to the Rocky mountains. Thus did the great province of Louisiana become the domain of Great Britain and Spain, the reigning power established by Louis XIV terminate, and the domination of proud France over all sections of American territory, which had been exercised for a period covering more than two hundred years, was abruptly and ingloriously ended.

The attitude of this trio of European kingdoms towards one another in relation to their American possessions, and the civil and military acts of their respective governments on this continent have resulted in making local history, here in this city, subordinate to national history only to the extent that the chapters which comprise a book are subordinate to the volume of which they are an integral part. They have made Vincennes the most historic town in the country. Sanctified by age, she has been the scene of more stirring incidents of bloodshed, intrigues, love and hate,

* The English colonies in America began with villages and outlying farms; the French colonies with missionary stations, fortified posts or trading houses, or with the three combined. The triple alliance of priest, soldier, and trader continued through the period of colonization. Often, but not always, settlements grew up around these missions or posts, and these settlements constituted the colonies of New France. Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*, p. 38.

strategic warfare, military skill and bravery, than any other spot on the continent. When aborigines held sway, and the blood of Saxon and Celt intermingled with her native born, when a Latin civilization had barely made its impress beyond the borders of the original thirteen colonies, above the ramparts of her primitive fortress had floated in turn the Fleur de Lys, the Cross of St. George and America's banner. Within her garrison had been mobilized the musquetaires of Louis XIV, the gendarmes of George III, the riflemen of Clark, and the regular troops of Harmer, St. Clair and Harrison. From her blazing altars the light went forth into the darkness of the wilderness, with the chanted prayers of black-robed priests, to arouse the mind and awaken the heart of the child of the forest to his duty to the maker. The position of the old post, topographically and otherwise, from the day of its establishment, and even prior thereto, has been one of importance. The real history of the place, until late years but little known even to many dwelling within its precincts, is of greater national import than was ever dreamed by a casual observer of events. Looking backward more than two hundred years, we behold the old town, nestling in the shades of giant forests, far removed from the line of the frontier, a formidable post in the trackless wilderness, forming one link of a grand chain by which France strenuously attempted to hold her possessions in this country. One hundred years later, during which period it had repeatedly repelled the hostile attacks of savage and semi-savage foes, it is seen yielding to British dominion and subject to British power. The war of the revolution, by which all the parental ties that bound us steadfastly to the heaving bosom of our mother country were severed, wrested it also from its conquerors and snatched the northwest territory, in its beauty and grandeur as a priceless gem from the British crown.

The acquisition of the territory by the three great powers above named before the close of the seventeenth century, and, particularly, subsequent to that period, brought about what might be termed an epidemic of conquest and colonization among the people on this side of the ocean so virulent in form as to attack victims of high and low degree, spreading its baleful influence even unto the other side of the great waters. The symptoms of the disease manifested themselves in a maddened race for land, in which England (though more neutral than her rivals), France and Spain were involved; creating also a pursuit for possession bordering on the insane among individuals of greedy or adventurous calibre. It sowed the seeds of dissension and selfishness broadcast throughout the land. Men, having an inordinate desire for wealth and social power, and greed for gain and gold, were lured, through the tempting avenues disloyal citizens had constructed, to forsake the paths of principle and forget their patriotism, else the pages of American history would have never depicted Aaron Burr, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as a traitor, no grand jury indictments would have been lodged against him for treason, and William Henry

Harrison of Vincennes, Indiana, would have never had the opportunity to give him the first decisive check he had encountered in his gigantic scheme to dismember the Union. Neither would have George Rogers Clark, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, feigned an intrigue with Genet, minister from France to the United States, going so far in his pretensions of sincerity to issue a proclamation signed by himself as Major-General of the Armies of France, Commander-in-Chief of the French Revolutionary Legions on the Mississippi; nor would have Daniel Boone accepted a commission as a Spanish officer; and consequently no breath of suspicion of a treasonable nature would have blurred the bright records of two of the most fearless of frontier fighters, the bravest of soldiers, and the most loyal of American citizens. Clark's position, however, with reference to his proposed conquest of Louisiana, was not in itself treasonable. His pretended loyalty for France could not be construed as disloyalty to America, when he felt, in putting on the epaulets of a French officer, he had to deal solely with Spain. Notwithstanding his intrigues with Genet and his willingness to undertake an expedition for the conquest of St. Louis and upper Louisiana, he was not really so much in sympathy with the project as he was with the opportunities it might afford for venting his spleen and for paving the way for personal advancement and aggrandizement. In the first place, he was espousing a cause of Kentucky at the time that was a personal matter on the part of his constituents and himself with Spain, because of the latter's attempt to block the Mississippi in order to divert products of Kentucky soil from the markets of New Orleans. Secondly, he perceived an occasion to appease a warlike spirit, which was ever dominant in his mental and physical makeup. This feeling, combined with an uncontrollable desire for adventure and for unselfish gain and glory, actuated him and his followers and the followers of Boone—the backwoodsmen of Kentucky and Missouri—to jointly conspire for a conflict of arms in Spanish possessions on the American continent. Although both of these sturdy frontiersmen and pioneer warriors had fought Indians shoulder to shoulder, in this contemplated enterprise they had arrayed themselves to all outward appearances one against the other.

The Indiana legislature certainly did not attribute disloyal motives to the attitude of Clark in this connection, when both branches of that honorable body, in 1903, passed a bill making provision for placing a statue of the man commemorative of his patriotism and heroism in the Hall of Fame of the national capitol, a fitting testimonial by a great state—not to a favorite son, but to a distinguished soldier and patriot whose country, native and adopted states had flagrantly neglected to take cognizance of the valiant services he had rendered his common country or the manifold blessings that accrued to the nation therefrom. Governor Durbin, with more or less ceremony, vetoed the measure, performing an official act which

failed to provoke a single plaudit from the ranks of his admiring constituents.

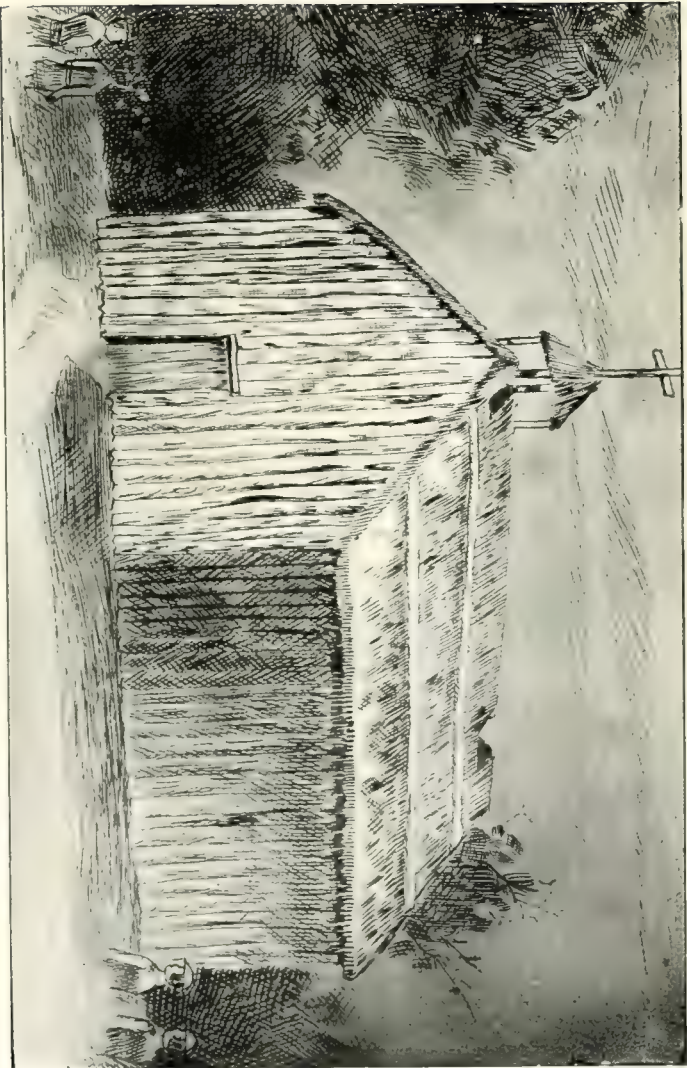
Clark and Vincennes are inseparable—they are synonymous. Hence the hero of the place of which we write bids us proceed with the story.

According to tradition, it was in September, 1702,* when autumn was just beginning to tinge the leafy verdure with gold, that M. Juchereau de St. Dennis and his four companions looked upon Vincennes for the first time. This quintette of Canadians—headed by Juchereau, soldier, citizen, trader, trapper, consisted also of Pierre Leondary, a French commissioned officer; Messrs. Godare and Troitre, *courcurs de bois*, and Father Le Veigne (predecessor of Father Mermet)—came by water and portage at the behest of religio-commercial people of Quebec, bearing credentials of their worth. The mission on which they were bent was fraught with an object of three-fold significance. Juchereau [regarded by some of his biographers as a Huron† half-breed, and as a Frenchman‡ of Irish descent] was a French gentleman (a type of the *gentilhomme*) with a *penchant* for adventure and speculation, and came here ostensibly to establish a trading post on the banks of the St. Jerome (Wabash) river, with full permission from the governor of Canada to engage in the lucrative and fascinating traffic of peltries, a trade out of which the *noblesse* of Canada and continental Europe were reaping harvests of fabulous wealth. Lieutenant Leondary had been ordered, in conjunction with Juchereau, by the French government, to build a fort, and Father Le Veigne came from Montreal at the instigation of a Jesuit, to whom he was only an assistant, with instructions to erect a chapel and carry the light of the gospel farther into the darkened recesses of wilderness wastes. This trio of *voyageurs*, nurturing impulses born with them upon the far-away shores of another continent, swayed by conditions arising in the land of their adoption, along the borders of the St. Lawrence, were easily persuaded to become the light-bearers in a country flooded with darkness, accepting as their guide and sceptre the cross and the sword. Representing, as they did, a separation of duties, they were nevertheless firmly held by a union of interests, for the furtherance of which they incessantly labored. Encouraged by the reception accorded them by the natives when their *piroques*—convoyed by a flotilla of birch canoes manned by Indians—landed at the foot of Broadway [now] street, in the shadow cast by the Piankashaw council house upon the placid bosom of the Wabash, their labor of love at once became a joyful task. They immediately began the erection of a primitive church and the construction of a rude fortification further down the river at the foot of Barnet street, the French Canadians and Piankeshaw Indians, between whom friendly relations existed, voluntarily aiding in the work as it progressed. In selecting the

* La Harpe's *Journal*, Feb. 8, 1703.

† O. F. Baker, *History Knox County*, 1886.

‡ Bishop Brute quoted by Bishop de la Hilandeire.



FIRST CHURCH WEST OF THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS

sites for these buildings, the *voyageurs* simply carried out the idea characteristic of the French, displaying a judgment most admirable in the location as to proximity of the structures, one with the other, and the commanding view of the river, up and down, both afforded.

In the formulation of this plan could be seen the wisdom of the priest, of the soldier and trader combined. These triple alliances were coextensive with the northwest territory, and were worked for an immediate end, but the sites they chose [especially the one now under consideration] are as important today as when they were chosen. Nature, the far-seeing goddess, undoubtedly decided all these questions long, long before the white race set foot upon the virgin soil of the new world.

On the first Sunday following the day of the *voyageurs'* arrival, Father Le Veigne celebrated high mass out in the open on the plot of ground surrounding St. Francis Xavier's cathedral, hard-by the partially built church. Villagers, hunters, trappers, *courcurs de bois*, and hundreds of Indians composed the congregation, and were more mystified and awed than they were spiritually impressed with the ceremonies. Within a comparatively short time both the church and the fort were completed, the cross and the sword implanted in new soil, the post formally established, and the "key to the northwest territory" consecrated to Christianity and dedicated to civilization.

The "fort," which was intended more as a protection for furs and peltries, and the men engaged in handling them, was nothing more than a small palisade, which Fort Sackville eventually supplanted and subsequently took on larger proportions. For more than a third of a century, however, it had an awe-inspiring effect on the savages, its presence preventing Indian uprisings that seemed ever and anon imminent. It was builded of heavy timbers, planted in the earth, sharpened on top and leaning outward, enclosing a log magazine buried in the sand; a storehouse constructed *pat-teaux en terra* (posts in the ground) with the interstices filled with mortar toughened by long prairie grass, and a few rude sheds, or huts of bark. Around this antiquated fortification the inhabitants builded their modest domiciles, and at its portals two-thirds of a century later contending armies of powerful nations adjusted international controversies, altered the boundaries of nations, states and territories, and transposed their laws.

The modest church, within whose walls, soon after its completion, Father Mermet offered up the holy sacrifice of the mass as the regular celebrant, was named St. Francis Xavier's by this pious and zealous priest. In this crude house of worship, on the site of which the present magnificent cathedral—with its paintings in oil and its marble statuary, its altars with tabernacles of gold and silver, candelabra of brass and bronze, vestments and robes of brocaded velvet and satin—rears its lofty spire towards the sky, no light fell upon the earthen floor except through apertures in the slabbed roof, cut for windows and ventilators, and no decorations re-

lieved the nude walls except a faded print of the patron saint to whom good Father Mermet had dedicated his church. There were no fires in the stoves, because there were no stoves to be had, warmth being obtained from burning logs in the central aisle, the smoke finding its way out of the building through holes cut in the roof. Here the successor of Father Le Veigne, clothed in the sombre habiliments of a Jesuit, told penitents the story of the Christ and administered to supplicants the consoling sacraments in the first church erected west of the Allegheny mountains.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL LIFE OF FIRST SETTLERS.

HOMES OF THE PEOPLE—FUNCTIONS OF SOCIETY'S VOTARIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRAVEL—POLICIES OF FRENCH INSURE UNITY AMONG THEMSELVES AND SECURE GOOD WILL OF INDIANS—LAND ALLOTMENTS FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES—NATIVES NOT ANNOYED BY LAWYERS OR COURTS—HOW MANY OF THE INHABITANTS VIEWED EDUCATION AND RELIGION—FATHER MAREST AND FATHER MERMET TEACH AND PREACH—FATHER MERMET AND THE MASCOUTINS—FATHER RIVET AND THE FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL WEST OF THE ALLEGHENIES—RACIAL SUICIDE NOT IN VOGUE IN EARLY TIMES—ADVENTURES OF VOYAGEURS CELEBRATED WITH BALLS—THE EARL OF SELKIRK ENTERTAINED BY VINCENNES' FOUR HUNDRED.

At the first dawn of the eighteenth century Vincennes awakened from infantile slumber to look out upon a land of grandeur, beauty and picturesque loveliness. Few were the civilized habitations in the great northwest territory to accord her kindly greeting, Detroit, which still had on her swaddling clothes when Vincennes was born, being the only one of any consequence. At both these places the manners and habits of the people, and their adventures, were very similar. Detroit, however, being situated at a more exposed point, and surrounded by warlike Indian tribes, who were engaged in hostilities with each other, experienced more of the vicissitudes of war, of which Vincennes always had an ample sufficiency. Sparse, indeed, were the settlements in the vast country lying between these two points. Stockade forts, garrisoned by a handful of men, guarded and protected the portages by which it was possible—often at great risk—to penetrate this covetous country from the northern lakes. Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country, with its outlying hamlets, inhabited mostly by Indians, had its birth about the same time as Vincennes, and was governed by the same laws, and had, practically, the same class of people. To these *nuclei* of civilization, furnished by the three towns, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Mississippi, or some affluent of them, afforded a highway. The famous "Wilderness Road," a route with which the first settlers of Tennessee and Kentucky subse-

quently became familiar, was also utilized frequently as an avenue of travel by emigrants. Leading down from the mountains, it crossed the Ohio at Louisville, Ky., passed through Vincennes and led directly to Kaskaskia. The architectural design of the homes of the inhabitants of these villages was unique, if it was not artistic. Long, zig-zagged lines of log cabins, with broad verandas, stood along the narrow streets, the interstices filled with mud, or yellow clay, mixed with straw or prairie grass, the chimneys, built of mud and sticks, standing on the outside. The interior decorations of these humble, but happy, homes evidenced that neither the energies nor the tastes of the housekeepers had been overtaxed. A crucifix, the hide of a black bear nailed to the logs, or a pair of antlers of deer, elk, or the horns of a buffalo, were the characteristic furnishings of the average cabin, in which the few articles of furniture used bore the unmistakable trade-mark of having been home-made—puncheon chairs and puncheon tables, and pallets on the puncheon floors. The pristine glory and beauty of the forests were little disturbed by these denizens, who preferred the dark shades of woodland and dell, and the pursuit of the wild beasts that inhabited them, or the bosom of the sky-colored river, to the open fields, whose bright verdure and fertility would seem to invite the occupation of agriculture. The industry of tilling the soil, however, was carried on to a limited extent, but never to a degree that would detract from the charm of the chase. Trapping, hunting and fishing were always paramount to hewing, chopping or delving.

After the establishment of the fort and church, the average citizen of Vincennes, as well as those who dwelt remote from these institutions, felt more secure in the exercise of his social privileges, and religious prerogatives. And, consequently, an additional glamor was given to a life that in a high degree had been characterized by a constant whirl of social gaieties in a perpetual atmosphere of congeniality. Christenings and weddings, the planting, the harvest, the husking, saints' days—every occasion that was the least bit out of the ordinary was made a gala day and every occurrence of note called for a carnival or festival. The Creole fiddler was a much sought man, and the inspiring, though cacophonous, music his priceless instrument gave forth nearly every night in the week never ceased to commingle with the joyous and boisterous notes of the merry revelers until the gray dawn of morn gently peeked through the cabin windows or boldly sought admission at the door.

For more than a century the settlers at Vincennes lived in a world of their own, and, after the sceptre of His Britanic majesty was wielded over the regions of the northwest, for a long time, without molestation or hindrance, the English allowed the French to hold sway in whatever region the adventuresome nature and keen discernment of the latter led them, by permitting them to establish themselves and exert their influence along the banks of the Allegheny to the Ohio. They had already possessed themselves of the three other great avenues from the St. Lawrence to the

Mississippi; for the safe possession of the route by way of the Fox and Wisconsin, they had no opponents but in the Sacs and Foxes; that by way of Chicago had been safely pursued since the days of Marquette; and a report on Indian affairs, written by Logan in 1718, proves that they very early made use of the Miami of the Lakes, where, after crossing the carrying place of about three leagues, they passed the summit level, and floated down a shallow branch into the Wabash and Ohio. It was upon this line of communication the French established their forts—the *nuclei* around which human habitations clustered—and, hence, the major portion of population of these settlements, at Vincennes, at Detroit, and at Kaskaskia, traced their lineage to the first *voyageurs* from Canada. This route may have been adopted at a very early period after LaSalle's return from Illinois. All routes, however, leading to Vincennes, were more or less circuitous, especially overland, and progress necessarily slow. In journeying from one point to another between the Wabash and Illinois countries, considerable time was consumed, necessitating two, three, four, or five days in the wilderness. At all seasons of the year travelers were compelled to swim quite a number of water courses in their journey, which were too deep to be forded; the country being wholly destitute of bridges and ferries, travelers had, therefore, to rely on their horses as the only substitute for those conveniences. That fact made it common, when purchasing a horse, to ask it he were a good swimmer, which was considered the most valuable qualities of a saddle horse, the best of which sold at from \$50 to \$60.

"In all the settlements of the French on the Illinois and Wabash rivers" says Monnette, in his History of the Mississippi Valley, "as well as in Louisiana, they adopted a policy at once singular and benevolent; a policy well adapted to insure unity and harmony among themselves and to secure the good will and friendship of the numerous tribes in the northwest by which they were surrounded. They seemed, indeed, constituted to harmonize in all their habits and feelings with the Indians among whom they took up their abode. They had left behind them, among the colonists near the Atlantic border, avarice, that ruling passion of the European emigrants in the new world, which has too often sought its gratification in plundering the natives of their little patrimony and the comforts of savage life. Hence, while other colonies were continually embroiled with the natives in exterminating wars, the French who sought peace and friendship, lived in harmony and mutual confidence with the surrounding tribes. In all their migrations and explorations to the remotest rivers and hunting grounds, they associated with the Indians 'like a band of brothers,' as equally the children of the same great Father of all. Free from that selfish feeling which prompts men to associate in separate communities, with distinct and discordant interests, each endeavoring to monopolize all the advantages of time and circumstances, they lived among themselves as one common brotherhood and yet shared with the Indians

their sufferings, and their hospitalities. Providence smiled upon the happy union of the white man of Europe with the red man of the American wilderness. The early French were remarkable for their talent of ingratiating themselves with the warlike tribes around them, and for their easy amalgamation in manners and customs, and blood. Unlike most other European emigrants, who commonly preferred to settle in sparse settlements, remote from each other, the French manifested in a high degree, at the same time, habits both social and vagrant. They settled in compact villages, although isolated, in the midst of a wilderness a thousand miles remote from the dense settlements of Canada. On the margin of a prairie, or on the bank of some gentle stream, their villages sprung up in long, narrow streets, with each family homestead so contiguous that the merry and sociable villagers could carry on their voluble conversation, each from his own door or balcony. The young men and *voyageurs*, proud of their influence among the remote tribes of Indians, delighted in the long and merry voyages, and sought adventures in the distant travels of the fur trade. After months of absence upon the sources of the longest rivers and tributaries among their savage friends, they returned to their village with stores of furs and peltries, prepared to narrate their hardy adventures and the thrilling incidents of their perilous voyage. Their return was greeted with smiling faces, and signalized by balls and dances, at which the whole village assembled, to see the great travelers, and hear the fertile rehearsal of wonderful adventures and strange sights in remote countries.

The participants in these festive occasions—the men and women comprising at this period the population of the Old Post, manifoldly blessed as they were with healthy offspring—had followed the Indian trails, overland, or had pursued the same route, by water, over which the red man, many years previous, paddled his frail canoe. Distinctive among them were Spanish, English and French merchants, chaperoned by *coureur de bois*, who came to seek, Mohammedan-like, a traffic which had refused to come to them, and, whether from choice or policy, adapted themselves very agreeably to the existing conditions of society.* A community of happy and simple people, indeed, was Old Vincennes from 1702 to the very end of Indiana's territorial existence. The laws which governed, the religious, social, commercial and industrial life it presented, the mannerisms of its inhabitants, the characters and occupations of its people, were so at variance with present day conditions, so hostile and diametrically in opposition to the established codes of the descendants of French and English settlers, so repulsive to latter day ethics, as to be almost beyond the comprehension of the present generation.

While there was little or no adjudication carried on in those days between the peaceful and contented people, the ancient Roman law, which had undergone modification in the different countries of Europe, was the

* Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*.

code that obtained there, as well as throughout the length and breadth of the country, only that every principle upon which it was founded seemed susceptible of greater elasticity to the average jurist who held sway in these parts, often to the detriment of litigants on both sides of the case. However, by common consent, or otherwise; probably more for self-protection than for expediency; there were substituted laws providing for allodial titles to lands, which received the sanction of both the French and English governments. While individual grants were made, land was assigned to communities as a whole for farming and raising stock. Each family was permitted to stake off for itself the portion desired for live stock and agricultural purposes, and never found it necessary to guard against intruders or interlopers. By an edict issued by "the powers that be"—the official dignitaries of the village, whose ermine was worn by the common consent of the governed—the sowing and planting of seeds, the cultivation and harvesting of the crops had to be performed on certain prescribed days. A rail fence separated the stock pastures from the fields, to prevent the cattle from feeding on the grain, and, judging from the quantity of land claimed by the settlers, whose titles were subsequently disputed by designing military officers as well as civilians, agriculture, in which the Piankeshaw Indians also engaged, must have been carried on to a far greater extent than some earlier writers imagined. By the unanimous consent of the "field commissioners"—the same official household which promulgated regulations for seed time and harvest—who were supposed at all times to voice the universal sentiments of the permanent populace, new settlers were permitted to join the colony and share in the rewards and reverses of the common field. After many years of occupancy, foreign land speculators and, be it said to their shame, men of royal blood wearing judicial ermine, sought to dispossess these incredulous people of their possessions, which led the latter as late as 1789, to appeal to Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the territory northwest of the Ohio river, for protection. In his official report, 1790, in reference to this appeal, Mr. Sargent said: "A petition has also been presented by the inhabitants of Vincennes, praying a confirmation of their commons, comprehending about two thousand four hundred acres of good, and three thousand acres of sunken lands. They have been, it appears, thirty years under a fence, which is intended to confine their cattle within its boundaries, and keep them out of their wheat fields; for, contrary to the usage of farmers generally, the cattle are enclosed and the cultivated lands left at large, except those parts which immediately approach the commons. But this fence, and quiet possession under the French and British governments, they seem to think entitle them to a good prescriptive right." Congress had previously recognized that the habitants of the Old Post did have a "prescriptive right" to the land, for it donated it to them for commons purposes, subject to the control of the commandant of the post. The fence, evidently, was the bane of existence of all the commandants at the post for many years prior to 1791, a period at

which control of the lands in question passed into other hands. In 1763, St. Auge, in full charge of Poste au Oubache as commandant, in the last official document he issued as such, addressed two of his trusty lieutenants as follows: "Messieurs Deroite de Richardville and de Caindre can not watch too carefully that the inhabitants keep up their fences, it being to the interest of the public that the animals should not pass from the commons to the grain."

Aside from these trivial annoyances, so amicable, season in and out, were the relations between the people of the village, so sacred were their social intercourse, their commercial dealings, that the barrister, for a long time, at least, like Hamlet, found his occupation gone. Statutory rights were unknown things, common law, courts and judges, pleas and pleadings, fees and findings, were names of which the *commune* had little or no knowledge, for there were no civil courts established nor civil authority exercised in any of the settlements of the northwest territory until two years after its formal organization, in 1788. Being no courts, there were no judicial adjustments of any character under way up to 1790 or 1791, when the stern arm of the law, with a sort of a palsied movement, was extended to the western settlements. While noted for adapting themselves to conditions as they arise, looking with philosophical vision upon every emergency that confronts them, the French by no means took kindly to the new procedure, placing little faith in the so-called fairness and equity to be derived from a trial by jury, especially when such affairs were to be subject to American or English censorship. Heretofore, whatever little differences arose among the *habitants*, the priest was appealed to as a court of competent jurisdiction, whose rulings generally resulted satisfactorily to all parties to the suit. If not, then the case was taken before the commandant of the fort as a court of last resort, from whose merciful decisions there was no appeal.

The religious training of these simple people, and all the spiritual food with which they were provided, was furnished by the Jesuit fathers, highly educated, classical scholars, who experienced much difficulty in imparting book learning to the major portion of their parishoners, and some without the fold, who seemed content with gaining less than a smattering of the knowledge contained in books—many declining to take even elementary steps in reading and writing, feeling, intuitively, that "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." The tutors were in every way capable of imparting instruction had the pupils been willing to take it. A very learned priest at this period was dean of a theological college here and at Kaskaskia, and superior of all the missions in the Illinois and Wabash countries, who received for his services, as did all the other Jesuits engaged in missionary work, only the paltry sums derived from marriage, baptismal or burial fees, or the voluntary contributions of parishioners. The name of this priest was Father Marest, who, with Father Mermet, the founder of St. Francis Xavier's cathedral, divided his time between Kaskaskia and

Vincennes in religious and educational work, which he inaugurated at both places very early in the eighteenth century. It was these holy men who nurtured the religion that had barely been planted in the northwest territory at the time of their arrival. Pious, humble, devoted, penniless, they imitated in their everyday walks the earthly life of the meek and lowly Nazarene, inspiring their scattered flocks with a purity of thought and a sincerity of purpose which disappeared with the temporary withdrawal of their priestly presence, only to find their erstwhile pious supplicants on the holy Sabbath, at the conclusion of services, indulging in pastimes that would grate harshly even on the delicate sensibilities of a frigidarium follower of Calvin.

Father Mermet was an indefatigable, influential and conscientious worker among the natives, and the power he exerted over the Indians was something wonderful. He was performing priestly duties at Vincennes as early as 1710, and no doubt the motive which impelled him to come at such an early date was an uncontrollable impulse to look after the spiritual welfare of the savages. At any rate, we find him engaged in that "labor of love" almost simultaneously with the founding of the settlement, bending his energies for the conversion of a band of Indians who were then both numerous and hostile, but whose numbers and racial antecedents long since faded rapidly away. They were known as the Mascoutins, and were undoubtedly of the Miami confederation, as they spoke the language of the latter. They were very superstitious and dwelt in a village not far removed from the fort. Like all other tribes they had their medicine man, but unlike most others, they seemed to pin greater faith in him, being absolutely immovable in their attachment for him, and placing implicit confidence in his wisdom. They were, therefore, ill disposed to listen to the new doctrines as expounded by the learned Jesuit. Having concluded in his own mind that the better way of counteracting their unbelief in the Christian religion, was to point out to them the error of their way in a joint debate, in a public discussion, to be had with their most learned medicine man, in the presence and hearing of all that oracle's followers, he was successful in securing their assent to the plan. The success with which the efforts of the reverend Father were crowned are best told in his own words. "The way I took," says he, "was to confound, in the presence of the whole tribe, one of these charlatans, whose Manitou, or Great Spirit, which he worshipped, was a buffalo. After leading him on insensibly to the avowal, that it was not the buffalo that he worshipped, but the Manitou, or spirit of the buffalo, which was under the earth, and which animated all buffaloes, which heals the sick, and has all power; I asked him if other beasts, the bear for instance, which some of his nations worshipped, was not equally inhabited by a Manitou, which was under the earth? 'Without doubt,' said the medicine man. 'If this is so,' said the missionary, 'men ought to have a Manitou who inhabits them?' 'Nothing more certain,' said the medicine man. 'Ought that not convince you, then,' said the

Father, pushing his argument, 'that you are not very reasonable? For, if a man upon the earth is master of all animals; if he kills them; if he eats them; does it not follow that the Manitou which inhabits him, must necessarily have a mastery over all other Manitous? Why, then, do you not invoke him, instead of the Manitou of the bear and buffalo, when you are sick?' This reasoning," says the Father, "disconcerted the charlatan. And"—probably with a sigh of regret at the listless manner in which his logical argument had been received, the good priest concludes—"this was all the effect it produced." It was not a great while after this memorable meeting of the missionary and medicine man that a severe malady broke out in the village, and the Indians, says Father Mermet, gathered around the fort for the purpose of making a great sacrifice to their Manitou. They slew thirty or forty dogs, hoisted them on poles, and, forming a procession danced and sang around the fort, their countenances depicting the anguish and pain of their minds and bodies. Finding that their own efforts were unavailing to stop the pestilence, they appealed again to the missionary to stay the wrath of the fell destroyer whose fetid breath was withering and lessening their ranks daily. But neither the "manitou" of the French or Indian was powerful enough to check the ravages of the plague; and, despite the untiring efforts of the self-sacrificing priest, who daily and hourly exposed himself to the unconquerable disease in ministering to the afflicted, more than one-half of the village perished. The Mascoutins seemed more susceptible to disease than any of their kindred, and were the first people as a nation among the Indian tribes to become extinct.

The average native, though, perhaps, a very poor exemplar of the faith in the eyes of some people, absorbed, as well as retained, religion more readily than he did education. To read and write were, to his mind, rare accomplishments. As for arithmetic, it was a meaningless thing, as incomprehensible as Greek. Having advanced far enough to distinguish words from phrases, to push the quill sufficiently to sign his name to instruments, or sketch characters on paper, and to spell unpronounceable words that appeared in the catechism, or the lives of saints, or in the pages of church history, he felt his store of knowledge complete, and rested his fate in the hands of the priest and the commandant. To him the days, with their sun and shade, came and went like the visions of a dream, filling his mind with peace and his heart with contentment.

It must not, however, be inferred by the reader that Vincennes, at the time we are considering, was a hot-bed of ignorance. On the contrary, it was considered far advanced, intellectually, for an outlying post in a new country dominated by savages. We have simply shown the illiteracy of a class that rode, as it were, upon the crest of the first wave that touched these untrodden shores—the semi-savages, the descendants of the *coureur de bois*, whose sires had acquired the tastes and habits of the aborigines and intermingled their blood with them. From the date of its first

settlement the Old Post has been the home of educated, religious, refined and intellectual people, and was at the period of which we write. It was the first place in the northwest territory to promote ecclesiastical and secular education by founding theological seminaries, parochial schools, and by establishing the first public school west of the Allegheny mountains. Soon after the inauguration of the first president of the United States, Monsieur Rivet—a noted friar brought here from France, through the instrumentality of the Catholic church—“taught the young idea how to shoot” in an improvised school-room in the basement of St. Francis Xavier’s library, around which cling so many sweet and sad memories of by-gone days. A man of deep thought and profound learning, thoroughly French in his dress and mannerisms, he seemed wedded to his profession, performing his arduous duties with a pleasantry and precision refreshing to behold. For his services this talented and distinguished instructor received the annual stipend of two hundred dollars, and George Washington, “Father of His Country,” was his paymaster. Upon the roll of Monsieur Rivet’s pupils were the names of quite a number of Indians, indicating that the more progressive inhabitants of the town believed in a universal spread of education, by extending it even unto the children of the forest.

There were no symptoms of racial suicide manifested by the first settlers. Births and marriages were very frequent, and as soon as a son or daughter left the parental roof to enter upon a state of connubial felicity, a new cabin home sprang up in the shadow of the old homestead of either the bride or groom upon the original patriarchal grant, embracing small territory, but frequently containing domiciles of sufficient numbers to shelter five generations. To look in upon these homes of happiness and contentment, builded in the shades of wilderness wilds, and solitudes, where death and danger stalked, hand in hand, one is thrilled and fascinated by the love and virtue and bravery they portray. At what cost of mental anguish and physical suffering the ancestors of those who occupied them made possible their very existence, no one will ever know. In the lives of the *courreur de bois*, and their immediate descendants, are to be found more wonderful and thrilling stories of adventure, hardship, darkness, despair, romance, love, hate, sunshine and pleasure, than have ever been conjured in the fertile brains of the most versatile students in the advanced schools of fiction. The father’s daring was a heritage he bequeathed to his son, who sought all the wild pleasures and fascinating dangers of the limitless forests and endless streams. In the pathless wilderness the sire found a highway that led to fields of pleasure and profit. To his acute ear the cries of the wild were as the dulcet notes of a familiar air, that lured him into the recesses of dense woods as the songs of the sirens drew the mariners out on the boundless seas. In the expeditions he made for subsistence, for pleasure, for gain, the rushing torrent, the untrodden forest, the irksome portage, with all their perils, hardships and dangers, appeared

to his optimistic vision as things of beauty, before which thoughts of fear, hunger, toil and deprivation vanished, like the mist of morning before the rays of the ascending sun. The skillful and laborious occupation of the hunt, the dealings with the treacherous and fickle redskins, whether for traffic or sequestered rights, became to him both a pleasure and a pastime—the face of the deadly Sioux, the less bloodthirsty miens of the Algonquins, Ottawas, Chippewas or Piankeshaws having no more terror for him than the countenances of his white brethren. Congenial as were his village environments—the cabin home, brightened by the cheerful presence of a loving wife and children, the narrow streets, with their motley crowds of gossipers, without a care, amiable, hospitable, happy, generous; the games, the chase, the dance, the unlimited number of social functions in which everybody participated—the young man could not get away from his longing for woodland and stream, and whenever this spirit asserted itself its mandates were imperative; he could no longer stay himself with the ties of home and friends, but had to go where the cry of the wild called him. Oftimes it led him, in his frail canoe, far up into the lake regions at the head of the Father of Waters, or to the rugged steeps and desolate plains towards the source of the unpoetic Missouri, through the land where the savage Sioux was always an inhospitable host, or even to the peaks and barren wastes of the Rocky mountains. By day his trusty gun was his sole and constant companion, and at night his only bed-fellow, with whom he courted sleep in forest shades, having no roof to cover him save the star-studded dome of heaven. But all the time busy with rifle and brain—killing game and driving bargains with the Indians—he would invariably return with a canoe laden with furs, only to reverse his course, and be gone in a jiffy to steer his barque towards the great southern metropolis, New Orleans, or to penetrate, with his fragile water craft, the creeks, the bayous and brooks—small arteries of the coast—that led the way to far-off inland towns or ports of the southland, at which points his commodities, secured in wildernesses and upon streams hundreds of miles away, were exchanged for money, goods, and articles of merchandise that suited his fancy, with which he would depart, light-hearted and gay, for his frontier home on the Wabash, to prepare, refit and start (if the wild spirit within him was still at work) upon another expedition far towards the northland. Perhaps his *penchant* for bartering and trading (a characteristic of the son of the *coureur de bois*) would carry him, without a stop, into the Indian country, to trade the goods and wares he had obtained in the south; or, perchance, (the moving spirit having become dormant) he would become domesticated for the nonce, bury* under the cabin floor the French and Spanish coins that were the fruits of his hunting and trading expeditions, and make an effort to resume the laborious task of cultivating the soil. Apparently, it made little difference to him whether the final re-

* Milburn, *Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*.

sults of his expeditions—the business ends thereof—made his purse more, or less, plethoric, the adventures they afforded him were always a satisfactory recompense for the time and energy they involved. If they failed to be productive from a monetary standpoint, they, nevertheless, furnished a rich fund of harrowing tales and blood-curdling episodes, that were highly prized, besides affording excellent opportunities for the young man (especially if he were possessed of a semblance of descriptive powers) to dilate upon his own strange and varied experiences on turbulent waters, or in the recesses of dark and desolate woods and swamps, or to recount the stories of the nameless wanderers that he met on rivers and lakes, mountains and plains, or in the busy marts of southern towns, wherein he had gathered *louis d'ors* and *doubloons*. Frequently ten, twelve, twenty, and sometimes twenty-four months were consumed in making these voyages, the concluding end of which was always emphasized with a celebration, which generally partook of the character of a ball, as dancing was not only a favorite diversion of the natives but it was an accomplishment in which they all showed wonderful proficiency. As soon as official announcement had been made of the return of the wanderers, the inhabitants, young and old, began to get their evening toilets ready for the dance, which was always a foregone conclusion. The ball room scenes of those days were certainly pictures of rarity and uniqueness, impossible to portray with pen. Youth—Creole girls with poses of the gracefulest statues, having the beautiful faces and fine eyes that enslave, dressed in homespun—and old age vied with each other in efforts of light-heartedness and gaiety; grandfather and grandmother, grandsons and granddaughters, fairest of maidens and rough and ready fellows in appearance, but decorous in deportment, negro slaves and Indian free-man, were all participants in the joyous event, which was notable for the presence of a propriety not excelled in the circles of social sweldom among the *creme de la creme*. At such functions, in accordance with time-honored custom, there was selected by the assemblage a "chief-hostess," a matron of eminent respectability, who assumed complete charge of all details pertaining to the affair; who made it a point to see that "everybody" danced with "somebody" else; that there were no wall flowers in evidence, and no lack of partners; that even the little children be permitted to participate in the labyrinthian mazes of the innocent and alluring diversion. At a prescribed hour the dance was concluded by official authority and the ball room—which was not infrequently graced by the presence of the good priest—became like a banquet hall deserted; the violin was hushed, and the merry throng withdrew, to go home and content themselves with reflections upon the many pleasing incidents the occasion furnished, until another daring *voyageur's* exploitations called for a repetition of the celebration.

To all of these affairs, and upon all occasions of pomp and ceremony, whether of a public or private character, every stranger within the village gates was provided with *carte blanche* and urged to attend. This generous

display of hospitality and courtesy, for which Vincennes is noted to this day, has been extant since the beginning of the first settlement, and many aristocratic Europeans, from time to time, have been noticeable figures at her primitive balls and parties. At a much later day from the one with which we are now dealing, Thomas Dundas, fifth earl of Selkirk, was an occasional visitor at the Old Post, and one of the many notable personages who had come directly in touch with its social life and been a participant in its social gaieties. He was a native of Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and in 1779 succeeded to the title and property of his father. His life was devoted largely to the promotion of emigration to British America. As early as 1802 he put forth considerable effort to influence the British Government to provide for the transportation of discontented and impoverished Scottish peasants to the new world. In 1811 he secured from the Hudson Bay Company a large tract of fertile land in the valleys of the Assiniboin and Red river of the North, where, late in the same year, his first band of colonists was established. Many difficulties were encountered, arising chiefly from the opposition of the northwest traders to the enterprise, and in 1816-17 the settlement was broken up. It was soon restored, however, under Selkirk's personal supervision, and the conflict was transferred to the courts, where the energetic promoter at length secured judgment in favor of his avowed rights. In 1816 Selkirk published "A Sketch of the British Fur Trade," and in the next year "The Red River Settlements." He died in 1820. Of his last visit here, which was in the latter part of 1817, Frederic A. Ogg, A. M., in a reprint of "Fordham's Personal Narrative," says: "Rough and democratic as these backwoodsmen are, they show great respect to talent, to superior knowledge to age, and to wealth. There is no danger to a European who possesses these advantages, of being jostled or of not being of consequence among his neighbors. Lord Selkirk and suite were at Vincennes the other day at a dinner and ball, and received the most marked attentions. But worth and talent, without rank, will command respect. Indeed, no rank is known here, but military rank, and that is obtained by tavern-keepers and farmers. English aristocrats could not live here."

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARRIVAL OF MORGANE DE VINSENNE AT THE OLD POST

PEACE AND QUIETUDE OF THE ANCIENT VILLAGE—HISTORIANS FIND THE PROBLEM OF DE VINSENNE'S ORIGIN DIFFICULT OF SOLUTION—BATTLE WITH THE CHICKASAW INDIANS—DE VINSENNE AND FATHER SENAT BURNED AT THE STAKE—DE VINSENNE'S MILITARY CAREER—THREE BROTHERS OF THE RICHARDVILLE FAMILY KILLED BY THE CHICKASAWS—THE FOURTH BROTHER, WOUNDED, TAKEN PRISONER—ESCAPES AFTER NEARLY TWO YEARS' CAPTIVITY.

Save for occasional incursions of the savages, who left blood trails in their wake remote from this post, the sylvan serenity of Old Vincennes until 1779 was undisturbed by any tragic occurrences of great moment. In 1717 Sieur Juchereau returned to Canada, and was succeeded as commandant of the fort by Lieut. Leonardy, who was the immediate predecessor of Morgane de Vinsenne;* but when Leonardy gave up his command or whither he went have never been stated with any degree of authenticity. It was at some period in the year 1732 that Vinsenne† came here, but the exact date has never been fully established, historically, any more than has the identity of the individual himself. And, is it not strange, that the delvers into the mists forming the haze that veils the mysterious past have been unable to trace the genealogy of such a distinguished personage?‡

* At what time he took possession here is not exactly known; probably somewhere about the year 1732. There is nothing on our records to show but an act of sale made by him and Madame Vinsenne, the daughter of Monsieur Philip Longprie, of Kaskaskia, and recorded there. * * * Law, *Colonial History of Vincennes*, p. 21.

† De Vinsenne came and erected a fort in 1702, but he did not remain. He subsequently returned here and remained in the command of the fort until 1736. That he returned here after building the fort and his northern campaign in 1704, there is abundance of evidence to be found remaining in the official records of Kaskaskia. Cauthorn, *Brief Sketch of Vincennes*, 1884, p. 17.

‡ * * * A letter written by Morgan de Vinsenne, March 7, 1733, and was in answer to his superior officer, asking what progress he had made in establishing a post at this place, he having been ordered here through an edict of the French Government, which was dated Paris, France, 1731. * * * In his answer to his supe-

It certainly is to be regretted that the identity of a man in honor of whom Vincennes was named—whose heroism and valorous deeds should be enshrined in the hearts of liberty-loving people and commemorated on imperishable tablets—should be enveloped in a cloud of doubt. But, the claims of contentious historians as to the genealogy of the man can never dim the halo of glory the heroism of his deeds has cast around his memory. Morgane de Vinsenne was an officer in the service of the King of France, ranking as an ensign in the celebrated Carignan-Salières regiment, which was the first military organization sent by France to America. The regiment was first organized at Savoy by the Prince of Carignan and won undying fame at the battle of Porte St. Antoine, on the bloody fields of the Fronde, prior to the peace of Pyrenees. At the termination of this treaty the Prince, feeling himself no longer able to sustain it, gave it over to the charge of the King. Subsequently it was incorporated by His Christian Majesty into the armies of France, and the same year (1664) distinguished itself by playing an important part with the combined forces of France in carrying on the Austrian campaigns against the Turks. The year following the successful conquests over the Musselmen the regiment, which, in the meantime, had been consolidated with a fragment of a regiment composed largely of German soldiers, was placed in charge of Colonel de Salières as commander and ordered by the king to the shores of America, to protect the interests of His Most Christian Majesty in this country, and to lend encouragement to the spread of the Catholic religion. It was probably as early as 1710 or 1711 when de Vinsenne* was commissioned an officer

prior he stated that he had built a fort and two houses, but needed a barracks, thirty more soldiers and an officer. This statement made in March, 1733, indicates the erection of the fort the previous year, and that the year 1732 is, no doubt, when the first fort was built. Smith, *Historical Sketches Old Vincennes*, p. 57.

* At the time Morgane de Vinsenne came into the Wabash country, and several years before taking command at the Old Post, the territory along the Wabash and up the Ohio and its lateral valleys was already in dispute between the French and English. "Charlevoix," says Winsor (*The Mississippi Basin*, pp. 148, 149), "speaks of the region north of the Ohio as likely to become the granary of Louisiana. Senex, the English cartographer, made it appear that through this region 'of one hundred and twenty leagues the Illinois hunt cows,' and he magnified the reports of the trade in buffalo peltries. The waning power of the Iroquois and the coming of the Delawares and Shawnees into the Ohio Valley had permitted the French to conduct more extensive explorations, and they had found themselves liable to confront all along the valley the equally adventurous English. The Mississippi Company had urged (Sept. 15, 1720) the building of a fort on the Wabash as a safeguard against the English, and the need of it had attracted the attention of Charlevoix. Some such precaution, indeed, was quite as necessary to overcome the savages, for now that the Maumee-Wabash portage was coming into favor, the Indians had lately been prowling about it and murdering the passers. La Harpe, in 1724, feared the danger of delay. In 1725, the necessity for some such protection alarmed Boisbriant early in the year. The Carolina traders had put up two booths on the Wabash, and rumors reached Kaskaskia of other stations which they had established farther up the Ohio Valley. These last intruders were probably Pennsylvanians—at least it is so assumed in the

in the ranks of this famous military organization. At any rate, in 1712, he went "for the King" to Detroit to safeguard the French interests at that post. At this period a syndicate of English gentlemen in New York, having sympathy for Great Britain at heart, but more directly concerned in the advancement of British interests on this continent, and for the purpose of accomplishing their own selfish ends, concocted a scheme of a most damnable character, the prime object of which was the destruction of the fort at Detroit. For this purpose the aid of two Indian villages, in proximity to the fort, had already been secured. Bright and early on the morning of May 13th Francis Morgane de Vinsenne arrived with a small detachment of Frenchmen from Quebec. Soon after his arrival a Huron warrior came, as a delegated messenger to announce that a Pottawattomie chief desired a conference with the French officers and would meet them at the old Huron fort, which was independent and remote from the villages of the Mascoutins and Outaganires, who were the allies of the English. Vinsenne responded to the request of the messenger and repaired to the Huron fort where he was informed by the Pottawattomie chief that a band of six hundred braves from the villages along the banks of the St. Jerome (Wabash) were *en route* to Detroit to aid the French in defense of the garrison. Upon his return Vinsenne reported to Jean Dubussion, the commandant, what he had learned from the Pottawattomie chief. Thereupon the fort was put in order and all preparations made for the beginning of a siege. At the peep o' day on the following morning Dubussion ascended a bastion of the fortifications and, casting his eyes across the prairies towards the woodlands, beheld in the shadows of the trees the advancing lines of his friendly hosts from the Wabash, in whose ranks were the Illinois, the Missouris, Osages, and other nations, whose wigwams were far remote from the fields of carnage towards which they were marching. The battle between the Mascoutins and the French began immediately upon the arrival of the French's red allies from the Wabash, and was the first and most deadly conflict in which the Mascoutins were ever engaged. After four days and nights of fierce fighting, the Mascoutins surrendered,

treaty made at Albany in 1754. The language of such treaties is rarely the best authority; but it is certain that Vaudreuil, in Quebec, believed it at the time. He reported to his home government that the English were haunting the upper waters of the Wabash and trading among the Miamis. As a result, we find the Company of the Indies (December, 1725 instructing Boisbriant to beware of the English, and to let M. Vincennes, then among the Miamis, know that these rivals were moving in that direction. The next year the company informed Périer (Sept. 30, 1726), of their determination to be prepared, and authorized him, in concert with Vincennes, to repel the English if they approached. Vincennes had already been reconnoitring up the Ohio Valley, to see if any English were there. Here, on the Ohio, the claims of authority again clashed. The region which Vaudreuil wished to protect on the upper Wabash was held by him to be within Canada. But there was a very uncertain line separating it from the lower regions on the same river which Vincennes was urging the government of Louisiana to strengthen."

their ranks almost depleted, with the exception of the women and children, who were spared. A survey of the field, after the smoke of battle had lifted, showed that the loss to the allies was about sixty Indians killed and wounded and seven French wounded, while the enemy lost more than a thousand braves. For bravery and gallantry displayed upon this occasion, which were an inspiration to his followers, and the direct result of such an overwhelming victory, de Vinsenne was not only restored to a rank he had previously forfeited by a slight act of insubordination, but received at the hands of the king a promotion from ensign to general commander for the Illinois country. Shortly after receiving his commission, however, M. de Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, acting by consent of the king, ordered him to Sault Ste. Marie, at which place, and Michilimacinaek, he remained until 1732—at intervals making expeditions into the Wabash country—when he was ordered by Governor Longueville, “for the King,” to assume military charge at Vincennes. And this movement proved to be the initial step in a journey which subsequently led to his torturous death at the stake in a Mississippi wilderness. However, immediately upon his arrival here he began the enlargement of the primitive fort and its fortifications, removing the frail palisades and constructing new and more formidable defenses. The boundaries of the old fort were also extended beyond their original limits and made to embrace the territory which is now bounded on the north by Vigo street, on the east by that portion of Second street that parallels the west side of the cathedral grounds, on the south by Barnett street, and the west by the river. Small cannon, implements of warfare with which the fort had not been hitherto supplied, were transported from Canada and mounted, their menacing mouths amazing as well as terrorizing some of the natives. De Vinsenne* remained as the commandant of Poste du Ouabache for four years, during which period the peaceful inhabitants, in whose behalf he manifested more than ordinary interest, experienced no discomfiture from the invasion of savages or foreign foes, and were less prone to profligacy.

*Vincennes [Vinsenne] was won over from Canada to Louisiana, and with a few soldiers proceeded to build a little palisade fort at the Indian village lowest on the river and nearest the English, which was the Piankeshaw town of Chippecoke or Chipkawkay. The exact date of the establishment is not known, but it was probably in 1727, for in October of that year the names of “Vinsenne” and “St. Ange fils,” his lieutenant, were inscribed on the parish records of Kaskaskia in witness of the marriage of Joseph Lorrin and Marie Phillippe. The next known documentary trace of M. de Vincennes is in a deed by him and his wife, dated January 5, 1735, and recorded at Kaskaskia. In this he is styled *commandant paste du Ouabache*. His wife, who was at the post at the time, was the daughter of Philip Longprie, then the wealthiest trader at Kaskaskia. The date of their marriage cannot be given, as there is a gap in the Kaskaskia marriage record from June 7, 1729, to January 7, 1741, but it was probably in 1733, as in that year is dated the acknowledgment by Vincennes of the receipt of 100 pistoles given by his father-in-law as dowry. [Dunn, *Indiana, Commonwealth Series*, p. 55.]

About this time, however, other French settlements between the Illinois country and New Orleans were greatly annoyed and retarded in growth and advancement by the Chickasaws, who were obstinately opposing every step taken by the white man in the direction of civilization. The hostility of these Indians was carried on to such an extent that it made regular and safe communication between Canada and the southern settlements of Louisiana utterly impossible. There was, therefore, no other recourse left for the French authorities of these provinces but the concentration of the northern military forces with those of the south in the country of the Chickasaws, to whip this defiant tribe into subjugation. Accordingly, Major D'Artuguiette, who had succeeded Morgane de Vinsenne as "commandant-general for the king for the province of Illinois,"* left the place of rendezvous in the Illinois country in 1736, having mustered about two hundred French and four hundred Indians, to pass down the Mississippi, for the purpose of joining the forces of Bienville,† who had recruited and concentrated his forces in the south. De Vinsenne and his recruits, among whom were Father Senat, pastor of St. Francis Xavier's cathedral, accompanied the expedition and formed a conspicuous part of D'Artuguiette's soldiery. The troops of Bienville, having failed to arrive at the time and place designated, D'Artuguiette and Vinsenne began hostilities by attacking the inhabitants of several Indian villages and applying the torch to the cabins of the savages. And still Bienville did not arrive. Hosts of Chickasaw warriors soon gathered upon the scene. While their advances were frequently repulsed, the savages eventually came out victorious; and, at the end of the conflict, the result of which would have been reversed had Bienville been permitted to have kept his appointment, the dead bodies of forty Frenchmen and eighty of their Indian allies lay upon the battlefield. Many others were taken prisoners and transported from the scene of battle to subsequently undergo the tortures of burning at the stake—a ceremony which was deferred by the red fiends until Easter Sunday. Besides the gallant and brave D'Artuguiette, those singled out as victims to feed with their flesh the torturing flames that brightened the darkened shades of a Louisiana (Mississippi) forest were Morgane de Vinsenne and Father Senat, both of whom died the deaths of martyrs—a soldier of the sword and a soldier of the cross.‡ De Vinsenne, of whom

* Dillion, *History of Indiana*.

† In 1736 came a call to arms on the Louisiana side. A part of the Natchez Indians, after their defeat and dispersion by the French, had taken refuge with the Chickasaws, who, urged on by English traders, also committed some acts of hostility. Bienville, who had been reappointed Governor in 1733, determined to crush them. He repelled all proposals for peace, and ordered the forces of Illinois to unite with him in the Chickasaw country. [Dunn, *Indiana, Commonwealth Series*, p. 59.]

‡ Mr. Edmond Mallet, in a splendid work—that displays a knowledge of history and bears evidence of intelligent and laborious research—published at Indianapolis, in 1897, under the auspices of the Indiana Historical Society, says: "A century and a half of learning in American colonial history has left, in neglected obscurity, the

it is said by Charlevoix, the historian, who learned the fact from an Indian witness of the tragedy, might have escaped, but he preferred to die by the side of his priest and four other companions, whom he "ceased not until his last breath to exhort to behave worthy of their religion and their country."

Engaged with de Vinsenne and D'Artuguiette in battle against the Chickasaws was a band of Iroquois Indians, to the number of about forty, who fought with such desperation as to prevent the annihilation of de Vinsenne's command. These Indian allies of the French came from Canada and were commanded by John Deroite de Richardville, the younger of four brothers of that family, all of whom were officers of the militia and had charge of squads composed of both Frenchmen and Indians. The cruel tomahawks of the Chickasaws had been swung in battle with death dealing effect, and three of the Richardville boys lay dead upon the field. John, while wounded, made his escape, but was afterwards captured, and taken a prisoner before the great sachem of a Chickasaw village called Jantilla, and placed under guard in the cabin of the chief. For six months or more he lay upon a bed of pain, carefully watched by young warriors, whose sympathies he incited and whose friendships he won. After becom-

identity of the founder of the first settlement in one of our great states, who was a valiant soldier as well as a chivalrous Christian hero, devoted to his God and his country." Referring to a vast amount of data, ably and systematically compiled, and appearing in the publication ("Sieur de Vincennes"), Mr. Mallet observes: "The above excerpts and notes contain the only statements, serving to lead to the identity of our hero, that are accessible or known to this writer, and from these it must be confessed, that it is not any easy matter to determine his true name or establish his family connections. Archbishop Spalding and Rev. Mr. Alerding, on the authority of Bishops Brute and Hailandrière of the diocese of Vincennes, regard him as of Irish extraction; Judge Law, the historian Dillon, Archbishop Spalding and Rev. Mr. Alerding gave him the name of Morgan, a prominent Irish name; the historians, Charlevoix, Bancroft, Bibaud, Shea, Ferland, Daniel, Margry, Lossing, Sulte, Roy and Dunn, the Ambassador Poussin, the genealogist Tanquay and the Editor of Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography, call him a Canadian; Shea, Ferland, Daniels, Tanquay, Margry, Lossing, Sulte and Roy give his family name as Bissot; Shea, Tanquay, Sulte and Roy believed him to have been Jean Baptiste Bissot, son of Francois Bissot; Margry finds that he was the son of Jean Bissot; Sulte—very probably through a typographical error—gives the name of an officer named Coulanges Bissot as burned at the stake with de Vincennes; Thomas and the joint authors Goodrich and Tuttle print his name as Saint Vincennes or Saint Vincent; Dunn observes that his name must not be confounded with those of the Saint Vincent family; Shea, Tanquay and Dunn, after recent researches, agree that Margane de la Valtrie is the correct name; Tanquay finds the name to be Pierre Francois Margane, Sieur Des Forets; Shea concludes it to be Pierre Margane; Dunn adheres to Francois Morgan, the form of the name used by western writers during the last half century, but connects it, generally, with the Canadian family of Margane de la Valtrie; he was a half-pay lieutenant in 1726, according to a memorial of the Royal Company of the Indies, whilst Daniel, from his compilation of Canadian documents, finds that he was ensign in 1732, and aged forty-four years. What are we to think of all these discrepancies and contradictions?"

ing convalescent he was treated as one of the tribe, and pretended to be wholly content with his surroundings, going and coming with entire freedom, and accompanying his newly-made friends on fishing and hunting expeditions, following the chase and displaying a prowess that provoked the envious feelings of his red companions. Having met an English trader on one of his jaunts alone through the woods, more than a year and a half after his captivity, he sought the Englishman's aid to escape from his captors. Having wandered many miles through a mountainous country of dense forests, without seeing a human being, and regaled only with the sight and cries of savage beasts, he came on to a camp of British traders, to whom he gave an account of his adventures, awakening their interest and gaining their good will. His newly-formed friends provided him with comfortable quarters for the night and on the following day took him into the august presence of the governor of Georgia, Mr. Oglethorpe, who paid his ransom to a party of Chickasaw Indians, who had evidently been following upon his heels, for they made their appearance before the executive almost simultaneous with that of their escaped prisoner. The governor very generously provided Mr. Richardville with means to return to Canada, and he went on his way rejoicing, arriving at his destination, Montreal, in June, 1739, after an absence of nearly three years, only to again return to the Wabash country a few years later and become the central figure of an Indian tribe and one of the prominent officials of the village of Vincennes.

The forces of the Chickasaws began to multiply in the south, and Bienville, soon after the invasion of his expedition in that region, was forced to sue for peace. For at least twelve years after the treaty was concluded, the quiet and peaceful conditions prevalent in all the French settlements of the western country remained undisturbed. And, when the war between England and France broke out in 1744, and was unrelentingly waged until after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, only the French and English colonies lying along the borders of the Atlantic coast were involved, while the isolated settlements of the Wabash and Illinois countries lay in peaceful repose, feeling no tremors of war from the remote battle fields.

The name of "Vinsenne" was not applied to the old post until some considerable time after the death of our hero (M. de Vinsenne), when the appellation, in 1749, for some reason that has never been fully explained, was changed to "Vincennes." This alteration in orthography gave rise to the erroneous impression, in the minds of some people of the younger generations, that the town had been named after a city in France—formerly a suburb, but now a part of Paris. The substitution of the *c* for the *s* in the second syllable, and the addition of the *s* in the final syllable, do not, however, alter the pronunciation of the word (according to the native French), but really makes it easier to pronounce, which probably accounts for the change in spelling, a change that should have never been permitted, but which, alas!

it is now too late to remedy. This particular instance is one where the oft-repeated question of Hamlet—"What's in a name?"—would meet with a contradictory and negative response, while the other appellations of the old town—"Ancient Post," "Le Poste," "Au Poste," "Poste du Ouabache," "Post St. Francis Xavier," "Post St. Vincent"—like the rose, to which the melancholy Prince refers, "would smell as sweet"—or, words to that effect.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ADVENT OF THE OLD POST'S FOURTH COMMANDANT.

ARRIVAL OF ST. ANGE BELLE RIVE FROM FORT CHARTRES—HIS FAITHFUL AND BENEFICENT ADMINISTRATION—IMPROVES THE FORT, CHURCH AND VILLAGE—SPECIMEN OF LAND GRANTS ISSUED BY HIM—WABASH INDIANS SHOW A STREAK OF HOSTILITY—PONTIAC INTERVIEWS ST. ANGE—BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF THE OLD COMMANDANT—HIS DEATH IN ST. LOUIS.

Soon after the tragic death of Morgane de Vinsenne, there came out from Fort Chartres, on the Mississippi, within twenty miles of Kaskaskia, at the behest of M. de Bienville, Governor General of Louisiana, St. Ange Belle Rive, to assume military and civil control of affairs at Vincennes.* Like that of his predecessor, upon arrival, his attention was first directed to the fort, which he at once proceeded to strengthen and improve, as well as to make alterations in the surrounding territory. He likewise repaired and enlarged the primitive church Father Mermet had dedicated, procuring at his own expense a bell—the same one that is now suspended in the upper gallery of the cathedral steeple and which has proclaimed the Angelus for one hundred and sixty years. To open and extend Second (St. Honore) street from the church grounds to Broadway (St. Peter) street, into the very confines of the Piankeshaw village, was another improvement the new commandant lost no time in executing. He established a school and issued an edict akin to a compulsory educational law. His very presence seemed to imbue the inhabitants with confidence and arouse their latent energies to action. He exerted a wonderful influence over the Indians, especially the Piankeshaws—a powerful tribe of the Miami confederacy, which had

* Some historians contend that St. Ange did not reach Vincennes until 1744. Goodspeed, publisher of *History of Knox County*, 1886, says that "not until the war broke out between England and France, in 1744, so far as ascertainable, was any successor designated to command Vincennes." Dr. Smith says "that about the year 1749 the fort's name became that of Fort St. Ange, in honor of the successor of Vinsenne in command of the post, he having, it is said, improved the church and placed on it a belfry and bell." St. Ange's certificate, published in Mr. Dunn's *Indiana*, and reproduced in this chapter, shows that St. Ange was appointed a commandant at the Old Post by the Governor of Louisiana in 1736.

been organized to drive back to the eastern mountains the invading hosts of the Six Nations, and who had long since established a village at this point on the Wabash. By assuring the red men that the native forests, wherein roamed the buffalo, elk, deer and bear, would be undisturbed, he persuaded them to donate a large track of land immediately surrounding the post for the use of settlers. This land, as has already been announced, was held in common by the entire population, and certain sections of it were allotted every spring to the respective heads of families, or to any one else who would agree to cultivate it. After the harvest season was over, however, the fences were removed, and the tract became a public property until another apportionment had been made to individuals. Subsequently, he deemed it advisable for the betterment of social and commercial conditions of the community, to divide this land up into lots and issue individual* grants for their permanent possession, which grants, as has been heretofore shown, caused no small amount of annoyance to all who held them. Through the constant intercessions of the commandant the friendliest relations were maintained between the settlers and the Indians, and peace and tranquility hovered o'er the ancient village until towards the close of 1751, when Great Britain, through the machinations of emissaries sent forth ostensibly for the purpose of inciting the Indian tribes to destroy the French forts and annihilate the settlements in the Ohio Valley, caused the shadow of war cloud to fall across the serene scene.† This was the signal for St. Ange to divert his mind, momentarily, from civil to military matters, and he further strengthened the fortifications and augmented the garrison by the acquisition of additional forces. While the red allies of the English came within close proximity, and massacred quite a number of friendly Indians in the immediate vicinity, they were not courageous enough to advance within gun shot of the fort, nor brave enough to attack it. By the

*The following is a specimen of all the grants issued under St. Ange's administration, and will readily explain why it were a difficult task to establish clear titles to, or prevent questions of, rightful ownership:

*"Nous, Capitane Commandant pour le Roi au poste Vincennes, Certifions avan
consede an Antoine de la Richardville, un Emplacement devingt-cinq toises feu tout
bordere a faces Rue Calvarie, et autre Rue de perdupond. Fait audo le trois diem
Februaire mil. sept. cent soixante. ST. ANGE."*

[Translation.]

We, capitan commanding for the King at Post Vincennes, certify that there is conceded to Antoine de la Richardville, a lot twenty-five yards on each face, bordering Rue Calvary street, on the other, the street of the Lost. Made on the 3rd day of February, 1760. ST. ANGE.

† It seems that an epidemic to kill broke out afresh among the Wabash Indians, and even the erstwhile friendly Piankeshaws were not immune to the disease to destroy. At any rate the savages killed several French citizens in the vicinity of Vincennes and massacred three slaves within sight of the village during the fall of that year. A few months later five or six of the French inhabitants were killed at a village near the mouth of the Vermillion river. St. Ange provided every means for a defensive position directly at the post, but took no aggressive move against the savages remote from the post.

cession of Canada the posts of Weatown and those at the head of the Maumee, at a later date, became the possessions of the British, and consequently were garrisoned by British soldiers. In his strategic conspiracy to banish the Britons from the country, the wily Pontiac contemplated the seizure and destruction of all British posts west of the Alleghenies. The great chieftain succeeded without hindrance in capturing the forts at Ft. Wayne and La Fayette, but the one at Vincennes was not molested. Pontiac, however, was in conference with the commandant, and in person made many appeals to St. Ange to induce the latter to join him in his movement against the British colonies north of the Ohio river, but the commandant turned a deaf ear to the blandiloquent overtures of the big Warsaw chief, preferring to remain here and complete the good work he had so auspiciously begun in behalf of the natives. Again diverting his attention from military to civil matters, St. Ange promulgated a civil code for the government of the immediate community, which forbade traders to traffic in fire-water with Indians, and prohibited gambling, drunkenness and loitering, making them all penal offenses. A social scale was also established, by which games, recreations and amusements were brought within the pale of more civilized bounds. Industry, piety and good behavior were taught, especially among the Indians, and the encouragement of these virtues sought through a system of rewards and punishments. St. Ange did more to encourage the cultivation of the soil among the inhabitants of the old post than any man who came here before Governor Abbott. He preached social economics to the people in such a simple way that his hearers were capable of grasping the full purport of his meaning. Through his persistent efforts, indolence gave way to industry to a very great extent, and in a measure the populace became producers as well as consumers. The condensation of salt was one of the lines of manufacture he encouraged, and the enterprise was quite profitable to those who engaged in it. The huge mill, to which the raw product was transported from the saline springs in Illinois, in suitable kettles which he imported from Pittsburg at his own expense, was operated by the wind and constructed much after the fashion of the old Dutch mills of Holland. In 1764 Commandant St. Ange returned to Fort Chartres to assume charge of that post, leaving the military and civic affairs at Vincennes in care of Jean Baptist Racine (St. Marie), commandant *defactotum*, Jean Deroite de Richardville and Sieur le Cindre. He seemed to have an abiding faith in the two gentlemen last named, and defines their respective duties in a farewell address* to the inhabitants, which reads as follows: "By virtue of the order of M. de Neyon, major commandant of the Illinois country, to name a person to attend to the police, and to maintain good order among the citizens of this post, as also of the *voyageurs* and the Indians: I, invalided captain, being about to depart to the Illinois country, according to the order of Monsieur de Neyon, have named Monsieur Deroite de Richardville, performing the functions

* *Indiana Historical Publications*, vol. I., 1897.

of captain of militia, jointly with Sr. le Caindre, soldier of the troops. Their first care should be to maintain good feeling among the Indians, to prevent disorder so long as they are in charge. Whenever complaint shall be made to them against anyone, they will proceed to call an assembly of the more notable of the citizens of the place, where the matter shall be decided by a plurality of votes. Messieurs Deroite de Richardville and le Caindre cannot watch too carefully that the citizens keep up their fences, it being to the public interest that cattle should not pass from the commons to the grain fields. They will check, as far as they are able, the disorders which occur too frequently, occasioned by drinking. Whenever any news shall come to them which may be of importance to the good of the service, they will take care to apprise me of it. In conclusion, in all cases which I have not been able to foresee, I depend upon their good management and their devotion to the public welfare. Given at Post Vincennes the 18th day of May, 1764. ST. ANGE."

Mr. J. P. Dunn, the eminent historian, in his valuable Indiana edition of American Commonwealths series (p. 60), refers to the officer we are now discussing, as Louis St. Ange, second son of Jean St. Ange de Belle Rive, and quotes from a certificate made by the former, on August 30, 1773, that he "commanded at Poste Vincennes in the name of his most Christian majesty, with a garrison of regular troops, from the year 1736 until the year 1764, and that my first commission as commandant of the said post was from his most Christian majesty under the government of M. de Bienville, governor-general of Louisiana, in the said year 1736; that thereafter I was continued under the government of Messieurs de Vaudreville, de Revlerrec, and D'Abadie, successors one to another in the said government, until the year 1764; that further, the said post was established a number of years before my command, under that of M. de Vincennes, officer of the troops, whom I succeeded by order of the king." Mr. Dunn, in the same edition (p. 62), concludes that St. Ange was "a discreet officer and a wise ruler; that he always possessed the affection and confidence of the people of the Wabash, the Illinois, and the Mississippi is unquestionable; that tradition describes him as prudent, pacific, generous and philanthropic. All of the existing documentary evidence confirms this estimate, while his promotion to a half-pay captaincy in 1738, and his long continuance in office at Vincennes, show that his administration was satisfactory to his superiors, as well as to the people." Of all his biographers, Dunn gives the completest and most accurate history of St. Ange's career and the truest estimate of his worth. Taking up the life of the old commandant subsequent to his departure from Vincennes, the historian says: "After the surrender of Fort Chartres he had gone to the infant village of St. Louis, and he appears to have continued his government of that place, as a remnant of the district of Illinois. No other source of his authority there is known; in fact it was made the subject of judicial inquiry many years since, and the decision then reached was that he had

no authority at all, so far at least as the granting of lands was concerned.* It is said, however, that he took service under Spain in 1766, and was in command as a Spanish officer at St. Louis until 1770, when he was succeeded by Don Pedro Piernas.† He certified in 1773 that he was a half-pay captain in the Spanish service; and in certifying his will in 1774, Piernas calls him a 'captain of infantry in the service of his Catholic majesty.' Whatever may have been the legal power appurtenant to his station, he was in actual authority at St. Louis until the arrival of Piernas, and in command of troops thereafter. At St. Louis, as at Vincennes and Fort Chartres, his nobility of soul was evident. In 1769 he had a kindly word for Pontiac, then assuming only the place of a warrior; and when the great barbarian fell a victim to his Kaskaskian assassin, St. Ange sent across the river for his body and buried it with honors of war near the fort at St. Louis. In 1773 we have found him coming to the relief of the people of Vincennes with the strongest confirmations he could give for the protection of their homes. A few months later he passed to rest. On December 26, 1774, Lieutenant Governor Piernas was called to the house of Madame Chouteau 'where the said M. de St. Ange is abed,' to draw and attest his will. In this, 'first as a good Roman Catholic and a true member of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic church, he commends his soul to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and all the saints of heaven, praying them to intercede for him before the Almighty that it may please Him to admit his soul on its separation from his body into the kingdom of the blessed.' He then recites his debits and credits, and after providing for certain masses, and appropriating the sum of 500 livres 'towards the erection of the church projected in his parish,' he bequeaths his little property to his nieces and nephews. And here his worthy disposition is manifest in special provision for a blind nephew, and in a provision that the two children of his Indian slave, Angelique, who are left to his niece, Madame Belestre, are to be freed on arriving at the age of twenty-one; the commandant is requested to look specially to this. Pierre Laclède is made sole executor, and finally, whether with cause of apprehension we know not, he solemnly declares he has never entered into the married state. His preparation was timely. On the following morning at 9 o'clock Piernas was summoned to view his dead body and seal his effects in accordance with the formalities of the civil law. So he set his house in order and was gathered to his fathers at the ripe old age of seventy-three years. He was buried in the little churchyard at St. Louis, in conformity with his dying request, and there, like Pontiac, he sleeps beneath the bustle and din of the great city. Peace to thy ashes, faithful soldier of France, and may thy honest life be an example to all who shall follow thee as rulers of Indiana."

* *Admrs. of Wright vs. Thomas*, 4 Mo. 577.

† *Magazine of Western History*, vol. II., p. 60.

CHAPTER IX.

A PEN PICTURE OF VINCENNES' POPULATION AT AN EARLY DAY.

MISSIONARIES PAVE THE WAY FOR THE PIONEERS—THE FRENCH ALWAYS ALLIES OF AMERICA—THE EFFECT OF THE SAVAGE AND THE WILDERNESS ON REFINED NATURES—GLIMPSES OF THE WABASH COUNTRY BY EARLY TRAVELERS—SPANIARDS SAID TO HAVE OCCUPIED THE POST FOR A VERY BRIEF SEASON, AND SOLD LAND IN THIS VICINITY—EXCEPT COLONEL VIGO, NO SPANIARD EVER BECAME A PERMANENT RESIDENT OF VINCENNES.

Old Vincennes—the quaint, the beautiful, the picturesque, the ancient village—her feet laved with the crystal waters of the romantic Wabash, her brow kissed by the refreshing breezes wafted from fertile prairie sweeps or flower-strewn woodlands, basked for a score of years in an atmosphere suggestive of Continental Europe. Among her heterogeneous population were personages from the kingdom of George III, having *carte blanche* to the royal court of St. James; notables in gold and lace from the land of Ferdinand and Isabella, natives of Madrid and Cadiz; *suave* subjects of his most Christian majesty, punctuated with ripened *savants* from Paris and fresh buds from the gardens of Versailles, who mingled with the first American (Indian) citizen; *courcurs de bois*, roving spirits of the wilderness, who came and went as the wind; people of the frontier, bronzed by a life in the open, whose raiment was secured with their own hands from forest and stream, or woven from wooden looms that hummed in a half hundred humble cabins; militiamen with stately tread, wearing epaulettes of brightest gold, clothed in uniforms of blue and scarlet, adorned with the head-gear of plumed knights; backwoodsmen, armed with flint-lock muskets, attired in fringed and frayed buckskins, bearing arms in defense of their common country, or to safeguard loved ones from the murderous assaults of hostile redskins; black-robed priests, with classical brows and gentle miens; dark-eyed maidens, with the tint of roses on their lips and cheeks, gowned by French *modistès*, or wearing the comely garb of homespun, conversing in sweet and captivating undertones; Canadian merchants of French, English and Spanish extraction, absorbed in furs and fire-water; soldiers of fortune, hailing from nowhere, buffeted like rudderless ships upon the billows of the surging sea of population that was

steadily sweeping towards the forest fastnesses and the domains of the savage; the polite Frenchman, in the van of European rivals, resplendent with the glow of Parisian polish; his Canadian cousin, whose blue blood had become intermingled with that of the Ottawa or Algonquin; Creole-French, with the *distingue* features of the noble red man; and Indians, outnumbering all the rest, from every confederation of the Miami nation; the indispensable and irresistible Creole fiddler, in whose unpretentious domicile the violin was a necessary adjunct, second in importance only to the rifle, and to whose entrancing strains the denizens for miles around were wont to "chase the glowing hours with flying feet" upon the puncheon floors of every cabin home.*

This *mise en scene* was the creation of the enterprises of the first *voyageurs*, undertaken without ostentation, executed without inviting the attention or coveting the applause of the outside world—the silent, unselfish, hazardous pursuits of a *coterie* of courageous Frenchmen, in whom amiability and politeness were distinct characteristics—whose companions were devout, zealous followers of the meek and lowly Savior—who surmounted obstacles with no apparent effort, encountered perils innumerable, climbed mountains and rode the rapids, fought men and beasts on land and water, emerging from every conquest victorious, courting dangers and mocking a fate that would have carried adventurers less fearless and dauntless down to destruction and death. These men were the redeemers of the untamed wastes of a new world, the forerunners of a new civilization, who braved the dangers of forest and stream, who engaged in deadly strife with the forces of nature, and emerged from the conflict unscathed; whose story of adventure, instead of being a serial of bloody tragedies, becomes merely a narrative of thrilling incidents. And for this reason: The Frenchman is an apt scholar of human nature, and never for a moment loses sight of the fact that he must accord to the uncivilized the same treatment he would to the civilized man—thus deporting himself toward the Indian as he would toward his white brother. Wonderfully resourceful is the Frenchman in his adaptability—conforming himself to conditions and meeting the requirements of men and measures with unerring intelligence and cheerfulness. The Frenchman is willing to await his opportunities, and

*It was not a great while after the establishment of the fort and church at Vincennes that the tide of emigration, not only from the North, but from the South and East as well, surged in this direction with large volume and velocity. Merchants, seeking location, European adventurers, looking for anything they could find on the American continent, turned their attentions in this direction. The hardy and honest frontiersman, English and American farmers were attracted by the description of the wonderful country for agricultural purposes and the cheapness of the fertile lands. The supposition that, besides the beauty and resourcefulness of the earth, hidden treasures beneath its surface were to be found in the shape of precious metals and minerals, brought a few scientific men from all parts of the world and a host of fellows who were not adverse to seek the end of the rainbow in quest of the fabled bag of gold.

accepts conditions as he finds them. The American, on the contrary, is impatient, and chaffs too easily under restraint. Without the presence of the churchman, however, who paved the way, after having acquired a foothold here, for the pioneer to cause the wildernesses and barren wastes to blossom with fragrant flowers of civilization, the acquisition of this resourceful country would have probably never taken place. It was the wonderful influence the priest exerted over the savage that routed the evil spirit, at least momentarily, from the red man's heart. It was through the labor and ingenuity of the black-robed herald of the cross, by a display of emblems of burnished metals, ceremonies, devotions and instructions, in which pomp, patience and kindly consideration were shown, that savage instincts in the breast of the untutored child of the forest were supplanted by peaceful emotions, and the seeds of civilization sown in a benighted land. By pursuing such methods as these, and by being at all times attentive, bestowing presents generously and judiciously, having diplomatically gained possession of their implements of war, the priests were wonderful conciliators of the savages, and by kindnesses exerted by themselves, which they forced others to exercise, the untamed waifs of the wilderness not only became meek and docile, but in many instances obedient and courteous.

Separated from the world, as were the earlier pilgrims following in the wake of *voyageur* and priest, they acquired novel and varied peculiarities. Transplanted, as it were, in new soil, they necessarily lost the fine finish, in language, dress and manners, imparted by their original native polish, but never surrendered entirely the many characteristics of their respective nationalities. The Frenchman, especially, never forgot his earlier training, and never neglected to celebrate the ancient religious and social holidays as often as the dates of these festivals recurred. With luxuries comparatively few, and actual wants fewer, this heterogeneous people became a homogeneous class, and a happier or more cheerful lot never eeked out an existence upon this mundane sphere. The French were the first allies of America and the first and only friends of the nation who proved their fealty by true tests of friendship. Of all the emigrants from foreign shores who came to make their abiding place with us, their sincerity of purpose was illustrated by a cheerful submission to our laws and the willingness with which they readily grasped our language and adapted themselves to our manners, customs and habits. They engrafted themselves instantly, as it were, branch and limb, on the trunk of our stock, and took deep root in the soil of our affections and in the fields of our social activities. But strange indeed were the influences exerted by the savage and the wilderness over the more sensitive and refined natures of civilized man. Many of the Europeans of the class we have attempted to portray in the first paragraph of this chapter, isolated from the refining influences of a ripened civilization, frequently showed tendencies, more or less pronounced, to drift into the state of savagery by which they were surrounded, without

having a taint of wild blood coursing through their veins. Like many of the *courcurs de bois*, some of whom came of good stock, quite a number of these early Continental adventurers in the new world were prone to throw to the winds upon the slightest provocation all the lofty sentiments acquired by training and education, and sink to the level of the lowest fiends of the forest.

While courageous to a marked degree, the French preferred to fight Indians with love and kindness instead of shot and shell, and in so doing the doughty Frenchmen won nine-tenths of their battles. This mode of "warfare" eventually created bonds between the two races akin to sympathy and fraternalism, and it was no uncommon sight to see dusky warriors, painted and plumed, lounging about the premises of the white man with the same familiarity displayed by a dog attached to the place. A noticeable characteristic of the settlement was the scarcity of females among the white population, which condition led to matings that were as frequent as they were irregular, with the result that at certain seasons the infantile class of half-breeds at the post often outnumbered the pure-blood children. Formerly a predominant element in the permanent population of Vincennes, the intermarriages of the Frenchmen with Indians and Anglo-Americans obliterated all lines of lineage in their progeny, and hence the pronounced type of a race which gave the old town its life and its inspiration melted away like the forest and the savage.

George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's sub-commissioner, who came to the west for the purpose of visiting the more distant Indian tribes, and securing, as far as it could be done, the alliance of the French, who were scattered through the western valleys, and who, it was thought, might be stirring up the savages to warfare, throws a luminous light on the antiquity, as well as the importance, of Vincennes as a settlement. The journal of his voyage may be found in the appendix of Butler's History of Kentucky (second edition), together with the estimate of the number of Indians in the west—"a very curious table, though of course vague and inaccurate," according to Mr. Perkins, the versatile historian. The journal contains passages relative to the character, size and condition of western French settlements at that time (1765)—indicating that they had their origin long before—and states that on June 6th he reached the mouth of the Wabash, and on the 8th was taken prisoner by a party of Indians from the upper Wabash; that upon the 15th he reached Vincennes. "On my arrival," continues Mr. Croghan, "I found a village of about eighty or ninety French families settled on the east side of the river, being one of the finest situations that can be found. The country is level and clear, and the soil very rich, producing wheat and tobacco. I think the latter preferable to that of Maryland or Virginia. The inhabitants hereabouts are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegades from Canada, and much worse than the Indians. Post Vincennes is a place of great consequence for trade, being a fine hunting country all along the Ouabache, and too far for the Indians,

which reside hereabouts, to go either to the Illinois or elsewhere, to fetch their necessities."

Capt. Philip Pitman, the author of the first English publication describing the Wabash and Illinois countries, printed in London in 1770, of which a reprint edition was issued by Frank Haywood Hodder, A. M., professor of American History, University of Kansas, 1906, writes that the air in general of this (Illinois*) climate "is pure, and the sky serene, except in the month of March and the latter end of September, when there are heavy rains and hard gales of wind. The months of May, June, July and August are excessively hot and subject to sudden and violent storms; January and February are extremely cold. The other months of the year are moderate. The principal Indian nations in this country are the Cascasquias, Kaoquias, Mitchigamias and Peoryas; these four tribes are generally called the Illinois Indians. Except in the hunting seasons, they reside near the English settlements in this country, where they have built their huts. They are a poor, debauched and dastardly people. They count about three hundred and fifty warriors. The Peanquichas, Mascoutins, Miamis, Kickapoos and Pyatonons, though not very numerous, are a brave and warlike people. The soil of this country in general is very rich and luxuriant; it produces all sorts of European grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton and tobacco, and European fruits come to great perfection. The inhabitants make wine of the wild grapes, which is very inebriating, and is, in color and taste, very like the red wine of Provence. The country abounds with buffalo, deer, and wild fowl, particularly ducks, geese, swans, turkeys and pheasants. The rivers and lakes afford plenty of fish. In the late wars New Orleans and the lower parts of Louisiana were supplied with flour, beer, wines, hams and other provisions from this country. At present the commerce is mostly confined to peltries and furs, which are got in traffic with the Indians, for which are received in return such European commodities as are necessary to carry on that commerce and the support of the inhabitants. The men of these countries are very superstitious and ignorant; they are, in general, active and well made; they are as good hunters, can bear as much fatigue, and are as well acquainted with the woods as the Indians; most of them have some knowledge of the dialects of the neighboring Indians and much affect their manners. The price of labor in general is very high, as most of the young men rather choose to hunt and trade among the Indians than apply to agriculture or become handicrafts. At the Illinois a man may be boarded and lodged the year round on condition of his working two months, one month in plowing the land and sowing the corn, and one month in the harvest. The only trades they have among them are carpenters, smiths, masons, tailors and millwrights. The number of white inhabitants in this country, exclusive of the troops, are about two thousand, of all ages and sexes; in this number are included those who live at Ft. St. Vincent, on the Ouabache. Thirty

* Vincennes was at that time in the Illinois country.

French soldiers were withdrawn from thence in the latter end of the year 1764. The inhabitants at this post live very much at their ease, having everything necessary for their subsistence of their own production. Their commerce is the same as that of the other inhabitants of this country."

For some unexplained reason, the Spaniards who early made frequent visits to this part of the country, never became transfixed in its social or commercial soil. After the secret treaty with France in 1762, by which Spain, in 1769, came into possession of Louisiana, Vincennes occasionally felt the bitter effects of that power's prohibition of navigation on the Mississippi. That government, however, did not exert domination as a nation over any of the territory in the Wabash country, yet it has been asserted, by the older settlers, who put their faith in traditional stories handed down by their ancestors, that alleged representatives of his most Catholic majesty came here (by what authority it is not stated) and took possession of a small quantity of land, and subsequently sold portions of it to settlers. This tract of land (according to Thomas Dubois, an old citizen of Vincennes, who volunteered the information to the writer) a portion of which lay within Vincennes, extending into Illinois for some distance beyond the west bank of the Wabash, and reaching to a point on this side of the river as far south as Gibson County, comprised about seven leagues—equal to about twenty-one square miles. The pretended agents of the king of Spain (so says tradition) sold the land aforesaid in parcels to individuals who, not being able afterwards to furnish clear titles of possession, were deprived of their purchases. From the same source, information is given out that a small number of Spaniards, claiming delegated powers from the king, occupied the fort here for a brief season shortly after the retirement of St. Ange as commandant and before the advent of Governor Abbott, which, if it were true, would have made Vincennes the military post of three instead of two, nations of the old world. However, in the earlier stages of Vincennes' village existence, the social as well as the commercial life of the old town presented a variety of Spanish types, as it did also of French and English peoples. Those hailing from the countries last named seemed to find permanent lodgment; while natives of the former land, after a brief sojourn, sought more congenial climes. Not since the advent of Col. Francis Vigo, who rendered such valuable services to George Rogers Clark in the conquest of the northwest territory, and especially in the capture of Vincennes from the British, and who was at that time a Spanish subject, has the census reports of the old post contained the name of a Spaniard. Nor can it boast of another citizen, unless it be Father Gibault, a Frenchman, who was more readily swayed by the promptings of American patriotism, or who believed more firmly in the doctrines of American liberty.

CHAPTER X.

THE BEAUTIES AND BOUNTIES OF NATURE.

THE EARLY SETTLERS' AVOCATIONS—THE FORESTS YIELD ABUNDANTLY OF FRUIT AND NUTS—SUPERIOR QUALITY OF GRAPES—PRIMITIVE IMPLEMENTS AND MODES OF AGRICULTURE—PECULIAR HARNESS FOR BEASTS OF BURDEN—THE BEE HUNTER—HOW THE FRENCH VIEWED THE BRITISH—DESCENDANTS OF DISTINGUISHED FRENCH FAMILIES—MESSIEURS. POULLET AND RICHARDVILLE—THE WABASH CREOLE AN INTERESTING CHARACTER.

While never overly exercised as to what the morrow would bring forth in worldly goods, the life of the first settlers, who followed closely on the heels of the *coureur de bois*, trappers and traders from Canada, was devoted primarily to agriculture in its crudest and most primitive state. Trading with the Indians and hunting were also occupations followed by the pioneer agriculturists, who had strolled into this part of the country in an aimless sort of way, only to become bewildered at beholding the beauties and bounties spread broadcast by the lavish hand of nature. Verily, to those who came from the cold regions of the northern lakes, or the barren mountain sides of Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, the lovely landscape of woods, prairie and stream appeared to their astonished gaze like the vision of a panoramic picture. Wild fruits in abundance and in endless variety hung temptingly from the boughs of numberless trees. The grapes, plums, crabapples, cherries and persimmons attained a large and healthy growth and a delicious flavor, which less favored regions did not impart, while the hardy hazel nut (which is a scarce article now), the delicate pecan and "shell bark," and hickory nut, the rich walnut and butternut, in quantities so numerous and in quality said to excel in flavor any of the corresponding products which grow to perfection in the states along the Atlantic coast, at the first touch of frost, covered the ground as thick as autumn leaves. The domestic fruits were also of prolific growth, and appealed to the eye as well as the palate. In the van of these varieties were apples, peaches, pears and grapes,* the latter possessing a palatableness and wine-producing

* Many of the residents of Vincennes, who have not as yet fully entered the "sere and yellow leaf" season of life, will recall the splendid vineyards of Dr. Beatty, corner Second and Hart streets; John B. Dofar, at First and Hart; W. J. Slinkard, First and Scott; Cyr. Poulet, Barnet and Dubois, between Sixth and Seventh streets;

properties likened unto those produced on the vine-clad hills of southern France. The innumerable maple trees yielded unlimited quantities of nectareous sap, from which was made a superior grade of sugar, a staple article of merchandise at the fur buyer's cabin, which was generally the only commercial institution of which some localities could boast. Fibrous cotton, to be woven into garments, sweet potatoes, squashes and Indian corn were gathered in goodly quantities, and the fields yielded abundantly of wheat, rye, and other cereals, while the natural meadows, vast in extent, luxuriant in growth, resplendent in garments of verdure, sowed by nature, and untilled by man, were the grazing grounds for buffalo, elk and deer, which congregated in vast herds. The beautiful Wabash was alive with fish for market or home consumption, and the feathered songsters, which made the woods resound with their melodies, and the fowls of the streams, or the meadows, were easily converted into articles of food for the huntsman or became commodities on which he realized small sums of money.

The hunter and farmer of early times and even of a later day, made bee hunting a side industry, which proved a profitable avocation when properly followed. To become a honey and beeswax merchant it was only necessary to catch a bee in the act of sipping nectar from succulent wild flowers, keep her captive for a little while and then give unto the industrious insect her liberty. Nine times out of ten, when the bee was liberated, she would straightway fly to her home in a hollow tree, to which the watchful eye of her former captor followed, thus directing him to her storehouse of honey, from which he was able to supply himself later on without having to bother in attending to the hive. When the locality in which the hunter or farmer happened to find himself was not brightened with the bloom of flowers, he tempted the busy bee with a bait of some sweetened substance, frequently using a honeycomb saturated with saccharine fluid

Henry Hauser, Dubois and First streets; and the more recent extensive grape arbors (at present in the prime of a productive age) of Anton Heitz, on Lower Ninth street. Many years ago on the Bunker Hill farm, now owned by Hon. Mason J. Niblack, an eccentric Hungarian, said to be the scion of a noble family, who went under the name of George Omoda, cultivated a large vineyard and engaged extensively in the manufacture and sale of wines. To facilitate the sales of his grape juices he fitted up a rustic garden, in the very face of Nature, so to speak, which was frequented by some of the best people, as well as good judges of wine, who pronounced his beverages superior to the finest of domestic goods and equal to the choicest brands of the imported varieties. Mr. Omoda had a lively competitor in the person of Maurice Schabbacher, whose resort was within a half mile of Omoda's, on the Evansville road, corner Fifteenth street. "Brother" Joseph was another wine grower, who held forth at the Highlands. In the seventies and early eighties all three of these resorts were liberally patronized by a class of people in whose presence to-day it would be the height of impropriety to even mention a wine or beer garden. The purity of the goods, and the establishment of decorum not now so easy to maintain, were features that made the wine gardens of Omoda, Schabbacher and Joseph attractive places for some people classed as the better element of society.

to lure her to captivity, and after releasing the insect she would sometimes lead her pursuer for miles through the woods before reaching her home. Another method of luring bees for the purpose of captivity and to subsequently learn the location of their hives, was to place a small, shallow receptacle filled with sweetened water on a stump, which served as a very attractive bait. A novice might pass a bee tree a hundred times and take no notice of its presence. So adept were a few of these bee hunters, they could tell at a glance, without noting whether or not the insects flew to or from it, the signs of a bee tree. Whenever a bee tree was located, it was marked by the finder, and the same respect for the mark on the tree was shown as if it had been placed on a hog or a cow—the right of property had obtained, and no one questioned the ownership. If the swarm was composed of a large colony of bees, the tree was felled towards the end of the season when food became scarce; if the colony was weak, the tree was left standing for another year. Great quantities of honey were often taken from a single tree, the superiority of its flavor and the pliability of its wax making it preferable to the domesticated variety.

The earlier agriculturists used plows made entirely of wood, with the exception of the shares. The ordinary plow had a wooden mould-board, and the beam and handle were usually twelve feet in length. Two wooden wheels were directly in front of the share—a small one and a larger one—the former revolving on the unplowed ground and the latter “tracking” in the furrow. Instead of chains or whiffletrees, a long pole, attached with a hinge to the beam was fastened to the oxen, and performed a similar service quite well. Both oxen and horses were used for plowing, as well as other farm work, and the sight of a horse and ox hitched double was not an unusual sight. The harness consisted of withes or plaited rawhides. Instead of using a yoke for oxen, twisted rawhides, made in the form of a rope, were wound around the horns of the beasts, while a hickory withe wrapped with rawhide answered for a horse’s bit, to which was attached twisted rawhide lines. Later on the ox-yoke was introduced, which consisted of a straight stick of wood, cut at the ends to fit the horns, and tied securely in position with thongs of rawhide. Tandem was the way teams were driven when horses were used—the headstall and reins being attached to rings fastened on either end of the wooden bits. While the single and double-trees, which came at a later date, were similar in construction to the kind in use today, the clips, cleaves and lap-rings were made of hickory withes, and lasted just for one season. Horse collars were made of corn shucks, plaited in rope-like sections, and sewed together with leather thongs, the bulge in which the hames fitted was made by rolling two plaited pieces together and sewing them on the edge of the collar. Fine ash shavings, pounded and mixed with deer hair and stuffed into rawhide of sufficient dimensions to roll and sew together, was also used in the manufacture of horse collars. The husbandman of ye olden time was satisfied to pitch hay with a wooden fork made from saplings, generally dogwood,

to rake the meadows with a wooden rake, and dig potatoes or post holes with a hickory spade, which, it is said, if properly oiled, could do effective work.

Naturally, when one surveys the landscape to which the pioneers imparted a life teeming with human thought and pulsating with human endeavor, he longs to look upon the scenes of the northern and western world with the wondering eyes of the French who first beheld them—"the eyes of Cartier as he sailed up the St. Lawrence; of Champlain, as he paddled his bark canoe up the current of the Richelieu or shouldered it around the rapids of Ottawa; of Nicollet as he steered through the straits of Mackinaw into the expanse of Lake Michigan; of Jolliet as he rode beneath the cliffs of the Saguenay—the eyes of Boulé at the Saut, of Hennepin at Niagara, of Marquette on the River of Conception, of Du L'Hut in the country of the Dakotas—the eyes of La Salle as he descended the Ohio, followed the Indian trails of Illinois and Arkansas, or pronounced that sounding formula at the mouth of the Mississippi—we seem to look out of their eyes upon this virgin world of forest and stream, of prairie and lake, of buffalo and elk, of natural beauty and human ugliness. But after all, our impressions are faint compared with theirs. Ideal presence is not real presence. Even if we could follow them on their old paths, we could not undo the great changes civilization has wrought. Nor can we recall the innocency of their eyes any more than we can renew the devotion of their hearts to king and church. All that is possible for us is a pale picture of as grand a panorama of natural beauty and solemnity as was ever unrolled to the vision of explorers."*

The people of the old post, and for that matter, all the French settlements east of the Mississippi, were permitted to "pursue the even tenor of their way," so far as English military or civil power asserted itself, from the inception of the conspiracy of Pontiac, the giant chief of the Ottawas, until the lowering clouds of the American revolution had fully descended upon the fair land. Practically, there was no civil government at Vincennes from the time St. Ange took his departure from here for Fort Chartres, in 1764, until 1777, when Lieutenant Governor Edwin Abbott came from Detroit, without display of pomp or ceremony, to represent the king of Great Britain. Governor Abbott's first duties, like those of the French commandants who had preceded him, was to enlarge, strengthen and fortify the fort Juchereau built, Morgane de Vinsenne re-established, improved, enlarged and occupied, St. Ange reconstructed, Ramsey held for a brief space, and St. Marie was holding at the time, which he rechristened "Fort Sackville."† He wrote to his superiors at Quebec

* Milburn, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley*.

† According to Mr. Cauthorn, the name Sackville was given the fort in honor of Sir Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, an English scholar and statesman, who was in great favor with the English government, had been employed in many im-

describing the Wabash in glowing terms, characterizing the stream as the most beautiful river in the world, and the inhabitants as peaceful, happy contented and generally well behaved. Through the persuasive powers of the adroit Abbott, and on the strength of a proclamation he issued as commandant, a great number of the inhabitants, with apparently no concern whatever, subscribed their names to an oath of fidelity to the government of Great Britain, which, in form, was as follows:

"I, — —, do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty, King George, and him will defend to the utmost of my power, against all traitorous conspiracies, and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his person, crown and dignity; and will do my utmost endeavors to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors all treasons and traitorous conspiracies and attempts, which I know shall be against him or any of them; and all this I do swear, without any equivocation, mental evasion or secret reservation; and renouncing all pardons and dispensations from any power or person whomsoever, to the contrary. So help me God."

Former conditions, however, prevalent at the different villages under French sovereignty, underwent little or no change with the ascendancy of British commandants, the political independence enjoyed by former subjects of Louis XIV living in isolated places like Vincennes, where neither the exercise of national or constitutional prerogatives of self-government had been felt, were not made to suffer by the transfer of kingly sceptres. The awful apprehensions entertained by the inhabitants when the contemplated shift of power was first made known, were dispelled by the subsequent conduct of the new commandants, who by no means "ruled with an iron hand." However, the average native of French extraction continued to eye the British officers with incredulity, and treated the backwoodsmen, who had begun to stroll in from Virginia, Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky with distrust and disdain. By diplomacy on the part of the British commandants, who allowed the natives to keep intact their old laws and policies, the latter became entirely reconciled to the so-called enforcement of the new regime. The French language, in all civil or military transactions, was as much in vogue as the English, and the old system of land allotments and titles was closely adhered to, the commandant granting demesne tracts for residence and agricultural purposes on the same conditions as their official predecessors—that the applicant live on the same, and that a portion of it be put in cultivation within a year. It is safe to say that in the majority of cases, where such grants were made, either the spirit or the letter of the compact was violated by the petitioner, for it was just as difficult for many of the natives to forsake the woods and the chase as it would be for a duck to shun water. From their half-savage lives these well-meaning people could not banish an inherent love for the forest any more than they could speak the native tongue of their fathers,

portant foreign missions, and, upon the death of Lord Burleigh, succeeded him as Prime Minister of England. Lieut. Ramsay, a British officer, who came here in 1766, named the fort.

which, through association with half-breeds and intermarriages with the Anglo-American races, had degenerated into a *patois*, wholly unintelligible to a native of La Belle France,* but generally understood by some of the older French citizens.

While this class of people may have been a dominant part of the population at the time of which we write, Vincennes nevertheless was the abiding place of quite a number of direct descendants of the nobility and aristocracy of France, England and Spain. Nor were all the French who came from Canada, including the *courcours de bois*, of the ignorant and vulgar type that Volney and other travelers of the remote past would have us believe. The La Salles, the Gamelins, the Duboises, the Campagniottes, the Richardvilles, and a host of others were all descendants of noble families, and the purest of French blood coursed through their veins. In the first stages of development of the great northwest, no names are more prominent than those of Jacques Marquette and Robert La Salle. To the first belongs the honor of having first explored the Mississippi, and the other, after incomparable perseverance, under the most distressing conditions, succeeded in reaching its mouth. These two men were cousins. One a priest, the other unmarried, they died and with them closed their individual pedigrees. In France, however, a large family of brothers and sisters remained, several of whom added other honors to the names which shine with lustre in the brilliant chapters of American history. More than a century after Jacques Marquette was laid to rest in the sands upon the shores of Lake Michigan, and Robert La Salle had fallen at the hands of an assassin in the long grass of the Texan prairies, their families again became represented on the American continent. Marie Françoise Marquette, sister to Jacques Marquette, and third child of Nicholas Marquette and Rose La Salle, married Cyr Alexis De Driencourt in 1754. Their great granddaughter, Emilie De Driencourt, married Jean Charles Poulet in 1794, and their son, Cyr Alexis Gideon Poulet, born in Laon, France, 1803, came to America in 1837 and took up his residence at Vincennes. Mr. Poulet was a man of high culture and accomplishments, a graduate of the College of Rheims, and honored with the degree of *belles lettres*, bachelor of law and bachelor of science, from the University of France.

* Quite a few years ago, a very *suave* gentleman, direct from one of the provinces of France, had occasion to visit Vincennes. Aaron Tootles, a very dignified Afro-American, who stood six feet four inches in his stockings, a veritable monument of pomposity, was the proprietor of the only first-class barber-shop in the city, into which the stranger strolled in quest of information. It was impossible, however, for the latter to make known his wants to the gentleman of color. Mr. Tootles, always exceedingly polite to strangers, and not without curiosity as to the visitor's mission here, started out to locate an interpreter, whom he soon found in the person of "Billy" Watson, a native "Frenchman," whom he presented to the stranger with great *eclat*. After laboring for fully a half hour with the Frenchman, to make himself understood, Mr. Watson withdrew in disgust, and, calling Mr. Tootles to the door from the outside, exclaimed, in a loud tone of voice, "Hell! Tootles, that feller can't talk French!"

He was also an epicure of fine discernment, a lover of flowers, trees and birds; and, being possessed of independent means, upon his arrival in this city, purchased a large section of land on the south side, formerly known as Frenchtown, and now the present site of the Good Samaritan hospital, and built a comfortable and commodious residence, which subsequently became surrounded with tempting orchards and vineyards, where he dispensed a hospitality as lavish as it was graceful and gracious. He was married in 1850 to Margurite Campagniotte, grandniece of Pierre, Paul and Antoine Gamelin, all of whom rendered valuable assistance to Father Gibault and Francis Vigo in behalf of the American cause, pending the capture of Vincennes from the British. Paul Gamelin was the father of the mother of John B. La Plante, deceased, and great grandfather of Edmond B. La Plante, and quite a prominent figure in the judicial and military affairs of the northwest territory. Soon after taking up his residence here, Mr. Pouillet was admitted to the Knox County bar, and, as an advocate of the law, his services were frequently called into requisition in questions involving the old French claims, and his knowledge of French technicalities was invaluable in this branch of his profession. He was a very successful practitioner, but retired early from active practice. He never, however, relinquished his friendship for members of the profession, and maintained to the last a close association with his legal brethren, his annual dinners tendered to members of the bar being among the marked features that characterized the social life of Vincennes. He died in 1884 at Indianapolis, whither he had gone for treatment, leaving to mourn their loss his devoted wife and two children, Charles and Emile Marguirete, all of whom survive him. The latter was married in 1874 to John Burke, deceased, and their daughters, Marie Maurice and Claire Agnes (wife of Dr. Barney Dryfuss), both of New York city, are the eldest of a large family of children who represent an honored lineage of characters conspicuous in the pioneer history of the northwest territory. The genealogy of the La Selles can also be traced to Gilles de la Celle, a distinguished man of letters of Savigny sur Orge, diocese of Paris, France, whose consort was Anne Beauregard; Jacques de la Celle, who married Angelique Gibault at Montreal, Canada, August 8, 1698; Jacques La Selle, who married Marie Anne La Lande at Montreal, February 16, 1733, died November 17, 1778; Jacques La Selle, *fils* , married Therese Berthelet at La Chine, Canada, February 18, 1765, died at Detroit, Mich., about 1796; Hyacinthe Lasselle married Julie Ridday Bosseron, and was born at the Indian town of Quaitenon, near the present city of Fort Wayne, February 25, 1777, and died at Logansport, Ind., January 23, 1843. The La Salle-Busseron wedding, which occurred here February 8, 1805, was a notable social event, and joined together two of the most prominent families of the old post. The fruits of this union were ten children, all of whom were born at Vincennes, and of which only two are now living—Julie Francois, widow

of Louis Chamberlin, and Caroline Victoria, widow of Cornelius Cornwell, both of Washington, D. C.

Through all the intervening ages Poste du Ouabache, with an air of Arcadian idealism ever present, extending back to the dark and mysterious days of centuries that have gone, has always been the small fount from which larger streams have flowed into the channels of history. Long before Francois Morgane de Vinsenne, in whose honor it was named, appeared upon the scene, many years preceding the first preserved church records of St. Francis Xavier cathedral, telling of the happy nuptials, on April 21, 1749, of Madame Troittier, to be followed by the sad sequel a year later of the burial of the bride beneath her pew "on the gospel side," grandsires of the Racines, Duboises, Barrois, Deloriers, Bonneaux, Mallettes, Bordeleaus, La Deroutes, Brouillettes, Goderes, Chapeaus, Goimards, Levrons, La Violettes, Pagets, Pelletiers, Busserons, De Noyons, Villeneuve, Boyers, Cornoyers, Chapards, Racicaults, were very material factors in shaping the destinies and establishing the social codes of the northwest territory. They were of the people to whom General Gage, that gruff and bluff Englishman, with an elongated military title, issued an order in 1772 to quit this country without delay and to retire at their choice into some of the colonies of his majesty, the king of England, where they would be received and treated as other subjects of Great Britain, and to whom they sent back the plea that for seventy years their ancestors had held the land under the king of France, registering a strong protest against dispossession. But the grasping Gage was unrelenting, and demanded certified copies of deeds to titles. Alas, for the ravages of time! Few of the original concessions remained. It had been customary for past commandants to record them upon small scraps of paper which were deposited with a royal notary. Some did then, and always had, regarded long occupation as evidence of title, because they were honest in all dealings with their fellow-men, and were not all of that indolent, idle class, which Mr. Volney claims to have encountered. However, tangible proofs of rightful ownership were scattered, many destroyed. Some had been transferred to Fort Chartres, others had been carried away by an absconding notary, and still others had been "eaten by rats." There was a hasty recension, and from the "*Noms des Habitans et Titre par lequel ils Reclament*," forwarded to Gage there came no reply.

Connected, also, with the pioneers above mentioned, but not generally known by the present generation, were the Lagannierres, Perodeaus, Binet, and others, whose descendants' names have been changed in marriage, as Wetzels and Smocks, descended of the Chapards, the numerous branches of the Bayard family from the De Noyons, and the La Salles of Logansport, from the Busserons. A name prominent in the early affairs of the poste, conspicuously absent in the "recensement" to Gage, is that of John Baptiste Deroite de Richardville, who held no concessions of land from his sovereign. A nobleman of distinction, holding office under King Louis,

he was sent to New France, and with Francois Morgane de Vinsenne, came to the Wabash country on a mission of treaty with the Indians. The independence and fascination of savage life so attracted him that he tarried, eventually fell in love with and married the chief's daughter. The news was received with resentment and disapproval by his family and at court. The young man was shorn of his possessions and ordered not to return to France. At once reconciling himself to his fate, he adopted the drifting life of a *coureur de bois*, trapping and hunting with his Indian brethren and making his home among his wife's people. But, unlike many others, he never forgot his early training, nor lost the bearing of an officer or courtier. By his gentlemanly deportment he became a factor in the councils of governmental affairs, and in the everyday social life of the old post. At the close of the French possession, when the retiring commandant, St. Ange, was empowered to name a person "to maintain good order among the citizens of the poste, as also of the *voyageurs* and Indians," he named Monsieur Deroite de Richardville to perform the functions of captain of militia. The latter did not live long after having been honored with this commission, death having come to his bed-chamber in the night time, wholly unannounced, where he had retired the same evening in the best of spirits to court a soothing slumber begotten by the knowledge of faithful performance of duties of the preceding day. His demise, as citizen and officer, was generally deplored, and at his obsequies the populace gave a universal expression of its grief. He was survived by his wife and only child, a son, who married Susan Vondrie. Five children were born of this union, of whom John Baptiste, the second son, was the first to marry. His wife was Victoria Levron, whose ancestors held a concession of land from Commandant St. Ange. Of their ten children, there are none now living, Celestine, wife of Felix Bouchie, deceased, who departed this life about ten years ago, being the last survivor of that immediate family. The Creole character—of which few types now remain—the product of the Indian settlements along the Wabash, seemed to be of a better grade than was developed among other localities where intermarriages of white and red people produced this attractive *genus homo*. Always a picturesque personality, the Creole of the Wabash country, combining the lithe, slender figure of the Indian with the vivacity and natural courtesy of the Frenchman, was also an interesting study, and were the secrets of his history revealed, there would be discovered in more instances than suspected strains of blood as blue as ever coursed through noble veins.*

*The foregoing paragraphs relating to the Poulllets and Richardvilles are adapted from the Evansville Pocket, a weekly publication of twelve years ago, edited by Mrs. Clotilde Pilard-Thomas (Mrs. Kehough), of Buenos Ayres, S. A., formerly of Vincennes, and retain the original trace of the talented editress' facile pen.

CHAPTER XI.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY BECOMES DOMAINS OF THE BRITISH.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND'S FIRST DECISIVE CLASH OF ARMS ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT—DEFEAT OF GENERAL BRADDOCK—THE FALL OF QUEBEC, AND DEATHS OF GENERAL WOLFE AND THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM—THE TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—PONTIAC, AND THE WILY CHIEF'S CONSPIRACY—OLD FORT CHARTRES AND ITS COMMANDERS—THE PIANKESHAW AND OTHER TRIBES AT VINCENNES CONVEY MORE THAN THIRTY-SEVEN MILLION ACRES OF LAND—ST. MARIE AND THE HAPPY INHABITANTS AT THE OLD POST.

In dealing with St. Louis St. Ange Belle Rive—(in a preceding chapter) at a period when France and England were fully engrossed in a European warfare, of which the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was the sequel—the reader's attention was diverted momentarily from the attitude toward one another of the French and British forces on the American continent. While that war to some extent involved the French and English colonies on the Atlantic coast, neither it nor the treaty which followed, by any means settled the dispute over the territorial boundaries of these respective nations in this country. England* sought to extend dominion over territory lying west of her possessions on the Atlantic coast, while France set up claim to the Mississippi valley in its entirety, and opposed with dogged determination, from 1748 to 1760, every effort put forth by England to establish settlements in any quarter west of the Allegheny mountains. In order to more successfully combat the French, the English, in 1748, concluded a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Twightwee Indians at Lancaster, in the province of Pennsylvania, which was the first attempt made by the English to win the good graces of the Miami confederation through treaty. The same year witnessed the formation of the Ohio Company, instigated by Thomas Lee of the king's council, of Virginia, to whom the king granted a half million acres of land bordering on the Ohio, for the purpose of enabling the English to establish settlements west of the Allegheny mountains, through the agency of said company.

* Dillion, *History of Indiana*.

France's opposition to England's efforts to establish trading posts west of the Alleghenies, and to extend her colonies to territory lying about the Ohio river, became so pronounced that in 1754 the French built Fort Duquesne, for the protection of the frontiers and to prevent the further advances of the armed forces of the British, who had been ordered by the British ministry as early as 1753 to settle all further disputes with France growing out of the possessions of territory west of the Alleghenies by the sword. And on July 9, 1755, when General Edwin Braddock, with his solid columns of British soldiers, was marching to attack Fort Duquesne, and when within seven miles of the fortification, he found himself surrounded by an army of about two hundred and fifty French and six hundred Indians (commanded by M. Beaujeu and M. Dumas) who had lain in ambush for two days. In the conflict that ensued Braddock was mortally wounded, after having three horses shot under him. On General Braddock's staff was Colonel Gage, of revolutionary fame, a gallant and brave officer, who, twenty years later, was humiliated by the fleeing of his cowardly brigade at the battle of Bunker Hill. General Gates, who became the future conqueror of Burgoyne, was also of Braddock's forces, as was General George Washington, who had four bullets pierce his coat and two horses shot under him. Of the occurrence, Mr. Dillon writes as follows:

"Notwithstanding the orders of the general to the contrary, the three companies of Virginia troops took positions behind trees and other coverts, and fought in the Indian manner. These troops 'showed a good deal of bravery, and were nearly all killed; out of three companies that were there, scarcely thirty men were left alive. Capt. Peyrouny and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Capt. Polson had nearly as hard a fate, for only one of his men was left.' Many of the Indians, gaining confidence by the confusion of the British regulars, rushed from their coverts and carried on the carnage with their tomahawks. In the midst of the slaughter, Braddock himself, who was unwisely brave, struggled in vain to form his men into platoons and columns. In the meantime nearly all of his officers were killed or wounded. The whole number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed and thirty-seven wounded. Sir Peter Hallet fell by the first fire, at the head of his division. Col. Washington, who was one of the aids of General Braddock, escaped without a wound, though four bullets passed through his coat, and two horses were shot under him. Braddock had three horses shot under him; but his obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, and he continued his efforts to maintain the conflict until at last he received a mortal wound from a musket ball which passed through his right arm and lungs. He was immediately carried from the field and the remnant of the army then retreated in a very disorderly manner across the Monongahela. The Indians, being attracted by the plunder which they found on the field, did not pursue the retreating forces, who continued their flight until they

arrived at the camp of Col. Dunbar, where the unfortunate Braddock died on the 13th of July. All the stores except those necessary for immediate use were then destroyed; the provincial troops returned to their homes, and the British regulars were marched to Philadelphia, where they went into quarters. In this conflict the loss of English private soldiers, killed and wounded, amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. Of this number about one-half were killed. . . . The loss on the side of the French was, in the words of an imperfect return, 'three officers killed and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians killed, and as many wounded.'"

Immediately following the humiliating defeat of Braddock's forces, the kingdoms of both England and France sent reinforcements across the waters to all their American colonies. The French, elated and emboldened by the decisive victory which had been won with the aid of their Indian allies, at once assumed a position more on the offensive than the defensive, and for a period of three years maintained undisputed possession of Fort Duquesne; but toward the close of 1758, on learning of the contemplated invasion of General Forbes with seven thousand British soldiers,* dismantled the fort and 'to the number of about five hundred men' retreated to different French posts. . . . The fortifications were hastily repaired by the English and garrisoned by four hundred and fifty men, chiefly provincial troops from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, under command of Colonel Mercer, and the name of the post was changed to Fort Pitt. By the evacuation of the fort and their withdrawal from that part of the country, the French virtually gave England possession of the territory on the borders of the Ohio. The Indians realized that the military prestige of the French was on the wane, and nearly all the tribes between the Ohio and the northern lakes subscribed to treaties with their former foes, the English.

While engaging in no sanguinary battles, the French proved themselves foes worthy of English steel until the autumnal days of September, 1759, when Generals Wolfe, Monckton and Townsend with a gallant force of British soldiers stormed the French strongholds at Quebec, Canada, and from the Heights of Abraham, nobly defended by the Marquis de Montcalm, amid the thunders of war were uttered, and are still repeated, the dying words of a British and a French officer, who gave to the world thrilling examples of how heroically die soldier-patriots in the defense of their country.† While the heat of battle was fiercest, a leaden missile embedded itself in Wolfe's wrist. Hastily bandaging the wound with his handkerchief, he encouraged his men with renewed vigor to push forward. An instant later a shot entered his groin. This wound he sought to conceal, and would have been partially successful had it not been that, while advancing at the head of a column of grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, a third bullet struck his left breast, reaching a vital spot. Unable to

* Dillion, *History of Indiana*.

† Dillion.

stand, and realizing that he had been mortally wounded, he supported himself on the shoulder of a lieutenant, who had gone to his aid. This officer, seeing the French on the eve of retreat, exultantly exclaimed: "They flee! they flee!" "Who flee?" anxiously queried the dying general, pain and doubt depicted on his countenance. When the lieutenant replied: "The French," Wolfe's face brightened with a smile as he exclaimed, "Then I depart content." Montcalm, brave and patriotic, had received a mortal wound in battle and died on the same day. When told, shortly before his death, of his approaching end, he calmly replied, "So much the better; I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The crushing blow administered by the British to the French in this struggle demoralized and humiliated the latter power, and subsequently led to the treaty of 1763, which gave England possession of nearly all the territory in this country that was formerly under the dominion of France, and included also Nova Scotia, Canada, and their dependencies. For the purpose of preventing future disputes as to English and French possessions on the North American continent, an imaginary line of separation was "drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source to the river Ibberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Marepaus and Pontchartrain, to the sea." By the cessions made by France to England at this time, the river and port at Mobile, and all the territory possessed by the former power on the left side of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, became the domains of Great Britain. It was further stipulated that the navigation of the Mississippi from its source to the Gulf of Mexico, its entire length and breadth, was to be open to navigation at all times, affording a free and uninterrupted avenue for travel and traffic. France, however, had previously made a secret treaty with Spain, ceding that portion of Louisiana lying to the west of the Mississippi, which did not become generally known until a year after the treaty of 1763; and it was not until six years from the date last named that Spain took formal possession or began to exercise control over her new dominions.* It was on account of the Spanish government's acquisition of this new territory, or, rather, because of its attempt to establish private ownership of the Mississippi river after the territory had been acquired, that came near involving Spain and the United States in war. The people in all sections of country west and north of Louisiana, felt outraged, and justly so, upon being denied the use of the Mississippi for the purpose of entering southern ports with their merchandise.

The year following the fall of Quebec the Marquis de Vandreuil surrendered Canada and all her dependencies to the English General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British army in North America. By the articles

*The province was to be delivered whenever Spain should be ready to receive it; but this was not officially announced to the inhabitants of Louisiana until April 21, 1764; nor did Spain receive possession until August 17, 1769. Dillion, *History of Indiana*, p. 78.

of capitulation Kaskaskia, Detroit and Michilimackinac were included, but Vincennes not being considered as a Canadian dependency, was not, and St. Ange, the commandant at this post, was left in charge of affairs, and held possession of the fort for four years more, or until the year following the treaty of 1763, when he went to Fort Chartres to relieve Neyon de Villiers, a French commandant, who was merely awaiting the arrival of the English to deliver the fort to them. Major Robert Rogers had been sent forth, however, by General Amherst to take possession of Detroit and Michilimackinac. At the former place he met the haughty Indian chief Pontiac, who called a halt on him and his troops, hitherto cordially received along their journey by all of the Indian tribes, who pretended to be delighted with the information that the French had surrendered the country to the English.* The Ottawa chieftain sent word to the English major and his forces to approach no further until he should visit their camp and see them with his own eyes, and for them to await his coming. Accordingly the troops were drawn into line, and soon afterward Pontiac appeared upon the scene. At the conclusion of formal salutations, the Indian demanded to know, with much emphasis, the mission on which Rogers and his men were bent, and by what authority they had entered his territory without obtaining his consent. Major Rogers, who has been referred to as a prudent officer and a cautious man, replied that they came for the purpose of displacing the French, whose presence had prevented the formation of closer ties of friendship between the English and Indians, and that in coming they meant good, instead of evil, to the red men.† While Rogers presented Pontiac with several belts of wampum and received from him smaller presents in return, the great warrior remarked to the Major, "I shall stand till morning in your path," meaning thereby that, until permission was granted, the English expedition must advance no further. Before withdrawing Pontiac told Rogers that if his soldiers were in need of provisions they would be supplied by his braves. The offer was accepted with thanks, the provisions furnished, and the Indians liberally paid for their trouble. While Pontiac feigned friendship for the English he hated them thoroughly, and was playing the hypocrite that he might more readily destroy them. The next day Pontiac went to Roger's camp and smoked the pipe of peace with him. Later he sent a hundred or more of his warriors with the English troops to Pittsburg to aid the British in driving herds of cattle from Fort Pitt to Detroit to be used by the English garrison. The chief further freely consented to permit the English to pass to and fro over his domains to take peaceful possession of the forts that were still occupied by the French, ready for delivery upon the arrival of the English. But all these evidences of friendship were feigned, as shown in his intense hostility towards the English in 1762, which manifested it-

* Dillon.

† Dillon.

self with greater fierceness in 1763, when the secret of his conspiracy to murder all the inmates of the fort at Detroit was betrayed by a squaw, who informed an officer of the garrison of the dastardly plot, thus foiling the red-skinned and red-handed assassins. It took nearly the whole year of 1762 for Pontiac to embitter the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawattomies, Sacs, Foxes, Menomimies, Miamis, Shawnees and Wyandots sufficiently for an attack on all the British forts and trading posts in the country northwest of the Alleghenies, which attack was made simultaneously in May, 1763, resulting in the Indians taking possession of the posts of Michilimackinac, Green Bay, St. Joseph, Quiatenon, Miamis, Sandusky, Presq-Isle, Leboeuf and Venango. The British garrisons at Detroit and Fort Pitt resisted the attacks successfully. "Pontiac, early in May, 1763, appeared before Detroit with three or four hundred warriors" says Dillion.* "These Indians, who were accompanied by their women and children, encamped near the fort, without exciting at first, any suspicion in the mind of Major Gladwyn, the commandant. The post was then garrisoned by one hundred and thirty men, including officers. There were block houses at the corners and over the gates. With a few exceptions the houses of the French inhabitants were situated within the enclosure; and an open space which was called by the French *le chemin du ronde* intervened. The fortifications did not extend to the river Detroit, but a gate opened in the direction of that stream, in which, near the fort, an armed English schooner, the Beaver, was moored. The ordnance of the fort consisted of two, six pounders, a few small brass pieces and three mortars.

"Such was the condition of affairs at Detroit on the 8th of May, 1763, when Pontiac proposed to hold a council with Major Gladwyn, saying to that officer that 'the Indians desired to take their new father, the king of England, by the hand.' " Gladwyn having assented, it was agreed that the council should be held on the following day. "Pontiac's object in making this apparently friendly overture," says Dillon, "was to gain admittance into the fort at the head of a number of warriors who had been armed with rifles which had been made so short that they could be concealed under the blankets of those who carried them. At a peculiar signal, which was to be given by the chief, these Indians were to massacre all the officers in the fort, and then open the gates to admit the other Indians, who were to rush in and complete the destruction of the garrison." But the warning of an Indian woman, whom Major Gladwyn had employed to make for him a pair of elk-skin slippers, balked the red skins in their game. †"Pontiac and his warriors, having repaired to the fort, were admitted without hesitation and were conducted to the place assigned for the meeting, where Gladwyn and his staff were prepared to meet them. Perceiving at the gate that there was unusual activity among the troops, and noticing that the garrison was under arms, the guards doubled, and the

* Dillion, *History of Indiana*, pp. 83, 84.

† Dillon.

officers armed with swords and pistols, Pontiac inquired of the British commander what was the cause of this unusual appearance. He was answered that it was proper to keep the young men to their duty, lest they should become idle and ignorant. The business of the council then commenced, and Pontiac proceeded to address Mayor Gladwyn. His speech was bold and menacing, and his manner and gesticulations vehement, and they became more so as he approached the critical moment. When he was on the point of making the preconcerted signal, the drums at the door of the council-house suddenly rolled the charge, the guards levelled their pieces, and the British officers drew their swords from their scabbards. Pontiac was a brave man; but this unexpected and decisive proof that his plot was discovered, disconcerted him, and he failed to give his party the signal of attack. Major Gladwyn immediately approached the chief, and drawing aside his blanket, discovered the shortened rifle; and then, after stating his knowledge of the plan, and reproaching him for his treachery, ordered him from the fort."

Much crest-fallen at the failure of his murderous plan, Pontiac and his braves immediately withdrew from the fort, and, upon gaining the outside, opened fire upon the garrison. They subsequently visited a near-by cabin where lived an English woman and her two sons, whom they murdered; and, afterwards repairing to Hog Island, where a discharged sargeant resided with his family, massacred him and all members of the household except one. For several days succeeding these occurrences the Indians made several attempts to carry the fort by storm. While the method of attack at close range was abandoned at the end of the fifth day, the red skins nevertheless maintained the siege through the months of May, June, July and August, compelling the British garrison to subsist during the major portion of the time on half rations. Fort Pitt during this same period was besieged by the warriors from the Shawnee and Delaware tribes, principally, aided by a score of red warriors from other confederations, while the other followers of Pontiac, from the northern lakes to the Mississippi, were making war on English soldiers and colonists, on land and water. But the support that Pontiac had expected to receive from the French was not forthcoming, which had a tendency to discourage his followers as well as himself. The British authorities were placing their best fighters in the field, and increasing the number of their troops, in a determined effort to subdue the Indians, among whom the Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas and other Indian tribes were the most formidable fighters. The spectacle of General Bradstreet at the head of three thousand men, who came into the field in 1764 with orders to annihilate the savages along the borders of lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, had a salutary effect on the hostile Indians, for it was while the general and his forces were en route from Niagara to Detroit that he was accosted by quite a number of chiefs, representing nearly all of the tribes of the northwestern country, who expressed a strong desire to sign treaties of peace,

which were promptly executed and concluded immediately upon Bradstreet's arrival at Detroit. Pontiac, however, would not consent to become a party to any of these pacific negotiations. Disappointed in not receiving the proffered aid from the French and brought to a full realization of the superiority of British arms over Indian, and humiliated by the treachery of his own people, he withdrew from the scenes that witnessed the conception and failure of his grand conspiracy, to take up his abode in the Illinois country, where, in 1767, he was felled by the hand of an assassin.*

It was not until October, 1765, that Fort Chartres passed into British hands and the Illinois country came under British control.† After Major Loftus and Captain Pittman had vainly attempted to reach the fort from New Orleans, and Capt. Morris had been baffled in an effort to gain the same point by the Maumee, Lieutenant Fraser was permitted to pass down the Ohio uninterrupted, on a mission of conciliation, but on reaching the fort, and remaining for a very brief season, was content to escape with his life down the Mississippi, by effecting a disguise. Captain Croghan, who followed Fraser, a month or two later, down the Ohio, had smooth sailing until he struck the Wabash country, where he was captured by a band of Kickapoos and carried a prisoner to Quiatenon. The Weas, however, treated him with consideration and allowed him much freedom. Several days after his capture Maisonville came to Weatown, bearing a message from St. Ange, in which the latter invited Croghan to come to Fort Chartres. This message, together with assurances from Maisonville, led to Croghan's position being changed from a captive to a guest. He was allowed to depart the next day down the Wabash, when he met Pontiac, with a big band of warriors, headed for Quiatenon. After assuring the great chief that the English cession of French posts did not mean the sale of the Indians' lands, Pontiac, (having already been apprised by his lieutenants at New Orleans that the French would not aid the Indians, in a fight against the English) pretended to become fully reconciled to the exchange

* A tradition that has come all the way down from generation to generation was often told by the Indians as follows: The great chief, Pontiac, in destroying bands of Indians opposing his confederation, captured mostly women and children who were sold by his agents to the resident French at the different posts, receiving in exchange guns, powder, lead, flints, tomahawks and blankets. He was killed by an assassin in the woods where East St. Louis now stands, because several years before one of his bands of warriors had captured the women and children of a hunting party of Illinois Indians while they were drying meats and fish on the shores of Lake Michigan, and Pontiac ordered all of them sold into slavery except a beautiful woman who was the wife of the chief of the hunting party, whom he took for his wife. While making a visit to St. Ange, at the village of St. Louis, hunted up some of her kindred and assisted them in murdering Pontiac. The hold this great chief had on the people of his confederation was so firm that when they learned of his murder they brought on a war of extermination and before it was over the Illinois Indians were nearly all killed. The beautiful woman who caused his death was recaptured and burned at the stake. Cochrum, *A Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 23.

† Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 75.

of Great Fathers,* and, accompanied by Croghan, proceeded to Post Quia-tenon, where, in council, he denounced the French for having deceived him and his people and declared that henceforth he would wage war neither against the British or British interests. This promise was faithfully kept, and the remaining days of the great warrior, who voluntarily cast aside the robes of a chieftain, were devoted to the humble occupation of fishing and hunting.

Croghan's mission in the Wabash and Illinois country, as has already been stated in a previous chapter, was for the purpose of conciliating the Indians. It was not intended that he was to take charge at Fort Chartres. Loftus, Pittman, Morris and Fraser, respectively, had been delegated to receive the fort from St. Ange, but it remained for Captain Sterling of the Forty-second Highlanders ("Black Watch") to relieve the man, who had distinguished himself as the second commandant at Post Ouabache, of his thankless job. Sterling's first official document to the inhabitants was in the form of a proclamation, enunciating an order which emanated in December, 1764, from the celebrated General Gage, to whom reference has hitherto been made, and set forth that liberty of conscience, and the full enjoyment of personal and property rights would be accorded to all the inhabitants. The people were allowed to go and come at will, but all of them were required to swear allegiance to Great Britain. In less than four months after assuming command of Fort Chartres† Sterling died,

* J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*.

† After it was rebuilt, in 1756, and until the cruel waves of the mighty Mississippi rent asunder its massive foundations, Fort Chartres was considered the most formidable fortification in all the western country; and for this reason a description of the fortress by John B. Dillion, the "father of Indiana history," can not prove amiss. "Fort Chartres," says Mr. Dillon, "was in shape an irregular quadrangle, with four bastions. The sides of the exterior polygon were about four hundred and ninety feet in extent. The walls, which were of stone, and plastered over, were two feet two inches thick, and fifteen feet high, with loop-holes at regular distances, and two port-holes for cannon in each face, and two in the flanks of each bastion. There were two sally-ports; and within the wall was a banquette raised three feet for the men to stand upon, when they fired through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort were the commandant's and commissary's houses, the magazine of stores, the guardhouse, and two lines of barracks. Within the gorge of one of the bastions was a prison with four dungeons. In the gorges of the other three bastions was the powder magazine, the bake-house, and some smaller buildings. The commandant's house was ninety-six feet long and thirty feet deep, containing a dining room, a parlor, a bed chamber, a kitchen, five closets, for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house was built in a line with this edifice, and its proportions and distribution of apartments were the same. Opposite these were the storehouse and guardhouse, each ninety feet long by twenty-four feet deep. The former contained two large storerooms, with vaulted cellars under the whole, a large room, a bed chamber, and a closet for the keeper. The guardhouse contained officers' and soldiers' guard rooms, a chapel, a bed chamber, and a closet for the chaplain, and an artillery storeroom. The lines of the barracks, two in number, were never completely finished. They consisted of two rooms in each line for officers, and three for soldiers. The rooms

and his immediate successors, all of whose official careers were brief, were Major Farmer, Colonel Edward Cole and Colonel Reed. In September, 1768, Lieutenant-Colonel John Wilkins, of the Royal Irish regiment, assumed command, "and two months later," says Mr. Dunn,[†] "he issued a proclamation for the government of the country, and established a court of common law, the first that existed west of the Alleghenies. It consisted of seven judges, and dealt out English justice at monthly terms until the British Parliament restored the civil law to its French-Canadian subjects in 1774. It was during his command, on a gloomy spring night in 1772, that the Mississippi made its last wild leap at the old fort, and swept away the southern curtain and bastions. The troops vacated the place as speedily as possible, and soon afterwards built Fort Gage, on the bluffs near Kaskaskia, which was headquarters during the remainder of the British occupation. Fort Chartres was never reoccupied. Its walls formed a convenient quarry for the people of the neighborhood, who carried them off stone by stone until now there remain only broken mound lines, to show its extent. The old magazine alone remains intact, and solitary lifts its bramble-covered arch amid the modern features of the farmyard into which the place has been converted; but its solid masonry aids one to imagine something of the structure of the ancient capital of Illinois and Indiana."

At the period now being considered (1765) the white settlement at Vincennes comprised probably an hundred families, while the French population at Fort Quiatenon, on the Wabash, did not exceed twenty families, and at the village of the Twightwees, at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, less than a dozen adobe homes were occupied by white settlers. "These three small colonies were, at that time," says Dillon, "the only white settlements in all the large territory which now lies within the boundaries of the State of Indiana." And, according to the same author, "the aggregate number of French families within the limits of the northwestern territory (comprising the settlements about Detroit, those near the river Wabash, and the colony in the neighborhood of Fort Chartres) did not, probably, exceed six hundred. At Detroit, and in the neighborhood of that place, there were about three hundred and fifty French families. The remainder of the French population resided at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, and in the vicinity of those villages."

The sparse population at these several posts, which had settlements very early in the eighteenth century, and the absence of any settlements over a vast area of the northwest territory, were due to the adoption of Eng-

were twenty-two feet square with passages between them. All the buildings were of solid masonry. The ruins of this fort may still be seen, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, about twenty-five miles above the river Kaskaskia, in the State of Illinois."

[†] J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, pp. 76, 77.

land's colonial policy, subsequent to the treaty of 1763, which discouraged, rather than encouraged, colonization west of the Alleghenies, the British throne having forbidden all his subjects "from making any purchases, or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands, beyond the sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest;" "and, at the suggestion of the English board of trade and plantations," says Dillon, "the British government took measures to confine the English settlements in America, 'to such a distance from the sea coast as that those settlements should be within the reach of the trade and commerce of Great Britain.' * In pursuing this policy the government neglected the propositions of various individuals who proposed to establish English colonies in the west." The commander-in-chief of the king's forces in North America, in a letter, written in 1769, to the Earl of Hillsborough, who was the presiding officer of the British colonial department, "conceived it altogether inconsistent with sound policy to increase the settlements northwest of the Ohio river to respectable provinces." The royal governor of Georgia in addressing the British lords of trade, stated that the "granting of large bodies of land in the back parts of any of his majesty's northern colonies" appeared to him "in a very serious and alarming light, and may be attended with the greatest and worst of consequences, for, if a vast territory be granted to any set of gentlemen, who really mean to people it, and actually do so, it must draw and carry out a great number of people from Great Britain, and they will soon become a kind of separate and independent people, who will set up for themselves; that they will soon have manufactories of their own; and in process of time they will become formidable enough to oppose his majesty's authority."

In consequence of this opposition to colonization the village of Pittsburgh in 1770 boasted of only twenty or thirty log houses, and Fort Pitt was garrisoned by only two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmondson.†

By an act of the British Parliament, passed in 1774, the boundaries of the province of Quebec were extended so as to include Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan. By this act the French inhabitants were allowed the free exercise of religious rights, and the Roman Catholic clergy the same rights provided in the capitulation at the time of the surrender of the province, and, in addition to these privileges, the French inhabitants of the province of Quebec, by said act, had restored to them their antiquated laws in civil cases, which provided for trial without jury. But, in September of the same year, at a convention held at Falmouth, in the province of Massachusetts, the English assembly passed an act which declared that "the very extraordinary and alarming act for establishing the Roman

* Dillon quoting from Report of the Board of Trade and Plantations to the Lords of the Privy Council.

† Dillon, *Historical Notes*.

Catholic religion and French laws in Canada may introduce the French and Indians in our frontier towns, we recommend that every town and individual in this country should be provided with a proper stock of military stores, according to our province law; and that some patriotic military officer be chosen in each town to exercise their military companies and make them perfect in the military art." The French who dwelt in American colonies, realizing the attempt of the English provinces to deprive them of privileges which had been granted to them by the British Parliament, rallied to the support of Great Britain during the earlier stages of the revolutionary war.

The policy of restricting colonization west of the Alleghenies, however, was not long maintained by Great Britain. In 1769, a year after assuming command at Fort Chartres, Colonel Wilkins granted to English traders, several tracts of land, declaring that such grants were made because "the cultivation of lands not then appropriated, was essentially necessary and useful towards the better peopling and settlement of the said country, as well as highly advantageous to his majesty's service in the raising, producing and supplying provisions for his majesty's troops, then stationed, or thereafter to be stationed, in the said country of Illinois."

In 1773 the Illinois Land Company, an organization formed at Kaskaskia and composed of English traders, bought of Indian chiefs hailing from the Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Peoria tribes large quantities of land lying east of the Mississippi.

In 1775 Governor Dunmore ordered, by proclamation,[†] that all vacant land of his majesty within the colony of Virginia "be surveyed in districts and laid out in lots of from one hundred to one thousand acres," and "put up to public sale." During the same year the Wabash Land Company, of which Louis Viviat, a merchant from the Illinois country, was agent, secured at Vincennes (Post St. Vincent) from eleven Piankashaw chiefs deeds to an immense tract of land,* including parcels owned by Tabac, Montour, La Grande Couette, Ouauaijao, Tabac, Jr., La Mouche Noire, (Black Fly), Le Maringouin (Mosquito), Le Petit Castor (Little Beaver), Kiesquibichias, Gerlot, Sr., and Gerlot, Jr.

St. Marie (Jean Baptiste Racine) from 1764 to 1776, while acting in the capacity of chief executive of the old post, issued many land grants,

* Dillon, *Historical Notes*, p. 118.

† A parcel of the land conveyed lay on both sides of the Wabash river, beginning at the mouth of River Dushee (called Riviere du Chat, or Cat river), being about fifty-two leagues distant from Post St. Vincent. Of the whole amount deeded, a tract twenty-four leagues in length and seventy leagues in width was reserved for the inhabitants of Vincennes. In the aggregate the quantity of land included in the conveyance was about thirty-seven millions, four hundred and ninety-seven thousand, six hundred acres. The War of the Revolution, coming on at a period before the Illinois and Wabash Land Companies had fully perfected their titles to unlimited quantities of land, prevented the said companies from establishing English colonies in many sections of the Northwest Territory.

chiefly for small tracts lying within and contiguous to the village, and the original owners of the realty never knew what it was to pay taxes on their possessions. Not until three years after the British Parliament decided to exert British influence over the northwest territory, (which had become a part and parcel of the province of Quebec) was any attempt made by the English to change existing conditions at Vincennes. Jean Baptiste Racine, whom the French, as well as the English, had utilized as a commandant, and in whom the inhabitants of the old post, through two or three generations, had imposed explicit confidence, proved himself in the truest sense a "general utility man" of inestimable worth to the community. He probably indulged his subjects too much, but withal he maintained a discipline which more strenuous measures would have failed to produce. His constituents, with apparently no care upon their minds, no ambitions to gratify, no thoughts of the morrow, no wants which the forest or stream, or little garden, could not supply, lived in an atmosphere of blissful serenity—eking out an existence of which every passing moment went towards making the hours that filled out the days of contentment and happiness. Truly, the life of many of the natives was not the most edifying, but where is the exacting individual, cognizant of the environments by which these people were surrounded, who would say nay to those who enjoyed it?

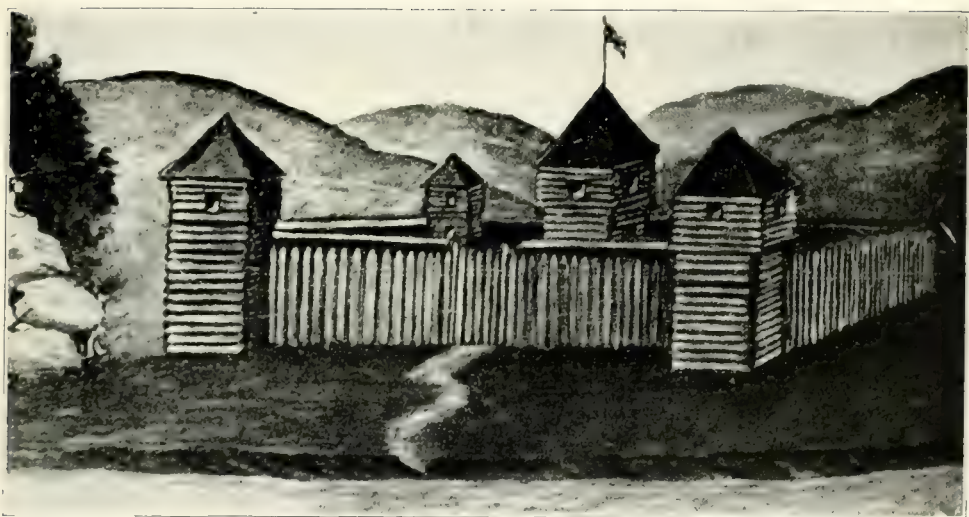
CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST ENGLISH AND AMERICAN COMMANDANTS AT VINCENNES.

LIEUTENANT RAMSEY'S BRIEF VISIT—LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ABBOTT, OF DETROIT, ASSUMES CHARGE AS SUPERINTENDENT OF POST ST. VINCENNES—A KIND AND CONSIDERATE ENGLISH OFFICER—THE OLD FORT RECHRISTENED "SACKVILLE"—ITS SITE DETERMINED AFTER YEARS OF CONTROVERSY, AND A MARKER PLACED TO DESIGNATE THE SPOT—THE LOCATION OF FORT KNOX A MOOTED QUESTION—FRUIT TREES AND VEGETABLE GARDENS FEATURES OF THE PREMISES OF EARLY INHABITANTS—"FORTS" AS DEFENSES OF SETTLEMENTS AGAINST INDIANS BUILT IN SEVERAL SECTIONS OF KNOX COUNTY—DESCRIPTION AND LEGENDS OF BEAUTIFUL FORT KNOX.

Unheralded and unannounced, in 1776, Lieutenant Ramsey, commanding the Forty-second Regiment of British troops, marched into Vincennes and hauled down the French Fleur de Lis that floated above the ramparts of Fort St. Ange and hoisted a British ensign bearing the red cross of St. George, tenderly placing the lily banner of France in the hands of St. Marie, and succeeded the latter as commandant. Ramsey's stay was brief and without incident, and upon his withdrawal St. Marie again resumed the official position of which he had been temporarily deprived. Immediately upon his pompous, though uninterrupted, *entrée* Ramsey changed the name of the fort—hitherto known as "St. Vincent" and "St. Ange," respectively—to that of "Sackville."

Lieutenant Governor Abbott, who was the real successor of St. Ange, and the first British officer to receive officially orders to take command at Post Vincennes, did not arrive here until May 19, 1777. He was accompanied by quite a number of Canadians, acting as an escort. Mention has been made already of this man and the first impressions made upon his mind by the place and its people, which he reiterates in an official report made later, in language as follows: "Since the conquest of Canada, no person bearing his majesty's commission has been to take possession; from this your excellency may easily imagine what anarchy reigns. I must do the inhabitants justice for the respectful reception I met with, and for the readiness in obeying the orders I thought necessary to issue. The Wabache



OLD FORT SACKVILLE IN 1779

is perhaps one of the finest rivers in the world, on its banks are several Indian towns, the most considerable is the Ouija [Wea, Quiatenon], where it is said there are 1,000 men capable to bear arms. I found them so numerous, and needy, I could not pass without great expense; the presents though very large, were in a manner despised, saying their ancient father (the French) never spoke to them without a barnfull of goods; having no troops and only a handful of French obliged me to esquiese [acquiesce] in part of their exorbitant demands, which has occasioned a much greater expense than I could have imagined, but I believe it not thrown away, as I left them seemingly well disposed for his majesty's service. I have drawn. . . . for 6428 livres in favour of Jean Baptiste dit St. Marie, who has acted as commandant of this place since it was conceded to his majesty. The fair character he bears with the certificate annexed to his account makes me think it just."* Although remaining here little less than a year, Governor Abbott was a power for good in the community, and from the very day of his arrival the history of the old town began to contain brighter chapters. Unlike the general run of Englishmen, he entertained the broadest and most liberal views; wonderfully sympathetic in his nature, he shuddered at the suffering of a fellow-being, and strove hard to lighten the burdens and brighten the pathways along which trudged those over whom he had been given official power. By an untiring energy, born of a determination to lessen the cares of his luckless subjects, and a desire to better the social conditions of the community at large, he accomplished wonderful results. By displaying a sympathy that was deep, honest and sincere, he imbued the natives with higher ideals, brought them to a fuller realization of the amenities of life, and left them in every way better citizens than he found them.† His departure from the old post, in Jan-

* Abbott, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, had been ordered by His Britanic Majesty's ministry to go to the Old Post and to personally take charge of affairs as the "Superintendent of St. Vincennes." He was not only the first, but was one of the most considerate and gentlemanly English commanders that ever held sway at this post.

† Lieutenant-Governor Abbott was never a partisan. Unlike the general run of British officers, he always sympathized with wretched humanity. A further illustration of his honorable methods and humane policies—so at variance with those of Governor Hamilton—is given in a letter he wrote General Carleton from Detroit June 8, 1778, advising against the policy of the murderous Hamilton, in which he says: "Your Excellency will plainly perceive the employing of Indians on the rebel frontiers has been of great hurt to the cause, for many hundreds would have put themselves under His Majesty's protection was there a possibility; that not being the case, these poor, unhappy people are forced to take up arms against their sovereign, or be pillage and left to starve; cruel alternative. This is too shocking a subject to dwell upon. Your Excellency's known humanity will certainly put a stop to such proceedings, as it is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack; but the poor, inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, and who are inhumanly butchered, sparing neither women or children. It may be said it is necessary to employ Indians to prevent them serving our enemies. I will be bold

uary, 1778, was a pathetic leave-taking, which only illustrated the loyal commandant's goodness of heart and showed the kindly feeling he entertained for those with whom he was about to sever relations. As a reciprocal testimonial of their high esteem, the inhabitants gathered about him on the eve of his farewell, and, delegating one of their number to speak for all, gave sincere manifestations of regret and eloquent expressions of gratitude for the unselfish manner in which he had so ardently and arduously labored for their welfare. Before taking his leave, Governor Abbott placed a Frenchman named J. M. P. Le Gras in charge of the British militia. The latter, evidently, did not remain long in command, neither were the British troops in evidence for any length of time, for it was only seven months after Abbott's departure that Captain Leonard Helm came from Virginia and installed himself as the first American commander of the old post, St. Marie Baptiste Racine delivering the fort into his hands without resistance. Governor Abbott, soon after his arrival, as previously stated, not only rechristened the fort, but put it in much better shape, a condition in which both Helm and Hamilton found it in 1778-9. It remained in a very good state of preservation until 1816, when it was razed, and nearly all the timber entering into its construction was subsequently used in the erection of the smaller dwellings about the village (the greater number being in Frenchtown) which have since given place to more modern structures. For many years the site of Fort Sackville* had been a mooted question with local historians, no two of whom had ever agreed upon a fixed location. Many of the older inhabitants contended that it was located on the east bank of the river at a point between Broadway and Buntin streets. This locality, however, was early used as a burial ground by the Piankeshaw Indians, and it is not probable that the savages, with the great veneration they had for their forefathers, would permit their ashes to be distributed by the erection of such a structure within the sacred precincts of their necropolis. There was, however, after the withdrawal of the Indians, from this spot, a fortification of some character built near the foot of Broadway, but it was not called "Sackville," and it did not long endure. About the same time, the territory lying between the river and First street, and extending from Broadway to Perry street, was used as parade grounds by the troops, and, later, near the corner of Buntin and First streets, a liberty pole was erected and the space surrounding it was utilized for patriotic celebrations and gatherings of a civil and military character. These con-

to say their keeping a neutrality will be equally, if not more, serviceable to us, as their going to war, for the reason I have already given; and surely the presents will prevent them acting against us."

*Goodspeed, in his *History of Knox County*, says the fort was named in honor of Jean Sacqueville, a French trader and soldier, an employe of the Detroit Fur Company. Several other historians coincide with him; but the conclusion of Mr. Cauthorn and Mr. English, that it was called after an English nobleman bearing the title of Lord Sackville, is evidently the correct solution of a problem that has long been a vexatious one to historical writers.

ditions no doubt led many people to reach an erroneous idea regarding the location of Fort Sackville. Count Volney, who paid Vincennes a visit in 1796, says that the main street [which is First street] of the village ran in an irregular course along the river and ended in a stockade.* Major Bowman, one of Clark's most trusty lieutenants in his Illinois campaign, and who was with him when the latter stormed Fort Sackville, relates that "during the interview at the church between Hamilton and Clark, a party of Indian warriors, returning from a scalping expedition to the Falls of the Ohio, were discovered as they entered the plain near the village. A party of American troops sent out to meet them killed two on the spot, wounded three, took six prisoners and brought them to town. Two of them, proving to be whites, were released. The Indians were brought down the main street (First) before the gates of the fort, here tomahawked and thrown into the river." General Clark, referring to incidents preceding the interview of which Bowman speaks, in his journal, says that he, with Hamilton and others, "repaired to the church, distant from the fort eighty yards." The church referred to was St. Francis Xavier's, and it was located near the intersection of Second and Church streets, in proximity to the fort, according to Clark's idea of distances, which would not apply at all were the fort located at either Broadway, Buntin or Perry streets. Mr. English is of the opinion that "there may have been two forts called 'Sackville,' erected at different dates, and both not exactly on the same site," which could have been possible, but is hardly probable. Inasmuch as there is no documentary evidence to prove to the contrary, the conclusion must obtain that there was but one Fort Sackville.

Butterfield is one of the few historians who advances the idea that Abbott built a new fort remote from the old one, which claim is greatly confused by an attempted computation of the time during which the event is alleged to have taken place. He says, in his *History of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns, 1778-1779*, (pp. 49-50): "It was, however, some years after the abandonment of the French fort before Abbott erected Fort Sackville, and the two evidently did not occupy the same ground."

When Lieutenant Governor Abbott arrived in Vincennes, as stated in his official report to his superiors, he found St. Marie Jean Baptiste Racine in charge of the fort. The fort was the old French fort, which Racine had received from St. Ange, when the latter took his departure from Vincennes in 1764. It was the same one which Lieutenant Ramsey found Racine in possession of when he came here in 1776. Abbott arrived here in May, 1777, and left the place in January, 1778, and in the same year, only seven months later, Captain Helm, as an American officer in charge of Virginia troops, took possession of the only fort located here, which

* This description would seem to indicate that the fort was located at Barnet and First, as the latter has an abrupt ending with the former street.

he subsequently yielded, with the honors of war, to General Hamilton who, in turn, surrendered it to General Clark. Hence there had been no "abandonment" of the fort prior or subsequent to the time Abbott put in an appearance; and, as he only remained here eight months, how were it possible for him "some years after the abandonment of the French fort" to erect another fort? There is no question but what he greatly strengthened and fortified the old palisaded fortification, but there is every reason to doubt that he changed the location of the fort. Mr. Butterfield, in the same publication, and on the pages above designated, pursues the subject, relative to Abbott and his fort, as follows: "At the date of Hamilton's being made Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, David Abbott was appointed to a like office for Vincennes; but he did not reach his post until the nineteenth of May, 1777. He met with a cordial welcome from the inhabitants, mostly French Canadians, whom he required to take an oath of fidelity to his government. He formed three companies of militia; but the savages of the Wabash gave him considerable trouble. 'The Indians are striving,' he wrote, 'to set the French [meaning the Vincennes people] against the English government and have told many of them I should not live long. I am endeavoring to secure myself as well as I can by stockading* the cabin I am in. I have likewise desired Monsieur Rochblave to send me four pieces of cannon from the Illinois, which he writes he has done.' Toward the close of the year Abbott wrote that his stockade was half finished and would be completed in a fortnight.† It was named Fort Sackville.‡ During the next January he determined to leave his post and return to Detroit. His reasons were to avoid the large expense for presents to the savages (who were soon expected from their hunt) which he would be compelled to incur, or exasperation on their part would follow. He started from Vincennes on the third day of February, 1778, and after a painful journey through the woods arrived with his family at Detroit on the seventh of March—leaving J. M. P. Legras in command of the militia upon his departure."

Although known, at various times, prior and subsequent to the advent of Governor Abbott, under different names, it was the same fort from which Helm wrote his distressing letter to Clark at Kaskaskia; the one which Hamilton took from Helm, which was subsequently captured by Clark from Hamilton, and had previously been occupied by Juchereau, Leonardy, Vinsenne and St. Ange. Since the "marker" has been placed

* Abbott to Carleton, July 9, 1777, Haldimand MSS. and Rocheblave to the former, June 1, 1777, in same. The cannon were iron and were sent on the second of June.

† Abbott to Carleton, Nov. 23, 1777.—Haldimand MSS.

‡ The old cathedral at the end of Second street (in Vincennes) marks the spot of the beginning of Caucasian civilization in Indiana, while hard by it on the river bank stood the first rude fort in Indiana, and a little later the stronger Fort Sackville. (E. A. Bryan, in "Indiana's First Settlement," *Magazine of American History*, vol. XXI, p. 394.)

SITE
OF
FORT SACKVILLE

CAPTURED BY
GENERAL ROBERT CLAY

ON THE 24TH OF MARCH

1780

PLACED BY THE

COLONEL OF THE

10TH WEST REG'T

IN 1880

BY THE

ARMY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

at the corner of First and Barnet streets, designating the site* of Fort Sackville, there has been no further controversy regarding the spot covered by the ancient fortification, at the gates of which great international questions have caused a clash of arms between three of the most powerful nations in the world. The "marker," however, was not the means of settling the dispute relative to location. An old deed, describing the property on which the fort was located, unearthed only a few years ago, was the instrument which put a stop to further discussions and ultimately fixed the site. From the rudest of fortifications Fort Sackville grew to be a formidable fortress, and at the time of its capture by Clark from Hamilton, according to a description given by Goodspeed, the historian, it presented a substantial and menacing appearance for a frontier post. The fort proper was located in front of the old catholic church [which then faced the river] in a northwesterly direction and the boundaries of the territory enclosing it composed lots 34, 35, 24 and 25, 23 and 26 [Block House Square] and extended westward to the river, east to First street, north to Vigo and south to Barnet street. Goodspeed, in describing the location, fortifications and the material entering into the construction of the fort, says: "Upon the river's side, and within forty feet of the water's edge, two lines of palisades, reaching twenty feet above the surface of the earth, constructed of large timbers from the forest, planted firmly in the ground,

*The monument, which marks the site of Fort Sackville, was a gift to the city of Vincennes by the Fort Sackville Chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, and was unveiled, amid pomp and ceremony, on Saturday afternoon, November 18, 1905. Miss T. L. Voss, of Indianapolis, State Regent of the Daughters of the Revolution, had charge of the exercises, and Hon. Clarence B. Kessinger delivered the opening address. Mrs. Reuben G. Moore, Regent of the local chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, made the presentation speech. Master Robert Moore, son of Dr. M. G. Moore and grandson of Mrs. R. G. Moore, and Miss Emily Judah, daughter of Charles B. Judah, and granddaughter of Mrs. Samuel B. Judah, unveiled the monument by drawing aside the large American flag that hid from view the tablet and its inscription. Mrs. Eunice Bedell, aged seventy-two years, the only living daughter of a revolutionary soldier belonging to any of the Indiana chapters, was one of the interested spectators of the ceremonies, having come from Mt. Carmel, Illinois, by special invitation, for the occasion. Preceding the exercises a "procession" was formed at the City Hall, followed by a parade to the historic spot where the unveiling of the tablet took place. The procession was headed by the First Regiment Band, under direction of Professor Arthur Blue, and proceeded via Main, Second, Church and Barnet streets, Major Thomas B. Coulter, of the Indiana National Guards, acting as Grand Marshal. Following the band was a squad of Vincennes University Cadets who, upon arrival at the site, stood guard around the monument. Following the cadets, keeping time to martial music, were soldiers of the Civil war, and in the rear of the grizzled, gray and loyal veterans were automobiles and carriages containing the members of the local chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution, venerable men and women, and prominent citizens, who had been selected to take part in the exercises. A large concourse of people assembled to witness the ceremonies, which were marked throughout with inspiring and patriotic features, not least among which was the singing of the High School quartette, directed by Miss Ada Bicking.

were backed by a line of earthworks thrown up about eight feet high, behind which were mounted four six-pounders, *en barbette*. Along the line of Vigo street, at right angles with the river, and crossing First street, was the principal entrance, a gateway; and opening upon the latter highway, protected by this, were similar lines of defense, protected by guns of the same calibre at each angle, mounted upon platforms of heavy timbers. At the elevation of twenty-five feet at each side of the gateway were swivels, trained to command the approach along the street. The entire walls were pierced at convenient height by a row of port-holes, from which musketry could be fired. A similar palisade, defended by two guns of ten pound calibre, protected the flank next to the church in the rear of the works, south of Barnet street, where there were two towers, or bastions, pierced for musketry, made exceptionally strong against an assault by a line of heavy timbers joined tightly together and covered with earth. Within the fortifications were barracks for one thousand men, a magazine and officers' quarters."

This, however, was not the condition in which Captain Leonard Helm, commanding a small detachment of Virginia troops, found the fort when he took possession on August 6, 1778. Four months later General Hamilton, the "hair buyer," became Helm's successor, as will be noted in succeeding chapters, and it was he who put on the finishing touches. Within two months after assuming charge Hamilton had "built a guard house, barracks for four companies, sunk a well, and constructed two large block houses of oak embrasures above for five pieces of cannon each; altered and lined the stockades, and laid the fort with gravel." And, later, as if to offer an excuse for his surrender, in the face of the statement of the "apple-pie" condition in which he placed the fort, he reasons out the cause of his humiliating defeat thusly: "The officers, who had continued in tents all winter, were exposed to the fire of the enemy's riflemen, as the picketing of the fort was so poorly set up that one might pass the clenched hand between the timbers of the stockades." When he penned the foregoing lines, General Hamilton had evidently forgotten that he had previously written to his superiors of how nicely he had "altered and lined the stockades," etc., or else he was as conscienceless about telling the truth as he was about other matters of decency and propriety. And how are we to know whether the "clenched hand" could, or not, be passed "between the timbers of the stockades?" And who cares?!

The names the old fort has borne since its foundation by Juchereau in 1702 has been "Vinsenne" (St. Vincent) "St. Ange," "Sackville," "Patrick Henry" and "Knox." The application of the last two names were, respectively, in honor of the Governor of Virginia and the secretary of war. There has been no little contention among historians relative to the name "Knox" as applied to "Fort Sackville," some writers maintaining that each was an appellation of a different fort. The late Dr. H. M. Smith who, in 1902, published a volume of "Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes," con-

taining much interesting information and scintillating with original poetical gems, addressed a letter to an official of the war department, Washington, D. C., inquiring as to the number of forts said to have been erected in Vincennes, and asking if there was any evidence on file there showing that there was ever more than one fort erected here, and if so, had it ever been moved out of the town, as had been supposed by many in reference to Fort Knox. The following reply was received: "The following writers who have said more or less on the history of Fort Sackville (otherwise known as Fort St. Vincent, Fort Patrick Henry and possibly identical with Fort Knox) make no mention of it having been removed from its original location: Butler's History of Kentucky, Dunn's History of Indiana, Brown's Old Northwest, Albuck's Annals of the West, Brice's History of Ft. Wayne, Davidson and Stevenson's History of Illinois, Law's History of Vincennes, and Dr. Haas' Indian Wars of West Virginia." Dr. Smith pursues this interesting subject at considerable length, taking issue with quite a number of contemporaneous writers, and concludes his comments thereon as follows:*

"Dunn, in his history (p. 265) says: 'A fort was built in 1787 and named Fort Knox by General Harmar.' This is evidently a mistake, but one that might have been easily fallen into. At the time specified Major Hamtramck was in command of this post, where some correspondence occurred between General Harmar, then at his post in Cincinnati; and Major Hamtramck, located at Post Vincennes, which in part is as follows:

" 'FORT HAMMAR, Oct. 13, 1788.

" 'Dear Major: . . . Let your fort be named Fort Knox,' etc.

"One need not conclude, from this expression of General Harmar, that a new fort had been built. There was precedent and reason why the name of the old fort should be changed. First, for many years the name of the fort at Vincennes had been changed by each successive commander; second, General Knox was then secretary of war and it would be paying him a compliment to give the fort his name. On the accession of Virginia to the ownership of the country, the fort's name was changed from the name of Sackville to that of Fort Patrick Henry (the then governor and commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces) by General Clark. Third, why should Hamtramck desire to build the fort when there was one already constructed? In 1788 the rights of Virginia had passed to the United States government, when a United States army officer was placed in charge of the post then the pretty compliment to the secretary of war, General Knox, was suggested by General Harmar to Major Hamtramck—"Let your fort be named Fort Knox. * * * As there is no record of a second fort having been built here, or removed elsewhere, the only rational solution for the discrepancies that can be found is in the change of names, as suggested, as no new fort was erected at that time. If Major Hamtramck

* Hubbard Madison Smith, *Historical Sketches Old Vincennes*, pp. 62, 63.

actually built a fort in Vincennes in 1788, as some historians assert, where was that fort in 1796, only eight years later, when Count Volney, a distinguished French traveler, visited and remained some days here, and described the town? Mention was made by him of but one fort, and to suppose that this one was the new alleged fort built by Major Hamtramck is to suppose an unreasonable thing. At the time of the alleged building of a second fort for defense the necessity for forts was passing away, and dismantling them was the order of the day, if the condition of Fort Knox was truly represented by Count Volney, when he wrote of it in 1796. At that time the red man was turning his face towards the west, to return no more, and Great Britain had been whipped into good behavior. Thus it will be seen that Vincennes never had but one real fort, although during the passing years subsequent to its erection and the successive officials controlling it it received many names."

"Another* statement has been made," says Dr. Smith, "that the alleged fort was built by Hamtramck early in July, 1788, and that it was moved to a site three miles up the river on the east bank of the same. The fact is, Major Hamtramck did not arrive at Vincennes until July 25th of that year to be commandant of the post. And no evidence exists to show that he built a fort here, except the mere suggestion of General Harmar, October 13, 1788, 'Let your fort be called Fort Knox'; nor is there any evidence to show that Fort Knox, or any other fort, was removed from Vincennes to any place outside of town. There is a tradition existing that the French citizens living in the vicinity of the fort complained to Governor Harrison that the soldiers at the garrison gave them great annoyance and petitioned him to remove them; that he gave heed to their prayer, and that in 1803 the garrison was removed to the high ground facing Buntin street, west of Water street, about the place where the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railway freight depot stands, and that the palisades of the old fort were used in making the new one."† Dr. Smith further states that the late A. B. McKee told him many years ago that one of the latter's aunts, a Mrs. Buntin, who lived above the Broadway mill site, told him that by looking out of her window north she could see a fort. And tradition says that the palisades of the old fort were used to build it, which leads Mr. Smith to remark: "My investigations in relation to these traditions corroborate the contentions. After Governor Harrison came here the United States troops were mostly withdrawn from this post, and militia troops took their place. This being the case, he would have jurisdiction over the defences and management of the garrison, hence we can readily see that the governor might wish to please the people and grant their prayer for the removal of the soldiers. Another consideration might have influenced him to take this step, and that is, that the garrison moved up to the position

* H. M. Smith, *Historical Sketches Old Vincennes*, pp. 65, 66, 67.

† Smith cites *History of Knox County*, p. 239, but says that, as to date, it is an error, as the fort was standing at the locality designated in 1803.

named would be nearer his residence, and could the more readily protect him in case of an Indian attack. As no record exists on file at the war department in Washington City of the removal of the fort, the foregoing explanation given may account for the existence of the second one, called Fort Knox. No published record exists, to the author's knowledge, of this second fort, but from facts recently developed* he is constrained to accept the tradition as facts, for the following reasons: First, through his friend, Hon. Chas. G. McCord, abstractor of land titles, an old deed was discovered which General W. H. Harrison made to George Wallace in 1804. In the description of the property mentioned in this deed the instrument recites: 'Beginning at a place situated about 210 yards above Fort Knox, at Vincennes aforesaid, called the Stone Landing place, etc. This description indicates that the fort occupied the ground covered now in part by the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railway freight depot, on the west side of Water street. Second, the writer has a map in his possession, which is a certified copy of one of the Vincennes land districts, made in 1803, by Thomas Freeman, the original being in the archives of the war department, on which a fort is indicated, and it was doubtless the one mentioned in describing the property in the deed from Harrison to Wallace."

Mr. Dunn cites "St. Clair Papers, vol. ii, p. 92" as his authority for the statement that Fort Knox was built in 1788. A writer in the Vincennes Commercial of recent date says that "from the war department records it is learned that Fort Knox was erected in 1787 and was located on the Wabash river near the mouth of Mariah Creek, three miles above Vincennes" quoting from "Hamersley's Army Register of the United States, part 2, page 140, and Lossing's 1812, page 195," to substantiate his claim. The mouth of Mariah Creek is four or five miles above the location popularly supposed to be the site of Fort Knox, and is seven or eight miles above Vincennes. It would appear, therefore, that somebody has erred. But, whether there was, or was not, a real fort at Fort Knox, there is no question of the beautiful spot having been used as a garrison for United States troops, as well as a burial place for soldiers, before and after the establishment of the Indiana territory. Tradition says that during its occupancy by the federal troops there were buried within its sacred precincts great quantities of gold and silver coin and, that, in after years, strangers who had been directed by persons having knowledge of the spots where the money was concealed, came here and recovered the hidden wealth and departed as quietly and as mysteriously as they came, the object of their mission not being fully understood by any one here until they had taken their departure. After they had gone, frequent expeditions were made to the "garrison tract" by the natives, who had hoped, by delving into the earth, to uncover some rich "find" which the prospectors who preceded them had overlooked. The land comprising the tract upon which Fort

* Deed Record Book B., 155, Vincennes.

Knox is said to have been located contains about eighty-five acres and was owned at one time by Captain Touissant Dubois, who sold it to the United States government for the purpose of a garrison, and it is frequently referred to today as the "garrison tract." The place, like many other localities of a hilly nature, in different parts of Knox county, was used by the Indians as burial grounds before the white man came into possession of it, and there are many stories relative to pots of gold having been buried there and subsequently recovered by persons who made nocturnal visits to the hallowed place to gain possession of the hidden and forgotten stores of glittering wealth. That there were buildings on the tract to shelter the troops, to store their supplies and to afford protection against the elements and the stealthy Indians, there is no question; that there may have been a fortification of some character is not altogether improbable, as the site is a most commanding one for a fort, whence the approach of an enemy, who sought the river as a route to drop down on Vincennes, could be detected while he was miles above the town. It is not likely, however, that the fort which General Hamtramck commanded, and from which he addressed many important communications to Governor St. Clair and General Harmar, was located at the point under discussion. It is more than likely that it was at Vincennes, and was identical with Fort Sackville. At this time Vincennes was classed among the larger settlements in the territory. "Defended* by Fort Knox, its citizens were enabled to prosecute a paying trade with the Indians, and to improve the agricultural resources around them. At this date the town contained about fifty dwelling houses, all presenting a thrifty and tidy appearance. Each house was surrounded by a garden fenced with pales, and peach and apple trees grew in most of the enclosures. Garden vegetables of all kinds were cultivated with success, and corn, tobacco, wheat, barley and cotton grew in the fields around the village in abundance. Adjoining the village was Fort Knox enclosed by a ditch eight feet wide and by sharp stakes from eight to six feet high. This palisade, protected by the guns of the fort, was a sufficient fortification against hostile Indians."

There were quite a number of other "forts," so-called, in different parts of Knox County, which were not of sufficient importance to provoke a discussion among historians as to location, and whose very existence today is only a memory. According to the History of Knox and Daviess Counties, published by Goodspeed, in 1886, each community in 1812, during the period of America's second war with Great Britain, built its own fort. In Widner township, in the respective localities where dwelt the Widners, Chambers, Polks, Lemons and Taylors, arose these crude fortifications which were "madet by setting timbers in the ground, closely set and so high as to preclude the possibility of being scaled. The corners were made with bastions to enable those within to rake the sides as well as to

* Goodrich and Tuttle, *An Illustrated History of the State of Indiana*, pp. 129, 130.

† Goodspeed, Publisher, *History Knox and Daviess Counties*, 1886, p. 73.

fire in front." None of these defenses, which were built for safety from prowling and hostile Indians, were ever attacked, notwithstanding the red skins, on one dark night stole from under the protecting shadows of Polk's "garrison" a number of valuable horses. Fort Widner was the largest of these rural defenses, being a stockade fort, enclosing nearly an acre of ground. While its own history furnishes no incidents of bloody events, not a great distance from its portals a wilderness tragedy was enacted that brought sadness and consternation to the settlement in which it stood, which is thus related by Goodspeed: "Daniel Hollingsworth and a man named Honeycutt were hunting near the forks of Marie Creek in 1812. The two became separated. Honeycutt saw two Indians going in the direction of his companion. Through timidity he failed to fire upon them, yet he had a good opportunity. Soon he heard a shot, and Hollingsworth fell dead. The Indians scalped him and left his body." In Busseron township, on the Orchiltre farm, which produced a giant pear *tree, bearing wonderfully of luscious fruit, stood another fort. Another one, in the same township, was on the site of Emison's mill, nine miles north of Vincennes. It is recalled to memory more readily than any of the others, because of an incident occurring by which it was given the peculiar appellation of "Fort Petticoat," which grew out of the fact that one day during the absence from duty of nearly all the men, the women assumed charge of the garrison. Palmyra township had a fortress called "Roe's Fort;" Johnson township boasted of a fortification near what is now Purcell station; Decker, Harrison and Steen settlements were also "fortified," as were localities in Washington and Vigo townships.

But, to return to Fort (Camp) Knox, just for the sake of one glance at its beauteous environments and to recall the sweet and sad memories which make it a hallowed spot—all of which are so beautifully and considerably set forth by Dr. Smith that we have taken the liberty to use his words to close the discussion on the subject and end this chapter. "It is so closely connected with the history of Old Vincennes," says the Doctor in his book, "that it deserves a niche in this volume. It was the site of a garrison of United States soldiers early in the last century, whither they were removed from Fort Knox into the village. It is situated three miles above the city on a bluff of the eastern bank of the Wabash river. It overlooks the river far into Illinois, and beautiful views present themselves to the eye, as the borders on either shore are set with silver linings by the environment of water, which calmly reflects grove and sky, or dances in

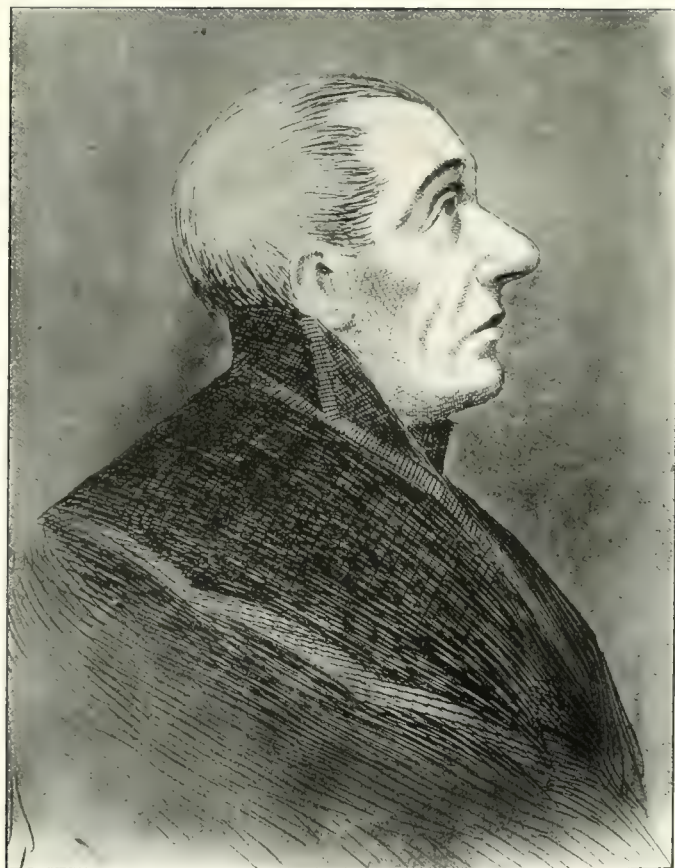
* "This historic tree, 'the giant of its race,' stood on the Ochiltree farm. * * * This was planted about three-quarters of a century ago. Several years ago it was 'blasted and riveted' by lightning. This tree was visited by the Rev. H. W. Beecher some years ago, and a full description of it given then. It was twelve feet in circumference at the base, one hundred twenty feet high, and had a lateral spread of one hundred twenty feet, and bore an average crop of fifty bushels.—[Goodspeed, *History Knox and Daviss Counties*, 1886, p. 77.]

coruscating, sunlit wavelets in answer to the calling winds. While the garrison was stationed there the home of Dr. Samuel McKee, United States army surgeon, was the objective point of frequent outings of Governor William Henry Harrison and his friends, the governor often remarking that the viands served out there seemed more tasteful than those in town.* When the soldiers were encamped there it was, without doubt, a central place of interest to the country folk, as well as the denizens of the town, as little toil, plenty of leisure and amusements combined to enliven the barracks days and months; but with the passing away of the pomp and circumstance of war the crumbling, corroding hand of time and decay robbed it of its artificial glory, strewn there by the hand of art, and left it for nature to restore to it again its pristine beauty and loveliness. And, yet, bereft of its camp adornments,† it presents many points of attraction, and needs only a willing hand reinforced by taste and enterprise, to restore to it the glory of the past. Its inaccessibility to visitors, except by water, prevents it from becoming a place of more frequent resort for the worshipers of beautiful scenery. By row or sail boat nothing is more inviting than a jaunt on the 'rolling deep' in spring's balmy mornings, when the shores of the river are garlanded with myriads of flowers, or in autumn's calm, invigorating evenings, when the parti-colored foliage of October, on the adjacent forest-lined shores, rivals in beauty the shimmering meteoric showers that stud the firmament during the twilight ides of a November evening. Yet, unadorned by the hand of art, it is an ideal spot for lads and lassies to while away the rosy hours of day, as 'love's young dream' clothes it with a halo of glory, while woodland songsters warble their sweetest notes, embowered in the shady groves, and the piping notes of quail and lark echo back responses from copse and bush. But, in contemplating these scenes, a tinge of sadness casts a shadow on the wings of thought, as one realizes that within these precincts forgotten heroes lie, 'unwept, unhonored and unsung,' who will never more waken until Eternity's reveille is sounded on the receding shores of time.

They served their country in its time of need,
And though remembered not in name or deed,
Their resting place, although their souls have fled,
Should sacred be, in memory of the dead;
And honored be the hands, in spring's bright hours,
That strew their lonely graves with beauteous flowers."

* This information came from the late A. B. McKee, who was a son of the surgeon, received through his aunt, Mrs. Capt. Robt. Bunten, then a resident of Vincennes.

† Camp Knox, the Second, was established during the Civil war, in Eberwine's Grove, a mile northeast of the city.



REV. FATHER PIERRE GIBAULT

CHAPTER XIII.

A PATRIOT WHO DESERVES THE NATION'S PRAISE.

FATHER PIERRE GIBAUT PROVES HIMSELF A WORTHY ALLY OF AMERICA—HIS GREAT LOVE FOR LIBERTY AND HUMANITY ENDEAR HIM TO ALL LOYAL CITIZENS—HIS INESTIMABLE SERVICES TO GENERAL CLARK IN THE CONQUEST OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—HOW THE PATRIOTIC MAN WON THE BRITISH SUBJECTS AT KASKASKIA AND VINCENNES TO THE AMERICAN CAUSE—COLONEL FRANCIS BUSSEY A VALUABLE AID TO GIBAUT IN PERFECTING HIS PATRIOTIC PLANS—CAPTAIN BUSSEY, PROMINENT IN CIVIL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS—FOSTER FATHER OF ALICE OF OLD VINCENNES—BURNING OF THE OLD LA SALLE HOUSE.

Nearly all of the priests who came to the northwest territory in the earlier part, as well as the latter end, of the eighteenth century were of noble birth and descendants of families of the French nobility. Learned as they were in ecclesiastical lore, possessing a large fund of general knowledge, and having princely patrimonies, they separated themselves from wealth, titles and luxurious homes to brave the dangers and encounter the vicissitudes of wilderness fastnesses for the glory of preaching the Christ to savages in an unknown and hostile land. There were, however, others from the humbler walks of life, who were neither heirs to wealth nor power, but whose courage, piety, devotion and self-sacrifices were as pronounced and as commendable. And one of these was Pierre Gibault—a priest and a patriot. He was the son of Peter Gibault and Mary St. Jean, and was born in Montreal, Canada, April 7, 1737. Having received a classical education at a theological seminary in the place of his nativity, he was ordained a priest on the anniversary feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1768, and immediately set out for the Illinois country, where he was to play a conspicuous part, and subsequently incur the displeasure of those by whose graces he was permitted to go; for it was with the full consent of the English authorities and upon the especial desire of General Gage that he went forth. Constant rains delayed him on the journey; and, upon reaching Michilimackinac, the first of the posts in the district assigned to him, he was suffering greatly from the effects of the inclement weather, incident to a voyage in an open boat. He, however, realized the import-

ance of at once entering upon his duties as spiritual adviser, and began to hear confessions, remaining until late in the night in order to accommodate all, for many of the faithful had not seen a priest for three years and some not even for ten. He spent a week at the post, striving to effect all the good possible, baptizing several children and blessing one marriage. Among those to whose spiritual wants he ministered was a number of Indians, who had formerly been charges of Father Du Jaunay, and who spoke French fluently enough to express themselves at the confessional. These penitents were still lamenting the absence of their former missionary (Du Jaunay) who had gone several years before to his long reward. It was originally intended that Rev. Gibault should take up his residence at Cahokia, so as to revive the old Tomarois mission; but that settlement had dwindled away; the fine property, orchards, house, mills and barns erected by the seminary priests were crumbling to ruin, the church little better. Kaskaskia was the important place, and the inhabitants generally wished him to make it his residence. Father Meurin, desirous that the new missionary should have this more populous post, which had better means of support, withdrew to Cahokia, spending part of his time at Prairie du Rocher, where the prosperous settlers offered to build him a house and supply all his needs. "In fact," says Shea, the great authority on Catholic church history, "they gave him a horse and *calèche*, as well as a servant. The people of Kaskaskia, influenced by the dominant party in Louisiana, were hostile to Father Meurin as a Jesuit, and many would not recognize him at all; indeed not ten men had been to confession in four years. Rev. Mr. Gibault accordingly took up his residence at Kaskaskia, where he was well received by the British commandant, and on the 8th of September, 1768, he records a baptism in the 'register of the Immaculate Conception,' styling himself 'parish priest of Kaskaskia.' He also visited Saint Genevieve, which Father Meurin could enter only by stealth at night; but that veteran visited Fort Chartres and St. Phillippe. The young Canadian priest entered on his duties with zeal and energy, but was soon prostrated by the western fever, but he rallied, and went on bravely with the work before him, the magnitude of which became daily more appalling. At Kaskaskia, by having prayers every night in the church, and by catechetical instructions four times a week, he revived faith and devotion. He brought nearly all to their Easter duty in 1769, and a better spirit prevailed, the tithes being promptly paid. Besides Kaskaskia there were other villages and hamlets; it was only by constant travel he was able to reach the scattered Catholics, who had long been deprived of the services of a priest. Besides the inhabitants of French origin and the Indians of the former missions, he found Catholics in the Eighteenth (Royal Irish) regiment, which was stationed at Kaskaskia, the commandant giving the men every facility to attend to their religion. The next year Rev. Mr. Gibault blessed the little wooden chapel which had been erected at Painscourt, our modern St. Louis." Vincennes at this time, with a hundred or more families, had not seen a priest since

the carrying away of Father Devernai in 1763, in consequence of which vice and ignorance were becoming dominant; yet the people were earnestly awaiting and urgently soliciting the presence of a black-robed missionary. "Bishop Briand," says Shea, "encouraged these isolated priests, and gave them wise and temperate counsels for their conduct in correcting evils that had grown up while the people were left without priest or sacrifice. Evidently at the instance of Father Meurin and to give that missionary greater authority, the bishop of Quebec had made Rev. Gibault his vicar-general. That priest succeeded in inducing the people to resume the payment of tithes, which though only as in Canada one twenty-sixth of the produce, not one-tenth, amounted in 1769 to two or three bushels of wheat, and five or six hundred of Indian corn. In the winter of 1769-70, Very Rev. Mr. Gibault set out for Vincennes, although hostile Indians waylaid the roads, killing and scalping many travelers. Already he could report that twenty-two of his people had fallen victims to the savage foe since he reached the Illinois country. The frontier priests always, in these days of peril, carried a gun and two pistols. He reached Vincennes safely, and after deploring the vices and disorders that prevailed, tells of his touching reception. 'However, on my arrival, all crowded down to the banks of the river Wabash to receive me; some fell on their knees, unable to speak; others spoke only in sobs; some cried out, 'Father, save us, we are almost in hell;' others said: 'God has not then yet abandoned us, for He has sent you to us to make us do penance for our sins.' 'Oh, sir, why did you not come a month sooner; my poor wife, my dear mother, my dear father, my poor child would not have died without the sacraments.' Father Meurin attests the good which his younger associate accomplished, and urged him to send a resident priest to the Wabash." Very Rev. Mr. Gibault spent two months at Vincennes, laboring earnestly to revive religion in the people, and found a Presbyterian family here who asked to be instructed and received into the Catholic faith. Animated by his zeal, the people began to rebuild St. Francis Xavier's church, which was lengthened and heightened and made into a very presentable wooden structure, with a belfry of no mean altitude, which overlooked a large parish residence, surrounded by a fine orchard, garden and farming lands. At this time the number of Catholics in the district were seven or eight hundred, of whom eighty or ninety were farmers cultivating the soil. Feeling that he had sufficiently reanimated the faithful of the flock to a higher sense of religious duty, he withdrew temporarily from the scene of his satisfying labors and set out for Kaskaskia, accompanied by twenty men as a body guard. On his return to his home he found that the Spaniards had acquired possession of the western shore of the Mississippi, but that they had come unattended by a priest. He therefore continued his missionary visits to St. Genevieve and St. Louis, and in 1770 proposed to the bishop to extend his labors to Peoria, St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, the Miamis and Weas. But the failing health and memory of Father Meurin made it impossible to leave him alone to

attend the Illinois missions, and on the withdrawal of English troops, the acts of Indian violence became fearfully frequent. Thrice did Rev. Mr. Gibault fall into their hands, escaping with life only on his promising not to reveal their presence in the neighborhood. In 1772 he was relieved of the St. Louis mission by the arrival of the Capuchin Father Valentine as its parish priest, and the year following Father Hilary of the same order took up his residence at old St. Genevieve, both priests having been detailed to take charge of their respective missions by Father Dagobert, superior of the Capuchins at New Orleans, who is said to have acted in utter disregard of the bishop of Quebec. In 1775 Rev. Mr. Gibault visited Canada, and on returning to his laborious post, he reached Michilimackinac in September, but waited in vain till November for any opportunity of proceeding farther. As he could not winter there or reach the Illinois country, he returned at great risk to Detroit, steering a canoe which was paddled by a man and a boy who had never before made the trip. In constant peril from the ice and with great suffering, he at last arrived at Detroit. "The suffering I have undergone between Michilimackinac and this place," he wrote, "has so deadened my faculties that I only half feel my chagrin at being unable to proceed to the Illinois. I shall do my best not to be useless at Detroit, and to relieve the two venerable old priests who attend it." But a year later he was again ensconced in the church and the hearts of the people of Kaskaskia, and here is where we find him a conspicuous figure in 1778-9, displaying an interest for the establishment of American liberty and the perpetuity of republican institutions as lofty and sincere as his zeal for the extension of religion and the stability of the Roman church. The sacrifices he made, both at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, to aid Clark in his memorable Illinois campaign, were so great, so far-reaching in their results, so expressive of patriotism, courage and love of liberty, that the Virginia legislature, in 1780, took cognizance of them by a resolution, which was unanimously adopted by that honorable body. And yet, the proud Old Dominion, be it said sorrowfully to her everlasting shame, never recompensed him, after he had made it possible for her armed troops to achieve a victory that resulted in the acquisition of territory on American soil vaster in extent three kingdoms of Great Britain on the European continent. Colonel Clark, however, was one man who fully appreciated the services of Rev. Mr. Gibault, and never failed to commend him in the highest terms as a patriot whenever occasion presented itself. The Virginia colonel's first introduction to the Canadian priest, patriot and diplomat, was at Kaskaskia, immediately following the arrest of Mr. Rocheblave, the commandant of that post, and the astute soldier—observing at a glance the hold the missionary seemed to have upon the natives—determined to secure his services as a conciliator, if possible. On approaching Father Gibault, Clark was received with a degree of such marked politeness and courtesy that he was momentarily bewildered. The priest, realizing as readily as the soldier the importance of adopting conciliatory meas-

ures, not only expressed a willingness, but a cheerfulness, to exert all the influence he had towards allaying any-hostility that might arise among the inhabitants against the American cause, but voluntarily promised he would encourage them to become American subjects. And through his pleadings and his eloquence not only were the French citizens of Kaskaskia induced to supply the Virginia troops with provisions and other essential articles, but to receive at its face value all of the depreciated continental paper currency of Virginia, Colonel Vigo, then the merchant prince of Kaskaskia, adding his guaranty for its redemption, and receiving it, dollar for dollar, not only from the soliders, but the inhabitants, until it became entirely worthless.* "Father Gibault," says Law, "but especially Vigo, had on hand at the close of the campaign, more than twenty thousand dollars of this worthless trash [the only funds, however, which Clark had in his military chest] and not one dollar of which was ever redeemed either for Vigo or Father Gibault, who, for this worthless stuff, disposed 'of all his cattle, and the tithes of his parishioners,' in order to sustain Clark and his troops, without which aid they must have surrendered, surrounded as they were by the Indian allies of the British, and deprived of all resources but those furnished by the French inhabitants, through the persuasion of Vigo and Father Gibault." It was at the mere suggestion of Clark that Father Gibault consented to go to Vincennes (where he was quite as well known and as dearly beloved as he was at Kaskaskia, having for years performed apostolical services at both places) and urge the inhabitants to declare their fealty to the United States and renounce allegiance to Great Britain. Accordingly, on July 14, 1778, he set out for the old post. He was accompanied on this expedition by Dr. Jean B. La Font, a civil magistrate, and Moses Henry, an Indian interpreter and envoy. Upon arrival, Father Gibault had the announcement made broadcast that there would be a meeting at the church. The fort at that time was under command of British commandant Abbott, who had gone to Detroit on a mission of business importance, leaving the affairs of the post and a garrison of British troops in charge of St. Marie Racine, a worthy citizen, who, by the way, had charge of the fort after St. Ange was withdrawn, and held it until Ramsey came, and after the latter's departure, until Abbott put in an appearance. Quite a crowd assembled at the church, among the number Racine (St. Marie) to ascertain the object of Father Gibault's visit, which he told in a speech of impassioned eloquence, at the conclusion of which the inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the American cause, and without the shedding of a drop of blood, the first capture of Fort Sackville was effected—through the diplomacy and patriotism of the priest-patriot ally—and the cross of St. George hauled down and trailed in the dust, and the glorious American banner unfurled above the pinnacle of the highest bastion, much to the astonishment of the Indians, who had been told that

* Law, *History of Vincennes*, p. 54.

their great French father, whom they mourned as dead, had come back to life.

Through the influence of Father Gibault, who was materially aided by Colonel Vigo in his efforts, Clark's forces, prior to departing from Kaskaskia for Vincennes, were augmented by an addition of fifty men. It was largely due to his pleadings that Hamilton released Vigo when the latter was sent to Vincennes to supply Capt. Helm and his men with provisions and incidentally learn the true condition of affairs at the post. Twelve years after this notable event, in a memorial addressed to Gen. St. Clair, then governor of the Northwest Territory, the patriotic Gibault—who felt keenly the sting of penury which his patriotism and the ingratitude of Virginia had inflicted—displays the fine and delicate feeling, modesty and unostentation so characteristic of the man. The document was written at Kahokia (Cahokia) May 1, 1790, and reads as follows:

"The undersigned memorialist has the honor to represent to your excellency that from the moment of the conquest of the Illinois country by Col. George Rogers Clarke he has not been backward in venturing his life, on the many occasions in which he found his presence was useful, and at all times sacrificing his property, which he gave for the support of the troops, at the same price he could have received in Spanish milled dollars, and for which, however, he has received only paper dollars (continental currency of which he has had no information since he sent them, addressed to the Commissioner of Congress, who required a statement of the depreciation of them at the *Belle Riviere* in 1783, with an express promise in reply, that particular attention should be paid to his account, because it was well known to be in no wise exaggerated. In reality, he parted with his tithes and his beasts, only to set an example to his parishioners, who began to perceive that it was intended to pillage them and abandon them afterwards, which really took place. The want of seven thousand eight hundred livres (or upwards of \$1,500 American currency) of the non-payment of which the American notes have deprived him the use, has obliged him to sell two good slaves, who would now be the support of his old age, and for the want of whom he now finds himself dependent on the public who, although well served, are very rarely led to keep their promises, except that part who, employing their time in such service, are supported by the secular power, that is to say, by the civil government.

"The love of country and liberty have also led your memorialist to reject all the advantages offered him by the Spanish government; and he endeavored by every means in his power, by exertions and exhortations, and by letters to the principal inhabitants, to retain every person in the dominion of the United States in expectation of better times, and giving them to understand that our lives and property having been employed twelve years in the aggrandizement and preservation of the United States, would at last receive an acknowledgment, and be compensated by the enlightened and upright ministers, who sooner or later would come to examine into and relieve us of our situation. We begin to see the accomplishment of these hopes under the happy government of your excellency, and as your memorialist has ever reason to believe, from proofs which would be too long to explain here, you are one of the number who have been the most forward in risking their lives and fortunes for the country.

"He also hopes that his demand will be listened to favorably. It is this: The missionaries, like lords, have at all times possessed two tracts of land near this village; one three acres in front which produces but little hay, three-quarters being useless by a great morass; the other of two acres in front, which may be cultivated, and

which the memorialist will have cultivated with care, and proposes to have a dwelling erected on it, with a yard and orchard, in case his claim is accepted. Your excellency may think, perhaps, that this might injure some of the inhabitants, but it will not. It would be difficult to hire them to have an enclosure to be made of the size of these tracts, so much more land have they than they cultivate. May it please your excellency, then, to grant them to your memorialist as belonging to the domain of the United States, and give him a concession to be enjoyed in full propriety in his private name, and not as missionary and priest, to pass to his successor, otherwise the memorialist will not accept it.

"It is for the services he has already rendered, and those which he still hopes to render, as far as circumstances may offer, and he may be capable, and particularly on the bounty with which you relieve those who stand in need of assistance, that he founds his demand. In hopes of being soon of the number of those who praise heaven for your fortunate arrival in this country, and who desire your prosperity in everything, your memorialist has the honor of being, with the most profound respect,

"Your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

"P. GIBAULT, *Priest.*"

"Whether," says Judge Law, "'a concession to be enjoyed in full propriety' by the venerated Father in his private name, and not as missionary and priest, of the two acres in front of the village of Kahokia," on which he proposed to have 'a dwelling erected, with a garden and orchard on it,' was ever made, I do not know; if there was, there is no record of it. Governor St. Clair, in his report to Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State in 1791, makes the following remarks in relation to this memorial: 'No. 24 is the request of Father Gibault, for a small piece of land that has long been in the occupation of the priests at Kahokia, having been assigned them by the French, but he wishes to possess it in propriety, and it is true that he was very useful to Gen. Clark upon many occasions, and has suffered very heavy losses. I believe no injury would be done to any one by his request being granted, but it was not for me to give away the lands of the United States.' In the concessions made by Winthrop Sargent, at the 'town at Post Vincennes,' while acting as governor in place of Gen. St. Clair, I find the following made July, 1790: 'Rev. Peter Gibault, a lot about fourteen *tosies*, one side to Mr. Millet, another to Mr. Vaudrey, and to two streets.' Rather an indefinite description of the boundaries; but the 'ambitious city' of 1856, I presume in 1790 had neither a mayor or city engineer to run out the good Father's lines."

Father Gibault did not have the privilege of becoming the beneficiary under the above grant, for the reason that Bishop Carroll protested, as soon as he learned of it, against any attempt to alienate property belonging to the church to its individual clergymen. The grant was made two years after the priest-patriot had left Vincennes. His last permanent stay here was from the beginning of 1785 to the middle of 1788; and just previous to its termination, while on one of his missionary journeys, he narrowly escaped with his life—the occasion being when the Indians killed Sieur Paul Diesruisseaux and wounded Sieur Bonvouloir, the courageous priest being so near as to have his clothing saturated with their blood. His last visit to Vincennes was in October, 1789. Having withdrawn from the

Baltimore (this) diocese, after Bishop Carroll filed his protest with the United States government against the alienation of church property (but whether in consequence thereof, we do not know) he retired to Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi. Later he removed to New Madrid, Mo., where his earthly career was brought to a close in the fore part of 1804.

William Henry Smith,* who has written so much that is interesting and instructive on the history of the Northwest Territory, in commenting on the ungrateful treatment received by Father Gibault in consideration of the splendid service he had rendered the country in the dark days of the revolution, says “. . . Before leaving this subject it will be well to glance at some other acts of gross injustice perpetrated by Virginia and the United States upon some of those who had served them well, and to whose help the country owed the capture and retention of the vast empire now known as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. It will be remembered that when General Clark arrived at Kaskaskia he found there Father Gibault, a parish priest, and that the Father was Clark's earliest and best friend, and staunchest adviser and assistant. He not only won over the French residents of the village, but at the instigation of General Clark went to Vincennes and there induced the French residents to take the oath of allegiance to the American government, and by his influence prevailed upon the Indian tribes to make peace and forsake the British. He was still at Vincennes when Clark reached that point after it had been recaptured by Hamilton, and he was again of the greatest assistance. For his services to the Americans he was excommunicated by the Bishop of Detroit, and deprived of his pastorate. When Gen. St. Clair appeared at Vincennes as governor of the Northwest Territory, Father Gibault presented a memorial to him, setting forth that he had ‘parted with his tithes and beasts’ to aid Gen. Clark, and had been paid in depreciated currency, which he had sent to the United States commissioner for redemption, but had never heard from it afterward. He set forth that because of this loss he had been compelled to sell two slaves who would have been a support to his old age and that he was then dependent upon the public. He asked that a small tract of land at Kaskaskia, which had been formerly held by the parish priests, be returned to him. Governor St. Clair recommended that this be done, but it never was. Finally, after several years, a small lot was given him in Vincennes, and subsequent to that he was allowed four hundred acres of land, but the old man had parted with his claim for a trifle, and this act of tardy justice did him no good. Upon Gen. Clark's arrival at Kaskaskia, on his first expedition, his troops were entirely out of supplies. He was out of money as well. Without help, his attempt against Vincennes must be abandoned. The French merchants of Kaskaskia came patriotically to his help and furnished him with whatever was needed. He gave them bills on Virginia. Virginia took no steps toward

* William Henry Smith, *The History of the State of Indiana*, pp. 85, 86, 87, 88.

honoring the bills, and in 1780 Charles Gratiot, on his own behalf, and as agent for some of the others, visited Virginia. He remained there three years before he could get his claims allowed. Many of the other claims were never presented, owing to the discouragements Gratiot had met with. . . ."

It is quite as sorrowful as it is singular that the unselfish deeds and patriotic acts of this holy man, who is deserving of the praise of every true American citizen, have not been commemorated by the erection of a monument, or the establishment of some institution bearing his name. When the city and county, several years ago, appropriated funds jointly for the erection of a hospital, it was suggested by a number of well-meaning people, to those in whom the corporations had vested such authority, to name the institution the Clark-Gibault hospital. This would have certainly been a nice testimonial to two illustrious men who performed, upon this very spot, such heroic and inestimable service in behalf of the United States. Clark-Gibault would have been a most appropriate appellation, for the reason that the names of George Rogers Clark and Pierre Gibault are firmly linked together when their deeds of valor and bravery, (denoting devotion to country) performed in the darkest hour of the nation's peril, are considered and revealed in the pure light of patriotism. However, for some reason best known to those having the matter in charge, the name was rejected, and that of Good Samaritan adopted.

Mr. English, in his conquest of the northwest, places a high estimate on Father Gibault's untiring efforts and the success of his labors in behalf of the American cause, and says, with an apparent tinge of sadness in his statement and a true ring of sincerity in every word: "There was no reason, however, why his great services should not have been properly recognized, but they never were. As far as the author is advised, no county, town or postoffice bears his name; no monument has been erected to his memory and no headstone even marks his grave, as its location is entirely unknown. It was well for him that he could turn to the religion of which he had been so faithful a servant and find consolation in the trust that there was a heaven where meritorious deeds such as his find reward, since they were so poorly appreciated and requited on earth."

"The influence of Father Gibault's labors," says Dr. Smith, "were more than local, and his name should be cherished by American citizens with an ardor fully equal to that displayed for LaFayette or Rochambeau, for the beneficent results following Gibault's patriotic zeal, his tenacious fidelity to the American cause of liberty, will give measure for measure with those great French generals."

Among the score of friends, tried and true, who rallied to the support of Father Gibault in the attainment of his diplomatic and patriotic designs, was Francois Busseron, another Frenchman, in honor of whom Busseron township, in Knox County, and Busseron street, in Vincennes, were named. In August, 1778, when Father Gibault went from Kaskaskia to Vincennes

to persuade the inhabitants of the latter place to forswear King George and take the oath of allegiance as American citizens, he carried a commission,* previously secured from Colonel Clark, conferring upon Mr. Busseron the rank of captain of militia, his company to be raised in Vincennes. Capt. Busseron was a prominent and influential citizen, and when the patriotic priest at the little church was exhorting his faithful flock to forsake the banner of His Britannic Majesty and join the American forces in the glorious struggle for liberty and independence against the tyrant king, made his presence keenly felt and aided the cause very materially. †“He arose at the close of the meeting, while the audience was detained, and interrogated the holy Father so skillfully concerning the power of the arms of Virginia and the justice of the cause of the colonies against England that all of the assembly were at once inclined to make friends with the new power. ‘Then,’ said Busseron, ‘why delay? Let us show him that we are his [Gibault’s] friends, and if Virginia will receive us, let us become her subjects.’” When Colonel John Todd was sent by Virginia to the Northwest Territory as civil governor in 1779, he appointed Capt. Busseron one of four judges of a court for the district of Vincennes, having civil and criminal jurisdiction, of whom the other three were Pierre Gamelin, Pierre Querez and Louis Edeline. Similar judicial honors were again conferred on him by Winthrop Sargent, when the latter came in 1790, for the purpose of perfecting the organization of the Northwest Territory, by virtue of an act of the Congress of the United States, passed in 1787. Capt. Busseron was a generous, kind-hearted and philanthropic man, and because of the fact that he had taken under his roof and accorded to Mary Shannon the same fatherly care and attention he would bestow upon his own daughter, an eminent local historian dubbed him the “foster father of Alice of Old Vincennes.” The hostile Indians, it is said, had murdered the father of Mary Shannon, and knowing the strong attachment existing between her stern parent and Mr. Busseron, she sought the latter for protection. To the orphaned girl he became greatly attached, and watched her with tenderness and care as she grew from beautiful girlhood into charming womanhood, when her fair hand was claimed in marriage by Capt. Robert Buntin, one of the leading citizens of the Old Post. She, it is, declares our historian, whom Maurice Thompson has made the heroine of his beautiful novel, “Alice of Old Vincennes”—and she it was, so it is said, that hoisted the American flag over Fort Sackville immediately upon the surrender of Hamilton. And after leading us up to this point, our historical critic robs us of all the romance we had reasoned out, and dims the halo of Thompson’s pretty story, by saying that “the anachronism is excusable in the author, as he must have a heroine for the dramatic scene of the surrender. Had she been born a little earlier than May 1, 1777, says our his-

*The commission had really been placed in the hands of Doctor La Font for delivery by Father Gibault, at whose solicitation it was issued.

† Hubbard M. Smith, *Historical Sketches Old Vincennes*.

torian, the event might have been historically correct in all particulars, since Capt. Busseron was the officer of the town and captain of the militia, as the reputed foster father, Gaspard Roussilon, appeared to have been."

When Father Gibault, in front of the church, was exhorting the French inhabitants of Vincennes to renounce allegiance to Great Britain and espouse the cause of America, Capt. Busseron was at the priest's side; and when the assemblage, enthused and electrified by the eloquent and patriotic words that fell from the lips of the holy man, marched *en masse* to the fort to take possession, accompanied by their adviser, Capt. Busseron was still at his side, and was the man who hauled down the British colors and hoisted an improvised flag,* to indicate that the French no longer acknowledged King George as their sovereign. He was highly esteemed by his fellow-citizens from every walk of life, who made him daily the recipient of courteous considerations. That his constituency had the utmost confidence in his honesty, integrity and ability—when Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the Northwest Territory, demanded to know of the citizens and public officials by what right and authority certain portions of the public lands had been disposed of—was shown when they selected him to prepare and present an explanation. He died in 1791, and his remains were laid to rest in the Catholic cemetery. He left a long line of descendants, many of whom have occupied important positions of honor and trust, and of whom Hon. Charles Busseron Lasselle of Logansport, Indiana, for many years judge of that circuit, is one. Another descendant of Capt. Busseron, quite well known to the older inhabitants, was Gen. Hyacinth Lasselle, who was a prominent citizen of Vincennes at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the builder and proprietor of the Lasselle House, erected in 1812. For many years the hostelry was a popular resort for both travelers and citizens, and many distinguished men of this and foreign countries have been its guests. General Thomas Posey, who succeeded Gen. Harrison in 1813 as governor of the Indiana Territory, made his home at the "Lasselle" for a while, and transacted quite a good bit of official business there. The house was located at the corner of Second and Perry streets, where the large wholesale grocery of Bierhaus Bros. now stands, and was later known as the Beeler House, and Merchants' Hotel. It was entirely consumed by fire on the night of October 23, 1871, all efforts to save it on the part of the department—whose most formidable weapon with which to fight the fire fiend on that occasion was a hand-engine—proving ineffectual.

* The flag was a two-colored emblem, and the material of which it was made and the cost of its making is explained in a receipted bill (which was tendered by Capt. Busseron to Capt. Helm) containing the following entries: "1778. Paid to St. Marie for 5 ells of red serge for the flag, 45c. Paid to Mr. Defonet for 3¾ ells of green serge for flag, 37½c. Paid Mrs. Godare for making the flag, 25c."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LOYALTY OF A SPANISH SOLDIER TO AMERICA.

COLONEL FRANCIS VIGO SHOWS HIS SYMPATHY FOR AN OPPRESSED PEOPLE—
SPENDS MONEY TO AID THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY AND DIES IN POVERTY—
CAPTURED BY INDIANS AND TAKEN BEFORE HAMILTON—VIGO'S SUBSTANTIAL AID TO COLONEL CLARK—HIS SAD DEATH AND NEGLECTED GRAVE—
SHORT SKETCH OF JOHN BADOLLET, A COLLEAGUE OF VIGO—FIRST REGISTRAR OF PUBLIC LANDS AND HIS SUCCESSORS—ALLEGED UPRISING AT VINCENNES AGAINST SPAIN—SEIZURE OF VINCENNES MERCHANT BY SPANIARDS.

A few eighteenth century Spaniards took up their abode at Vincennes, but only for temporary residence. While several of them remained a score of years, with the exception of one man, none of them were recognized as full-fledged citizens. The one man referred to was Francis Vigo—and he was not only a citizen in name, but in spirit, and constantly labored for the advancement of the community and the prosperity of its people. His love for liberty as enunciated by the Declaration of Independence was as deep-seated, pure and fervent as that which found lodgment in the breast of the most loyal American, and he impoverished himself to aid the fellow-citizens of his adopted country in their struggles to throw off the yoke of British tyranny.

Like quite a number of historical writers, Mr. Roosevelt, in his charming work, *The Winning of the West*, refers to Colonel Vigo as a Creole, leaving the inference to be drawn that he belonged to the class of French Canadians popularly but erroneously styled Creoles. This, however, is a likely error and can be accounted for from the fact that he spoke the French language, as the foreign tongue was spoken by the natives in those days very fluently. Vigo, nevertheless, was born of Spanish parents in Mondovi, in the Kingdom of Sardinia, in 1746. Leaving the parental roof when a mere lad, he enlisted in a Spanish regiment as a private soldier. Subsequently the regiment was ordered to Havana, Cuba, after which a detachment of it "shipped" to New Orleans, then a Spanish post, young Vigo filling an important place in its ranks. Having firmly ingratiated himself into the good graces of his commanding officer by a display of



COL. FRANCIS VIGO

soldierly bearing and gentlemanly deportment, he sought and received an honorable discharge, quitting the service to engage in the Indian trade on the Arkansas river and its tributaries. Not a great while after leaving the Spanish army, his energetic, resourceful commercial mind led him, in 1772, to change the scenes of his earlier operations as a trader on the Arkansas river to St. Louis, which was then the seat of the government of Louisiana. Here he formed the acquaintance, won the friendship and became associated in business with Don Francisco de Luba, the governor of Louisiana, whose official residence was St. Louis. A strong attachment, signalized by confidence and esteem, was soon formed between the two. The governor was a haughty personage, a polished gentleman of refinement and education, and commander-in-chief of the military forces. Vigo was a private soldier, unlearned in letters, without the rudiments of an education, able only at that time to write his own name, but withal he was one of the most successful and enterprising traders that ever came into the Northwest Territory. That these two men, occupying such vastly different stations in life, should become cemented in the most endearing ties of friendship and associated in business enterprises involving immense sums of money, was singular indeed, and only shows that the absence of caste governed the social as well as the commercial conditions of the earlier days. Vigo, while ignorant, was the embodiment of honor and honesty, and had absorbed, despite his daily contact with savages and uncouth adventurers, the manners of a cultured gentleman, which made his presence always agreeable to those moving in the higher circles of society. His straightforwardness was the foundation upon which he builded business enterprises that made him rich; it was the key that unlocked the hearts of the people with whom he came in contact, and gave him their confidence, love and esteem, treasures which he carried with him down to the grave. Gentleness, combined with loftiness of thought, "purity of mind, a high, honorable and chivalric bearing" were strong qualities in his character. Col. Clark first met Vigo at Kaskaskia, where the latter was temporarily residing, his business frequently calling him away, in all directions, from his permanent residence in St. Louis. Clark had recently received word from Capt. Helm, in command of Virginia troops at Vincennes, that he was destitute of provisions and ammunition, and learning that Vigo was well acquainted with the inhabitants at this post, sent him (December 18, 1778) for the purpose of supplying these wants. It* has been erroneously stated by quite a number of writers that Vigo came here as a spy from Kaskaskia, at the behest of Clark, to ascertain the number and condition of Hamilton's forces. As a matter of fact, neither Clark nor Vigo knew that Hamilton was really here at that time. Clark, having heard nothing to the contrary, naturally supposed that Helm was still "holding the fort." Vigo was accompanied on his pilgrimage from Kaskaskia by a single body-guard. Having hitherto

* W. H. English, *The Conquest of the Northwest*.

experienced little or no trouble with the Indians, and being lionized by the French of this locality, he had little to fear. Great was his surprise when, on reaching the Embarrass river, he was set upon by a band of Indians who confiscated all of his possessions and led him, an unwilling captive, before General Hamilton, then in full charge of the fort at Vincennes. He pleaded that he was a subject of the king of Spain, and therefore a non-participant in any conspiracies against the British crown. While eyeing the prisoner with many misgivings and suspecting him of all manner of ulterior motives, Hamilton did not deem it prudent to place him in durance vile; admitting him instead to parole, conditioned that he should make daily reports of his conduct at the fort, which he did, and by so doing was enabled to make a mental diagram of the garrison, its defenses, and numerical strength—his keen eye, active brain and retentive memory serving as instruments by which he was afterwards capable of presenting to Clark a true picture of the situation. The love which the inhabitants of the Old Post had for Vigo was shown in the persistency with which they* importuned Hamilton to release him, making his detention, to the commandant, a source of great embarrassment and annoyance. Hamilton, unable to longer withstand these manifestations of indignation and disapproval, which were finally accompanied with a threat to refuse to furnish the garrison with everyday necessities, yielded, and released the prisoner; not, however, before making a futile attempt to have him sign articles of agreement, conditioned "not to do any act during the war injurious to British interests." This compact Vigo positively and emphatically refused to sign, at the same time displaying much indignation. As a compromise, submitted for final adjustment of the matter, after much parleying, Colonel Vigo signed an agreement "not to do anything injurious to the British interests on his way to St. Louis." On the following day he took his departure for St. Louis in the same *pirogue* in which he was captured, accompanied by two *voyageurs*, coursing down the Wabash to the Ohio, thence up the Mississippi to the place of destination. With faithfulness and fidelity he sacredly kept his word to every letter in the agreement, and in all of the long journey was careful not to do a single act derogatory to anything that was English. He had no sooner landed in St. Louis, however, until he hurriedly provided for a trip, in the same *pirogue*, to Kaskaskia, to apprise Clark of the true condition of affairs at Vincennes, which he had learned by heart. It was at this time (January 29, 1779), without any solicitation from Clark, that Vigo, a Spaniard by birth, and consequently owing allegiance to Spain, volunteered to aid Clark in the capture of Vincennes, without in the least being obligated to become a party to such an undertaking, and with a full knowledge of the peaceful relations then existing between Spain and England, and cognizant of the fact that he was committing a breach of neu-

* Father Gibault was instigator of the movement and the leader of the remonstrators. It is said that it was really through the personal efforts of the priest that Vigo's release was secured.

trality that might trail his good name in the dust, entail the loss of his property, and cause to be heaped upon him all the indignities, contumely and vengeance British power in the Wabash and Illinois countries could invent or inflict. But he could not stifle a feeling that burned within his breast, a sentiment akin to that which caused American arms to be taken up against British oppression; and filled with a love for humanity and a desire for the liberty of a nation's people, and a knowledge of the blessings that could come to them from a republican form of government, he cast aside all fears of personal consequences, and tendered not only his services, but promised to give to the enterprise every financial aid, which he did. And through the money alone contributed by Vigo was Clark enabled to undertake that ever memorable march from Kaskaskia and carry out successfully his conquest against Vincennes. Colonel Vigo and General Clark became the truest and most devoted of friends, and it was because of this attachment that Vigo transferred his residence from Kaskaskia to Vincennes. There never was a demand made by Clark on Vigo to which the latter did not respond. As a matter of fact, Vigo seemed to take a livelier interest in maintaining the credit of Virginia than did Clark. Whenever the latter failed to receive funds from the Old Dominion with which to pay her soldiery, Vigo supplied them. Whenever Clark presented a voucher for money to pay soldiers, buy supplies for the commissary, or for any other expenses or incidentals, Vigo honored them, thus keeping the credit of Virginia at par and sparing her the shame and humiliation of repudiating her obligations. And what did Virginia offer Vigo in consideration of his generosity and patriotism, through which untold blessings subsequently came to her and the nation? Be it said, to the everlasting shame of the Old Dominion, that she never as much as tendered a vote of thanks to her liberal and patriotic benefactor. Several years after removing to Vincennes Colonel Vigo married Miss Elizabeth Shannon, a comely lass, and native of the Old Post, who died shortly after marriage, without issue. From the wealth accumulated through his dealings with the Indians and settlers he invested heavily in real estate in Knox County, as evidenced by many of the earlier deeds bearing his name, but he seemed incompetent to grapple with the more advanced methods of commercialism, and his large fortune eventually slipped from his grasp. About the year 1800 he built a residence that was considered palatial for those days. It stood on a lot at the southwest corner of Broadway and Second streets, its magnificent proportions being greatly admired by the populace. The builder of the house, it is said, was given twenty guineas for completing it in time to enable its hospitable owner to tender it for occupancy to William Henry Harrison, who had just been appointed governor of the Indiana Territory, upon his arrival. The governor, however, declined to occupy more than one room, and was assigned the parlor, the floor of which was laid in square blocks of white oak and black walnut, in alternating rows. The furnishings of the parlor (as did those of other rooms) harmonized with the elegance

and beauty of the floor, and comprised, among the few pictures that hung upon the walls, a handsome oil painting of Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Vigo doted on fine furniture, linens and tableware, articles with which he kept both his house and boat supplied. About the time the governmental reins of the Northwest Territory were placed in the hands of Arthur St. Clair, Dr. Manasseh Cutler,* who was one of the founders of an early colony near Marietta, Ohio, had occasion to meet Vigo when the latter was making his way up the Ohio in a large keel boat, propelled by ten oars and a square sail. The boat, the Doctor found, was also provided with a cabin and an awning top, making the surroundings very pleasant, and he gladly consented to become a passenger during part of the journey. He remained aboard several days and nights, which led him to observe that the boat was amply supplied with comforts and even luxuries, and its lockers contained silver-handled knives and forks, and flasks of spirits, while its beds were luxurious for the frontier, and were provided with sheets, articles comparatively unknown to the average pioneer.† Colonel Vigo acquired his military title by being a commissioned officer in the First Regiment of the Territorial Militia, of which he was a major commandant in 1790, and continued to do military duty until May 5, 1810, when he resigned. With the exception of four or five years, when he moved to his country seat (McKee farm) southeast of the city, Colonel Vigo had cast his lot for nearly a half century with the good people of Vincennes, his honesty and probity in all his dealings receiving and meriting their good will and approbation. As a testimonial of the esteem in which the people of city and county held him, Vincennes named a street, and Knox County a township, in his honor, to perpetuate his memory—gracious acts that were performed during his lifetime. During the closing days of his life he lived in a humble cottage on the south side of Main, between Fourth and Fifth streets. Governor St. Clair, in a report to the secretary of war, in 1790, tersely says: "To Mr. Vigo, a gentleman of Vincennes, the United States are much indebted, and he is, in truth, the most distinguished person I have almost ever seen."

The engraving presented below is made from a photograph of an oil painting of the heroic and patriotic subject of this sketch, which adorns the walls of the auditorium of the Vincennes University, and is probably the only picture extant of the man. Vigo could never be persuaded to sit for a photograph, and how it ever happened, if it really did, that the first paper money of the State Bank bore an engraved reproduction of his

* Dr. Cutler is credited with having been the author of quite a number of provisions in the ordinance of 1787. He was a very wily politician, and as an officer of the Ohio Company, which he helped to organize, was deemed guilty of many transactions alleged to have been neither legitimate nor honest.

† Mr. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. V, p. 49.



FRANCIS VIGO MONUMENT

physiognomy, has never been fully explained. Vigo County, of which Terre Haute is the seat, was named in honor of Col. Vigo, and in his will, dated December 9, 1834, he provides that the contract, made by him with John Law, Abner T. Ellis and Luther H. Reed for the prosecution of his claim against Virginia for supplies furnished Gen. George Rogers Clark in the Illinois campaign, shall be faithfully observed and carried out. He also requested that out of the money that may be recovered on his claim a sufficient sum be appropriated to buy a bell for the court house of Vigo County. He died in 1836, and for a long time his grave, marked by a crumbling slab of sandstone, bearing the simple inscription†—

Colonel Francis Vigo,
Died 22d Day March, 1835,
Aged 96.

—gave no evidence of care or attention until 1908, when the Daughters of the American Revolution formed a Francis Vigo chapter, and reared above the ashes of the dead patriot a more pretentious monument, from which the photographic view presented below was obtained.

His funeral expenses (amounting to forty-two dollars) remained as an unpaid item on the books of Andrew Gardner (great grandfather of George E. Gardner, who conducted an undertaking establishment in 1816, and whose successors to the business have been the representatives of four generations of the Gardner family) until 1876, when it was paid, without interest. Vigo's advances and credits made for the maintenance of the American army in the northwestern wilderness eventually reduced him to a state of penury, and the dilatoriness of the federal government in recognizing his claim, while furnishing a shameful illustration of the ingratitude of republics, filled the declining years of his life with misery and humiliation. Years after this self-sacrificing man had been gathered to his fathers, the nation he had so faithfully served began to evince some knowledge of its indebtedness to him. In June, 1872, congress referred the claim of the executors of Vigo's estate to the court of claims "with full jurisdiction and power to act," and in 1875 the court rendered judgment on a bill of exchange drawn by George Rogers Clark in favor of Vigo for army supplies for \$8,616 of principal and \$41,282.60 interest, being the interest at five per cent from March 20, 1779, to January 18, 1875, making a total of

* And it is the writer's recollection that one of the first notes of the old State Bank of Indiana, chartered in 1836, had upon it a vignette likeness of him.—H. M. Smith, *Historical Sketches Old Vincennes*, p. 165.

† The date 1835 is an error; it was 1836, as the record of the undertakers, Andrew Gardner & Son, shows. The junior member of this firm, Mr. Elbridge Gardner, who is yet living, remembers all the circumstances connected with the death and burial, Mrs. Doctor W. W. Hitt, just across the street, being buried the same day, and the inscription on her grave's shaft bears the date of March 22, 1836. Col. Vigo was born about 1740, and calculating from this he would have been ninety-six years old at the time of his death. [H. M. Smith, *Historical Notes Old Vincennes*, p. 164.]

\$40,898.60. How much of this amount found its way into the hands of the executors, after claim agents and lobbyists got through with it, is not known, but there is a strong probability that its volume, in passing through these channels, was greatly diminished. By the will, Archibald McKee and Francis Vigo McKee, nephews, and children of a sister of testator's wife, were made residuary legatees; but, singular as it may seem, the estate was never settled in court,* and hence its exact proportions will never be known.

At the close of Clark's conquest of the Northwest Territory, Colonel Vigo renounced allegiance to the king of Spain, and was energetic in a movement inaugurated at Vincennes to resist the interference of the Spanish government on the Mississippi with the commerce of the Old Post. While the dominion of Spain was never extended over the Wabash country, and this section was never considered in her treatment of international affairs, her domination of the Father of Waters visibly affected the people of Vincennes. In October, 1786, when the controversies between this country and Spain, growing out of the prohibition of navigation of the Mississippi by the latter government, were becoming frequent and heated, it is said that George Rogers Clark harangued the populace, declaring that Spain contemplated extending her possessions further into the western country, which meant that Vincennes would be included in her territory; that John Jay, United States Minister to Spain, had permitted the latter country to say who should or should not navigate the waters of the Mississippi; that Jay had acquiesced in Spain's plan of drawing her boundary line far enough west to include Vincennes in her territory. There probably has been a little false coloring given to the picture that was actually presented, if any credence is to be placed in Clark's version of the affair, which appears in a subsequent chapter. However, there was great excitement at the Old Post, and it has been related that the occasion called for a mass meeting, at which it was resolved to garrison the town, raise an army by recruiting and obtain supplies with which to provide the soldiers by impressment. That part of the story, so far as it relates to raising troops, establishing a garrison, and obtaining supplies therefor by impressment is true; but the real object in raising troops was for the purpose of fighting Indians in the Wabash country instead of Spaniards in Louisiana. There is, however, more humor than pathos in the acts of the good people of Vincennes growing out of their indignation of Spain's prohibition of navigation on the Mississippi, and to portray them as they appeared to a local historian of that period can possibly do no harm. The historian, referring to the conduct of some of the citizens, says:† "They actually took steps to raise an army, seize

* Mr. Cauthorn, who is quoted in English's *Conquest of the Northwest* (pp. 269, 270) says: "I have carefully examined the records and files in the clerk's office, and find his estate was never settled in court, and all the papers have been taken from the files."

† *Vincennes Western Star*, July 4, 1904.

upon the property of Spanish citizens here, and at other places, as a hostile measure, and openly declared their intentions of driving the Spaniards out of the west, possessing themselves of the vast territories and bid defiance to their own government. This was all done in consequence of erroneous information that congress had sanctioned Spain's action. So they began to marshal their forces for war. Soon after, however, a letter from one of these patriots to the governor of Georgia was dispatched, informing him that 'they had taken all the goods belonging to the Spanish merchants at Post Vincennes and the Illinois and that preparations are now making here to drive the Spaniards from their settlements at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States (if we need it) our allegiance will be thrown off and some other power applied.' The messenger hearing this letter took too much 'burbon' at Danville, Ky., and gave the scheme away, showing the letter, and a copy of it was sent to Washington, D. C. Congress investigated and informed General Clark that his actions were disavowed by the United States government, and troops were ordered out to Vincennes to dispossess the unauthorized intruders who had taken possession of the post. The affair was finally adjusted amicably and the war between Vincennes and Spain was over."

Mr. Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, relates that, in 1787, a Creole, living at Vincennes, loaded a *pirogue* with goods valued at two thousand dollars, and went down to trade with the Indians near the Chickasaw Bluffs, when the commandant of the Spanish port at the Arkansas—who was also a Creole—seized the boat, confiscated the goods and imprisoned the crew. All appeals made by the Vincennes merchant to the commandant were in vain, the latter insisting that he had been ordered by Spanish authorities to seize all persons who trafficked on the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio, inasmuch as Spain claimed both banks of the river; and when the merchant made a final appeal to Miro, he was coldly received, and dismissed with a warning to never again attempt the offense of conducting traffic on the Mississippi at the risk of being sent to the mines of Brazil. It has been said that the man intercepted was either a representative of Colonel Vigo, or that Vigo had a monetary interest in the cargo that was seized, both of which claims are sustained only by badly manufactured tradition.*

Judge John Law, the pioneer jurist and historian of Vincennes, who was greatly beloved by all her citizens, was a personal friend of Colonel Vigo. In his *Colonial History of Vincennes*, in a beautifully written biographical sketch of Vigo, recounting the sacrifices that loyal Spaniard made for the success of American arms and the establishment of American liberty and independence, concludes with the following paragraph: ". . . Spirit of the illustrious dead, let others judge of this matter as they may, we who

* It is recorded in the Executive Journal of the Territory that Colonel Vigo applied for and was granted a license to run a ferry-boat from the Illinois side of the Wabash river (where he owned a large tract of land) to the Indiana shore—indicating that his *penchant* for pursuing an avocation on or along waterways never deserted him.

have lived to see the immense advantages of that conquest to our beloved country—so little known and so little appreciated when made—will do you justice, and we will also teach our children, and our children's children, who are to occupy our places when we are gone, to read and remember among the earliest lessons of the history of that portion of the country which is to be also their abiding place—our own lovely valley—that its conquest, and subsequent attachment to the union, was as much owing to the councils and services of Vigo as to the bravery and enterprise of Clark.”

The late Honorable Henry S. Cauthorn, in his History of the City of Vincennes, devotes many pages to a biography of Colonel Vigo, who, says this biographer, was induced to locate in Vincennes in consequence of the land grants of congress to the French inhabitants, by which, and through shrewd trading with the “red savages or ignorant Frenchmen he became the largest land owner in the community; but when he came in contact with the educated class who came here when the territory was organized, this vast estate disappeared as the morning mist is dissipated by the rising sun, and he died in 1836 an object of charity. . . . When he came, and long before, he was a devout Catholic. It was through his influence that many priests were sent here by Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore, before and after 1796. He was a very zealous Catholic in all church functions and his name appears on the church register as godfather at many baptisms and as witness to many marriages. When the church here was incorporated in 1807, he was elected one of the trustees and so continued until 1822, yet his body after his death was buried in a Protestant cemetery. He was poor and wanting the necessities of life at the time of his death. . . . When the branch of the state bank of Indiana was organized here in 1834, the first five dollar bill issued by the branch was made payable to Colonel Vigo. He would not use this money, although in distress, but deposited the bill in the archives of the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society as a relic, and it remained there for many years after his death. It was abstracted from the archives of that society and put in circulation by one John Decker. Efforts were made to secure its return, but with what success is not known. In relation to his claim against the government on account of advances of money he had furnished General Clark, he frequently stated that the government was slow in allowing it, and that he had become too old for it to be of any use to him, and that if ever paid, the Catholic church should have it. He made this statement to Bishop Brute when on his death bed at the house of Betsy La Plante. But the claim was not paid until forty years after his death and the church got nothing out of the appropriation made by congress. In 1834 he executed what purported to be his last will. But this document, on account of remarkable provisions in it, was thought by his friends to have been executed when he was ‘non compos.’ When Mr. English was here looking up data for his history, he requested the author to accompany him to the Catholic cemetery and show him the grave of Colonel Vigo. When informed Colonel Vigo was not in the Catholic, but in

the Protestant cemetery he expressed surprise. He was accompanied to the Protestant cemetery, and the neglected grave hunted up, and after cutting the briars and scraping away the moss on the plain slab lying on the grave, we found the date of his death erroneously given. This satisfied us that the plain slab had been placed there by some good Samaritan not acquainted with the facts connected with his death. In the remarkable will executed in his declining years it is provided that after death his body should be disposed of in any manner his executors might see proper. This clause particularly caused remarks and his friends doubted his sanity at the time of its execution. He died at the home of Betsy La Plante, who lived in a rented frame house on the southwest side of Main street, midway between Fourth and Fifth streets. She was a poor French woman and attended him in his last sickness and until his death, March 22, 1836, and never received any compensation for her services. He was buried in the Protestant cemetery on March 23, 1836, with the honors of war."

During the earlier years of his life Colonel Vigo was an important factor in the affairs of Kaskaskia as well as Vincennes. After Clark's arrival and capture of Kaskaskia, "it was a very difficult matter," says Judge Law, "to induce the French inhabitants of the place to take the continental scrip which Clark and his soldiers had brought along with them; and it was not until after Colonel Vigo went there and gave his guaranty for its redemption that they would generally receive it. *Peltres* and *piastres* were the only currency known to these simple and unsophisticated Frenchmen. They could neither read nor write, and Colonel Vigo had great difficulty in explaining the operations of this new financial arrangement to them. 'Their commandants never made money,' was the only reply to the Colonel's explanation of the policy of the Old Dominion in these issues. But notwithstanding the Colonel's guaranty, the paper was not in good credit, and ultimately became very much depreciated. The Colonel had a trading establishment in Kaskaskia after Clark's arrival. Coffee was one dollar per pound. The poor Frenchman coming to purchase was asked 'what kind of payment he intended to make for it?' '*Doulcur*,' said he. And when it is recollected that it took about twenty continental dollars to purchase a silver dollar's worth of coffee, and that the French word '*doulcur*' signifies 'grief' or 'pain,' perhaps no word, either in the French or English languages, expressed the idea more correctly, than '*doulcur*' for 'continental dollars.' At any rate, it was truly '*doulcur*' to the Colonel, for he never received a single dollar in exchange for the large amount he had taken in order to sustain Clark's credit. The above anecdote I had from the Colonel's own lips."

It has long been a mooted question with historians as to whether Clark sent Vigo from Kaskaskia to Vincennes to supply Helm with provisions, or to ascertain the exact strength of the British post, or whether Vigo just happened to be at the Old Post on a business mission when he acquired, and subsequently communicated, the important information relative to the British stronghold here, which proved of such vital importance to Clark. Mr.

English, with whom the writer agrees, says Vigo was sent by Clark to look after the needs of Captain Helm, and that Clark had no knowledge of Hamilton's presence at Vincennes at the time. Consul Wilshire Butterfield, the learned historian, writes rather voluminously on Vigo's visit to Vincennes at that time, and the circumstances that occasioned it, taking issue with several of his contemporaries, and placing a different construction from them on the language pertaining to the events as set forth in the memoirs of Clark. This historian even denies the capture of Vigo and the fact that Vigo was taken before Hamilton as a prisoner, assailing the authenticity of the generally accepted story, thus making fiction of what have been hitherto considered facts. Mr. Butterfield says:*

"In Law's Vincennes (pp. 26-30), there is an extended account of Vigo's visit to Vincennes and his return, which is replete with errors. . . . Law adds subsequently (p. 55), more errors: 'It was entirely through the means of Father Gibault that Hamilton released Col. Vigo,' etc. . . . The errors of Judge Law to be especially noted and guarded against are: (1) There were no reinforcements soon to be sent from Detroit to Vincennes after Gov. Abbott's departure. (2) Capt. Helm was not in command of Fort Sackville without a single soldier under him. (3) Vigo did not go to Vincennes at the request of Clark—was not sent there by the latter. (4) Vigo was not seized by the Indians, plundered of everything he had and taken a prisoner before Hamilton. (5) Vigo was not paroled by Hamilton in Vincennes. (6) Hamilton did not release Vigo upon any condition whatever, or at the request of any persons—he simply escaped from Vincennes, where Hamilton had detained him and on his way to St. Louis called upon Clark at Kaskaskia."

Continuing at length in this vein of criticism, Mr. Butterfield concludes his comments, relative to Vigo's visit to Vincennes, as follows:†

" . . . Mann Butler, who, while writing his History of Kentucky, was in communication with Vigo, says (p. 70): 'After all his successes with the Indians, Col. Clark began to entertain great apprehensions for St. Vincents (Vincennes). No news had been received for a considerable length of time from that place, till on the 29th of January, 1779, Col. Vigo, then a merchant in partnership with the governor of St. Louis, now (1834) a venerable and highly respectable citizen of Vincennes, brought intelligence that Governor Hamilton had marched an expedition from Detroit, which had in December captured St. Vincents, and again reduced it under the power of the British.' That January 29th was the day Vigo reached Clark there can be no doubt. Bowman's Journal in the archives of the Department of State, Washington—(Letters to Washington, vol. 33, p. 90). Clark to Mason—Clark's Campaign in Illinois, p. 62. Dillon's Indiana (ed. of 1859), p. 137.

* Butterfield, *Conquest of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and Wabash Towns*, 1778-1779, pp. 689, 690, 691, 692.

† Butterfield, *History of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns*, 1778-1779, pp. 686, 687, 688, 689.

In Bowman's Journal as printed in Clark's campaign in the Illinois, p. 99, the date is given as the 27th, but this is an error. In a letter dated February 3d, written by Clark to the governor of Virginia he speaks of Vigo's arrival the day previous (Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. I, pp. 315-316); but this is explained from the circumstances that the letter was in reality written January 30th. Concerning Vigo's visit to Vincennes and his subsequent calling on Clark in Kaskaskia, the latter says: (1) 'Yesterday, I fortunately got every intelligence that I could wish for by a Spanish gentleman who made his escape from Mr. Hamilton.' (Letter to the Governor of Virginia from Kaskaskia, Feb. 3 [Jan. 30] 1779—Calendar of Virginia State Papers, vol. I, pp. 315-316). (2) 'But in the height of the hurry, a Spanish merchant who had been at St. Vincents (Vincennes) arrived and gave the following intelligence' (Letter to the Gov. of Va., April 29, 1779, from Kaskaskia—Jefferson's Works, Vol. I, p. 222n). (3) 'In the height of our anxiety, on the evening of the 29th of January, 1779, Mr. Vigo, a Spanish merchant, arrived from St. Vincents (Vincennes), and was there at the time of its being taken [by Hamilton] and gave me every intelligence I could wish to have.' (Letters to Mason, Nov. 19, 1779—Clark's Campaign in the Illinois, pp. 62, 63.) (4) 'On the 29th of January, 1779, in the height of the hurry, a Spanish merchant, who had been at Post Vincennes arrived and gave the following intelligence.' (Clark's memoir in Dillon's Indiana (ed. of 1859), p. 137.] Bowman's Journal in the Dept. of State MSS., has this to say of Vigo's arrival, of the information he imparted to Clark: 'Mr. Vigo, a Spanish subject, who had been at Post St. Vincent (Vincennes) on his lawful business, arrived (Jan. 29, 1779) and gave us intelligence that Gov. Hamilton and thirty regulars with fifty French volunteers and about four hundred Indians, had come last Nov. (Dec.) and taken that fort with Capt. Helm and several other Americans, who were there, with a number of horses designed for the settlement of Kentucky, etc.'"

Mr. Butterfield, in the same connection, further remarks: "But Reynolds (see his Pioneer History, p. 101, edition 1887) says 'Vigo was sent to Vincennes by Clark as a spy; that he was captured by the Indians and taken to Hamilton, who suspected the character of his mission; and that he was released on the ground of being a Spanish subject, and having influential friends among the French residents.' The only assertion in this that is not error (and that one is stated inferentially) is that Vigo had influential friends among the French residents."

It is presumed that Mr. Butterfield knows what he is "talking about," and, likewise, Mr. Reynolds, and it is also presumed that Judge Law knew what he was talking about when he published in his Colonial History of Vincennes (edition 1858 pp. 28, 29) the statement he gave expression to in a public address nineteen years previous, when he said, in reference to Colonel Vigo's visit to Vincennes: "When on the Embarrass river he was seized by a party of Indians, plundered of everything he possessed, and brought a prisoner before Hamilton, then in possession of the place, which,

with his troops, he had a short time before captured, holding Captain Helm a prisoner of war. Being a Spanish subject, and consequently a non-combatant, Governor Hamilton, although he strongly suspected the motives of his visit, dared not confine him; he accordingly admitted him to his parole, on the single condition, that he should daily report himself at the fort," etc. Judge Law was a personal friend of Colonel Vigo. The two men were frequently in one another's society, and it would be strange, indeed, if they failed to confide in each other. Judge Law says Colonel Vigo had "the most powerful memory he ever knew." It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that when Law questioned Vigo with reference to his visit to Vincennes, his capture, and subsequent release, the loyal Spaniard vividly recalled every incident bearing relation to these events. At any rate, there was nothing bombastic, sensational or spectacular about Colonel Vigo. He was not guilty of magnifying things, and his recital of his experiences was no doubt given without any attempt at coloring. Judge Law was a high-minded, honorable gentleman, and loved the truth too well to distort it. What he, as well as many other eminent historians have said in reference to Colonel Vigo's capture by Indians on the Embarrass, and his subsequent appearance before Hamilton as a prisoner and his release, will stand, at least until controverted by evidence more substantial than a mere affirmation unsupported by material facts. This in reference to Vigo's capture and detention. Judge Law is frequently quoted by some of the most reliable historians of the country, and all that he has written or said on colonial history is regarded by them as being authentic. Law had better facilities than Butterfield for gathering the true facts in the case, and, consequently, was less liable to err in his presentation of them.

Among his staunchest friends Colonel Vigo reckoned John Badollet, and the ties of affection which bound the two men were only severed by the grave. Their separation, however, was of short duration, as it was only a year after Colonel Vigo sought "his chamber in the silent halls of death" until he was joined in the realms beyond by the spirit of his bosom companion. John Badollet was foremost among the citizens of his day, and the many virtues he possessed will continue to be recalled by the people of Old Vincennes for a long time to come. He was a native of Switzerland, and was born in the city of Geneva in the year 1758. His father was a Lutheran minister, and the son inherited from him a spirit of goodness and benevolence which characterized all his acts. While not overzealous in church work, but dispensing charity lavishly and unostentatiously, he was a devout Christian and never lost an opportunity to attend religious devotions. Badollet and Albert Gallatin were natives of the same town in Switzerland, and an attachment formed between them in their youth ripened into the most fervent friendship after they became citizens of the United States. Both young men arrived in this country in the year 1776, Gallatin coming over several months in advance of Badollet, and later sending the latter money by which he was enabled to make the trip. Their destination was



JOHN BADOLLET

some settlement in the state of Pennsylvania, where they located and formed a copartnership in business. While residents of the province of Pennsylvania both were honored with positions of trust. Mr. Gallatin was subsequently given a portfolio in the cabinet of President Jefferson, and Mr. Badollet, at the request of Mr. Gallatin, took up his residence at Vincennes, where, through the personal influence of the latter, he was several years later appointed registrar of the public land office. The faithfulness with which he discharged his official duties is attested by the fact that during all of his administration of the exacting and complicated requirements of that office, extending over a period of nearly thirty-five years, his work was practically errorless, and he never invited the criticism of his superiors, nor incurred the displeasure of a patron. He continued to hold the responsible position of registrar until the year 1836, when he resigned, his son Albert becoming his successor. John Badollet acted in the capacity of one of the commissioners to adjust land grants in the district of Vincennes, receiving his commission from the United States government. In 1816 he was one of the members of a convention that framed the first constitution of the state of Indiana, and a conspicuous and prominent figure of that distinguished body, engrafting into the celebrated document some of its wisest provisions. As a member of the convention of Indiana, he was placed on the most important committees, proving himself always wise, resourceful and considerate in the promulgation of laws. John Badollet was a man close to the hearts of the people and by them frequently had thrust upon him official honors he did not seek. Among the important public positions he was called upon to fill was that of a member of the board of trustees of the Vincennes university. Colonel Vigo was also one of the trustees of the university, and both received their appointment at the same time, in the year 1806, and aided in the organization of the first board created for the government of that institution. On the chapel walls of the university is a crayon drawing of these two men, reproduced from oil paintings of the originals, enclosed in a single frame, suggestive of the close relationship existing between them.

The Western Sun* of August 5, 1837, contains the following mention of Mr. Badollet: "Died, on Saturday, the 29th of July, 1837, in this place, John Badollet, Esq., aged eighty-two years. Mr. Badollet was for a number of years registrar of the land office in this place, which situation he resigned some time last year. He was a member of the convention that framed the constitution of Indiana, and in every situation in life was honest, faithful and just. He lived without an enemy and died regretted and mourned by all."

John Badollet had the distinction of having been the first registrar of the first public land office established in the west, and received his appointment in 1804. In 1836, as already stated, he was succeeded by his son

* The Western Sun, Centennial Edition, July 4, 1904.

Albert, who held the position until March, 1840. The latter's successors, with date of the beginning of their respective terms, were as follows: Dr. H. Decker, April, 1844; John Meyers, 1845; James S. Mayes, January, 1847; John C. Clark, 1849; John R. Jones, 1853; James S. Mayes, September, 1856. For some reason, not definitely known today, the office was closed June 12, 1850, and reopened by an order from the executive head of the department of public lands April 23, 1853, when the appointment of Jones as registrar was made. In December, 1861, the office was abolished.

The first receiver of the land office at Vincennes was Nathaniel Ewing, grandfather of William L. Ewing, Jr., who received his appointment in May, 1807. Nathaniel Ewing was another of the pioneer citizens who was honored with position and power. He was a man of sterling worth, wealthy and influential, and an evidence of his honesty and ability in the discharge of the duties of his position is had in the fact that he was allowed to hold the office through the workings of four or five different administrations, voluntarily tendering his resignation in 1824. His immediate successor was John Cleves Simms Harrison, son of Governor Harrison, who took charge in February, 1824. He was succeeded by John D. Wolverton, June, 1830; he by James P. Drake, August, 1834; he by John Love, July, 1838; he by Thomas Scott, March, 1841; he by Samuel Wise, the uncle of Messrs. Louis and John B. Wise, who are the only male descendants of this numerous and prominent pioneer family now living. The successor of Mr. Wise was R. N. Carnan, father of William Carnan; he by John C. Heberd, great uncle of William Heberd; he by J. H. E. Sprinkle, father of Wythe Sprinkle; he by George E. Greene, father of Ex-Mayor Greene. The last receiver was the late Abner T. Ellis, who took charge of the office in January, 1861. On December 20th of that year the office was permanently closed. Mr. Ellis at this time was one of Vincennes' most prominent citizens, and held the important position of president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad. He was a brilliant lawyer, a refined and highly educated gentleman, and lived in an elegant colonial mansion on Second street, now the home of the Pastime Club. Judge Ellis' daughter, Miss Lucy, was the acknowledged belle of Vincennes in the early sixties, her personal charms and rare accomplishments winning her a legion of admirers.

When the land office was discontinued in 1853 nearly all of the public domains in Indiana had been disposed of—"and that was the reason," says Dr. Sunth, "for the closing of the establishment here at that time; but some swamp and hilly lands were yet owned by Uncle Sam, and the office was reopened by executive order to make a finale disposition of them. To facilitate the sale of these waste lands, congress passed a special act, reducing the price of them to **twelve and a half cents per acre**. There were many superior small tracts scattered over the state termed 'lost lands,' where no owners were visible, and many swamp lands that could be easily reclaimed, hence there was soon a rush to the Vincennes land office, and soon there was done, in this city, truly a 'land office business;' for home-seekers and

speculators crowded the office in real Oklahoma style, and but a few months elapsed until all the lands in the state were entered, and Vincennes ceased to be the Mecca of land brokers. In less than fifty-five years nine-tenths of the wild Indian lands of this vast Indiana territory have been retrieved by the Caucasian race, through the hands of industry and thrift, and advanced to the present pinnacle of civilization, refinement and power, and until 'Hoosierdom' is at a premium in science, literature and art."

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONCEPTION OF CLARK'S NORTHWESTERN CAMPAIGN

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK LEAVES VIRGINIA TO BECOME A CITIZEN OF KENTUCKY—A TOWER OF STRENGTH WITH PEOPLE OF ADOPTED STATE—ELECTED TO LEGISLATURE—URGES NEEDS OF HIS CONSTITUENTS BEFORE GOVERNOR HENRY AND LEGISLATURE—PROCURES GUNPOWDER FROM VIRGINIA FOR PROTECTION OF KENTUCKY SETTLEMENTS—THE VOYAGE WITH THE AMMUNITION—REVEALS TO GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY PLANS OF HIS PROPOSED CAMPAIGN AGAINST BRITISH IN NORTHWEST TERRITORY—EXPEDITION LEAVES CORN ISLAND UNDER DISTRESSING CONDITIONS—THE VOYAGE DOWN THE OHIO—THE MARCH FROM FORT MASSAC TO KASKASKIA—THE BEWILDERED GUIDE—ARRIVAL OF CLARK AND HIS MEN AT KASKASKIA—THE SURPRISED NATIVES—CAPTURE OF THE FORT—ROCHBLAVE, COMMANDANT, TAKEN PRISONER TO VIRGINIA—COUNCILS WITH THE INDIANS.

The conquest of the Northwest Territory furnished a great drama of change, revealing Vincennes, alternately, in the grasp of three of the most powerful nations upon the face of the globe, and creating four characters which stand forth with distinctive boldness and striking individuality. First and foremost among them is George Rogers Clark, in a *role* calling for a display of patriotic and heroic acting so powerful, impressive, eloquent and thrilling, so replete with terrible realism, that the fulsome comments of some historical critics but convey a faint conception of its marvelous interpretation. Pierre Gibault and Francis Vigo are two other personages who appear in the full flare of the lime-light of commendation, and the echoes from the stunted plaudits they elicited while on the stage of action will gather strength with the passing years and continue to resound in the mental corridors of coming generations as long as patriotism and love of country remain holy themes with the American people; while the fourth character—Henry Hamilton—conspicuous only because of the plutonian shades that surround it, will grow darker and more fiendish the oftener the bloody scenes and incidents of the powerful historical tragedy are recalled.

To comment upon the magnitude, as well as magnificence of design, the perseverance and zeal preceding its inauguration, the valor and patriotism displayed in its consummation, the bravery and skill and tact required in

its execution, and the momentous results to the whole nation following the last act in the great drama without first giving a formal introduction to the chief actor, would be to slight the author, commander and executive head of an expedition that is unparalleled in the military annals of the old or new world.

George Rogers Clark was born in Albermarle County, Virginia, of English and Scotch parents, in 1752. His early education was obtained in the log school houses of the Old Dominion. In the studies of mathematics and geography he was very proficient, his application to these branches no doubt being stimulated by a desire to adopt surveying as a profession, an avocation that would enable him to satiate an innate desire for adventure; and he quitted school at the age of seventeen fully equipped for the work. It was not long thereafter until the confines of his native county became too small for him, and in 1775 his love for adventure and gain led him for the third time across the mountains into Kentucky. He had, prior to this time, commanded a company of militia in Dunmore's war, and his army experience, together with the pursuits of a surveyor, had imparted to his fine physique additional strength and agility and a soldierly bearing, while his countenance, aglow with vigor and health, denoted the activity of a mind filled with noble and inspiring thoughts.* Returning to the home of his father in the fall of that year, he was importuned to do military service with the Virginia Continentals in the east, but the wild fascinations of the trackless wildernesses he had just visited created such a longing within him to return that he refused to accept the tempting offer of an army officer's commission. The spring of 1776 found him again plodding the mountain passes and pathless forests towards Kentucky, which he proposed to make his future home, that he might more readily be enabled to realize his dream of empire and formulate the plot for enacting the great drama of change in the Northwest Territory, in which fate had cast him to play such an important part. While his penetrating mind unfolded to his mental vision the resourcefulness of the vast country that lay beyond the Ohio river, and he had already conjured up in his youthful brain the plan for acquiring it, his first thoughts were of the people of Kentucky and those from his own state who had preceded, and were yet to follow, him into the wilds of a country which at that

*Quite a number of historians, who have written learnedly and exhaustively on the exploitations of George Rogers Clark, make no reference to the physical appearance of the man. Governor Reynolds, however, is a notable exception, and in his splendid Pioneer History of Illinois describes our hero thusly: "Colonel Clark himself was nature's favorite, in his person as well as mind. He was large and athletic, capable of doing much; yet formed with such noble symmetry and manly beauty that he combined much grace and elegance, together with great firmness of character. He was grave and dignified in his deportment; agreeable and affable with his soldiers, when relaxed from duty; but in a crisis—when the fate of his campaign was at stake, or the lives of his brave warriors were in danger—his deportment became stern and severe. His appearance, in these perils, indicated, without language, to his men, that every soldier must do his duty."

time had only two or three white settlements. No sooner had he put foot on Kentucky soil than he busied himself in visiting these sparse settlements for the purpose of laying before the settlers his plans of a proposed meeting to be held at Harrodstown, to discuss the better means to be adopted by the colonists for protection against the savages, and for the further purpose of invoking the aid of Virginia in establishing defenses and making provision for military operations along the Kentucky borders. At this meeting, the assemblage of hardy backwoodsmen, impressed by Clark's pleasing address, manly and prepossessing appearance, his eloquence and enthusiasm, and knowing his energy, boldness, bravery and fearlessness, and his knowledge of the red man, with all the latter's cunning, craftiness and skill, appointed him commander-in-chief of militia, and subsequently delegated him and John Gabriel Jones to go to Virginia and acquaint the legislature of the Old Dominion with the condition of the harassed settlements and the demands of the settlers. The journey from Harrodstown to Williamsburg, as made by Clark and Jones, was by land, instead of water, and was a long and hazardous trail over the wilderness road where travel was impeded by mountains and mud and the traveler subjected to constant danger from Indian attacks. During the trip one of Clark's horses died, and he was obliged to walk until his feet became so sore and blistered that, in long years after, he declared he "suffered more torment than he had ever done before or since." Owing to the many interruptions along the route, when they arrived at Williamsburg, much to their sorrow and disappointment, they found that the legislature had adjourned. Jones immediately retraced his steps towards the settlements on the Holston; but Clark, with a determination to do and dare ever present, was more persevering, and resolved if he could not have a conference with the legislature he would at least hold an interview with the governor. Accordingly he sought the famous patriot and orator, Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, who lay upon a bed of sickness at his home in Hanover County. The handsome frontiersman, who was scarcely more than twenty-three years old, but whose youthful mind was then being directed to the solution of difficult military, as well as governmental, problems of broad and far-reaching consequences, impressed the governor with much favor and was graciously received into his presence. Young Clark explained the importance of organizing society in the settlements of Kentucky and of the necessity of providing the colonists with military as well as civil protection, by the enactment of laws for the government of the people, guaranteeing them personal and property rights and protecting them in the same by forces of armed men drilled in the arts of war. In the gathering clouds of the revolution, which were now casting an ominous shadow over the country, Clark discerned the fury of the impending storm, and realized that the sparsely settled wilderness beyond the Allegheny mountains, and the brave and daring people who had risked so much to take up their abodes therein, were in imminent peril unless provided with better military protection than that

afforded by the untrained militia that guarded the irregular defenses of isolated posts. Governor Henry listened attentively to the young patriot, and was overcome with the zeal and earnestness in which he pleaded the cause of the people of his adopted state, giving him a favorable letter to the Virginia legislature and recommending that Clark's request for five hundred pounds of gunpowder be granted. The legislature at first refused to grant an order for the gunpowder, upon the ground that they had no legal authority to do so, and that* if they violated the law by disposing of money or property of the state which they were not authorized to do, their only remedy would be to trust to a future legislature to legalize their actions which they hesitated to do unless Clark would agree to be responsible for the powder in the event the legislature failed to legalize the transaction; besides, they expected Clark to be at the expense of transporting it to Kentucky. Whether this latter requirement appeared within the bounds of reason to members of the legislature, or not, it struck Clark as being very unreasonable, inasmuch as he desired the powder for the protection of the state and the frontiers and the people along its western borders, and had already gone to considerable personal expense and subjected himself to exposure and discomfiture, without the hope or desire of reward or reimbursement. To say the least, the conduct of the legislature was not only unreasonable in this respect, but it was unjust, and Clark very promptly refused to approve of it by notifying the honorable body that if it did not see fit to grant his request, without conditions, he would refuse to receive it otherwise, maintaining that if Virginia claimed the Kentucky country, then it was her duty to aid in protecting the Kentuckians against the hostilities of savages; that "a country which was not worth defending was not worth claiming." He called the attention of the legislators to the fact that the Kentuckians would consider they had been abandoned by Virginia, and predicted that necessity would force them, in all probability, to look in another direction for protection, which, he doubted not, would be readily forthcoming; that if the settlers could not obtain assistance to protect them from the enemy, they would either be subjected to annihilation or driven from the country, and the older settlements would then become the objective points of attack. So manfully, eloquently, adroitly, did he press his claim before the council of Virginia that that body, on August 23, 1776, took favorable action thereon by making an order reading as follows:

"Mr. George Rogers Clark, having represented to this board the defenseless state of the inhabitants of Kentucky; and having requested, on their behalf, that they should be supplied with five hundred weight of gunpowder;

"Ordered, therefore, that the said quantity of gunpowder be forthwith sent to Pittsburg, and delivered to the commanding officer of that station, by him to be safely kept, and delivered to the said George Rogers Clark, or his order, for the use of the said inhabitants of Kentucky."

* W. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, vol. i, pp. 74, 75.

By the foregoing proceeding the Kentucky country was not only considered as a part of Virginia, but George Rogers Clark's credentials as a member of the Virginia council from Kentucky was recognized, and he was made a major of Virginia militia. The transportation of the gunpowder from Fort Pitt to Kentucky was an undertaking which called for heroism and resourcefulness, qualities which made Clark conspicuous among all his fellows. It was early in the spring of 1777, when a flat-boat, laden with the ammunition, secretly and cautiously left the shores of the Ohio at Fort Pitt, headed for Harrodstown. The crew consisted of Clark, his colleague Jones and five other men. While yet within the shadow of the fort the crew beheld the forms of Indians, moving stealthily along the shore. At the very outset the journey became one of excitement, anxiety and danger; but, apparently unalarmed, Clark moved on. As the boat progressed in its course the savages increased in numbers and in boldness, and from along the shores sent their poisoned arrows and leaden missiles towards the *voyageurs*, who made use of the boat's gunnels for breast-works. Not a bend in the river was turned but what the boatmen were greeted by defiant bands of prowling Indians who fired on the *voyageurs* without effect and were answered by the sharp report from long-barreled rifles in the hands of marksmen having unerring aim. After two days' voyage the men, with the exception of Jones, became so alarmed at the multiplying numbers of the savage along the route that they advised the abandonment of the boat and an escape to the woods as a means of safety. Clark, who was made of sterner stuff, with an oath and a scowl, shamed them out of the notion, and thus saved both the munition and the lives of those who were guarding it. And for four more days and nights, with bloodthirsty Indians in sight the greater part of the time, the boat plied on, at the close of the fourth night, under cover of darkness, and with muffled oars, pulling up at Limestone Creek (Maysville, Ky.) Clark and his men, well nigh exhausted, disembarked and secreted the powder on shore, dragging themselves to the nearest settlement, which was too weak to offer any substantial aid. Here Clark met Kenton, the companion of Boone, and an Indian fighter of distinction, who guided him to Harrodstown where the overjoyed populace greeted him with exclamations of joy and admiration. Clark left Jones and the balance of the crew at Limestone to guard the boat and powder until he could make provision to remove them with safety. Soon after his departure "Colonel John Todd* arrived with a small military force, and being apprised by Jones of the situation, they attempted to transport the powder with an escort of only ten men, but before reaching it they were attacked and entirely routed by Indians, several taken prisoners and three killed, among the latter John Gabriel Jones." Clark was pursued on his way to Harrodstown by Indians, but good fortune, as usual, attended him, and he

* W. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, pp. 78, 79.

reached his destination unharmed. On* learning of the defeat of Todd's party Clark raised a company of thirty men who were sent after the powder and brought it in safety to Harrodstown. Clark proved to be the most daring and successful Indian fighter the frontier borders ever knew, and had he not come into Kentucky at the time he did the fate of the people would have been vastly different. Boone and his followers believed in a defensive warfare against the savages. Clark was for the aggressive mode of fighting, and insisted on carrying the fight into the enemy's camp—in burning and plundering their villages, destroying their crops and reducing to ashes every habitation wherein the hostile red men dwelt in order to impress them with the horrors of invasion. It was through the wise leadership of Clark, as a warrior and a counsellor, that Indian hostilities became less frequent in Kentucky and social order was brought out of chaos. His wonderful ability to cope with the savages and his wisdom and discretion in the organization of society in the backwoods settlements were largely instrumental in Kentucky taking rank at any early day among the important commonwealths of the western country. There was nothing superficial about the man. While not a statesman, he had all the qualifications of one, had made a close study of governmental affairs, and was capable of grasping the most intricate economical problems. His talents were varied and had he cultivated them there is hardly a station in the world of affairs in any country of any day he could not have filled with distinction. He was a born leader of men, around whose standard individuals as well as communities rallied. He was quick in reaching conclusions because his fine discernment permitted him to take in a situation at a glance, and his powerful mental vision enabled him to foretell results of actions far in advance of their actual occurrence, and to gauge the strength of a position at first sight. He was aware that the British in the north and west were inciting murderous and foraging bands of Indians to make forays into Kentucky, and that the settlements of the middle west could never expect peace, growth or prosperity as long as these conditions were tolerated. His mental gaze swept the country in the direction of the northwestern horizon, and at Detroit, Kaskaskia and Vincennes he saw the British installed in positions formerly occupied by the French. From these posts the savages were sent forth to plunder and kill the colonists, for whose welfare and happiness he was bending his every energy. His quick and keen perception made clear to him that to march against and destroy these British strongholds would not only lessen the invasions of their bloody emissaries on Kentucky soil, but it would be a bold strike at British tyranny in defense of American liberty and humanity, with the ultimate result of acquiring for his beloved Virginia a vast scope of rich and fertile country. The importance of such an undertaking grew upon him. The proposed enterprise, which was the conception of his own brain, engrossed his every

* W. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*.

thought. The more he contemplated it, the stronger became his desire to carry it into execution. His dream of empire had awakened new ambitions. His patriotism was aroused by the thought of dealing a death blow to His Britannic Majesty and wresting from the monarch's grasp the most priceless of his North American possessions. He saw the possibility of becoming the conqueror of the domains of a king. The idea quickened the pulsations of his heart. His whole being was electrified with enthusiasm, but he never allowed his emotions to betray his thoughts. Confiding in no one, he kept his plan hidden from even intimate friends, and guarded it with as jealous care as the miser does his hoarded gold. Clark had openly and freely advocated the establishment of a military post in the enemy's country, north of the Ohio, as a means of intercepting the savages on their detours towards Kentucky, and for the purpose of breaking up the rallying points in the northwest, where the English formed foray parties to descend on the settlers. Two young hunters in the meantime had been dispatched to the Illinois country as spies, not dreaming that the information Clark* sought might be for ulterior purposes. However, they soon returned, reporting that at Kaskaskia and Vincennes the British, who were careless in the maintenance of their fortifications, had attempted to make the French believe that the backwoodsmen of Virginia and Kentucky, and all Americans, were worse than barbarians and more cruel and hostile than the savages; that, while this deception was undertaken for the purpose of winning the French over to the British, the former gave no evidence of other than a cold attachment for His Britannic Majesty.

Clark's dream of the conquest of the northwest led him to again tread the wildernesses and trail over the mountains, with his secret locked within his bosom, and as far removed as ever from the knowledge of the settlers, but soon to be revealed in strictest confidence to one man. It was in October, 1777, when he started from Harrodstown for Virginia, taking cautious leave of his devoted constituents, who implored him with tears not to forsake them, feeling that in his absence some direful calamity might befall them. The attachment between this resourceful man, this wonderful genius, and the settlers was mutual, and in taking his departure on this occasion, he subsequently said that, "I left them with reluctance, promising them that I would return to their assistance, which I had predetermined."†

*From the reports they brought him in the late summer, he judged the French of the northern territory were very passive and indifferent in their loyalty to the British, without any partisan feeling in the revolutionary struggle, but much in dread of an incursion from the Kentucky frontiersmen of whose ferocity they had heard strange tales.—[Lynn Lew Sprague, in *The Outing Magazine*, January, 1907.]

†He had carefully looked over the western field and determined that he could best serve his country by leading a force against the enemy's posts in the Illinois and on the Wabash. The authority to do it, and the men and means to make it a success, could only come from the home government of Virginia. To that he now directed his attention, with his usual caution, good judgment and energy. He went to Williamsburg, still the capital of the state, and there, at first, quietly employed himself in set-

Having found himself once again within the confines of the Old Dominion, his native state, which witnessed his daring exploits before he was out of his teens, winning the confidence, respect and admiration of soldiers, patriots and statesmen, young Clark sought Governor Patrick Henry at Williamsburg, and to him confided the secret hitherto known only to himself. Governor Henry had not forgotten the stalwart young warrior who had, the year before, called on him at his home in Hanover County, and on this occasion was even more cordial and considerate to his guest. In the tall and graceful figure that stood before him the governor, recognizing a man of destiny—a leader of men, born to execute marvelous deeds, whose aim in life was to accomplish great things—readily acquiesced in the scheme which the visitor laid before him with irresistible bursts of passionate and patriotic eloquence.

This memorable meeting occurred on December 10, 1777, and of it, [in his memoirs] Clark says: "At first he [the governor] seemed to be fond of it, but to detach a party at so great a distance, although the service performed might be of great utility, appeared daring and hazardous, as nothing but *secrecy* could give success to the enterprise. To lay the matter before the assembly then sitting would be dangerous, as it would soon be known throughout the frontiers, and probably the first prisoner taken by the Indians would give the alarm, which would end in the certain destruction of the project." Governor Henry, while realizing the danger to which the invading party might be subjected, did not fail to comprehend the immense benefit that might accrue to the country should the campaign prove successful. He, however, felt that the matter was one of most vital importance, calling for the prayerful and earnest consideration of men of wisdom and discernment, and accordingly surrounded himself with a *coterie* of able and distinguished citizens with whom to counsel and advise. The gentlemen composing this secret and confidential board of advisers and counselors were Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe, George Mason and George Rogers Clark—"five men," says Mr. English, "who made an honorable impress upon the age in which they lived, and who

ting the accounts of the Kentucky militia, which shows that he had been in military authority in the Kentucky country, but he was, in fact, all the time feeling his way to the development of his great plan of striking the British posts northwest of the Ohio river.—[W. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 87.] What gave Clark greater confidence in having the Governor consider his proposition with favor was Burgoyne's recent defeat and captivity of the British regulars, which represented a large portion of Great Britain's military forces in America at that time, and why he delayed so long presenting his views to Virginia's chief executive after his arrival in Williamsburg is not stated. Mr. English says Clark "talked confidentially upon the subject to a few discreet friends, but it was about two months after his arrival in Virginia before he ventured to lay his plans before the Governor of the State." If he did really divulge his secret to any of his friends, before confiding in the Governor, the names of his confidants have never been made public. It has always been understood, until his interview with the Governor, that he kept his own counsel in the matter in question.

may justly be ranked with the first men of their time, if not, indeed, of any time; and seldom in the annals of military affairs has a stronger body of men assembled to consider the expediency of a campaign than was assembled on this occasion."

Contrary to the inference of many, neither Jefferson, Wythe nor Mason—who, with Henry and Clark, had the weighty proposition under advisement for several weeks—were members of the Virginia Council. These distinguished gentlemen, say the memoirs of Clark made the minutest examination into his proposed plan of operations, inquiring particularly as to his method of retreat (in the event of failure of the project) into Spanish territory, across the Mississippi. The matter was not brought officially to the attention of the Council until Friday, January 2, 1778, when the "expedition against Kaskaskia" was set forth in a communication addressed by the governor to the honorable body and approved—the same to be inaugurated "with as little delay and as much secrecy as possible." The council also empowered the governor to issue his warrant upon the treasury for twelve hundred pounds to George Rogers Clark, "who is willing to undertake the service, he giving bond and security faithfully to account for the same." And thus the expedition was launched. The authority for these proceedings was under a law of the Virginia legislature, passed by the general assembly then in session, authorizing "the governor, with the advice of the privy council," to organize an expedition "to march against and attack any of our western enemies, and give the necessary orders for the expedition." According to a statement alleged to have been made by Clark, the real intent of this law (which, of course, was framed and passed for the purpose of giving the governor power to issue orders to aid Clark in carrying out his conquest against the British in the northwest) was known to "but few in the house" at the time of its passage. Whether or not this was the case, it was intended that the general public should be kept in blissful ignorance of Clark's intentions, and for that reason Governor Henry issued two sets of orders to Colonel Clark—one public, directing him to proceed to Kentucky without delay to enlist seven companies of men, officered in the usual manner, to act as militia under his orders; the other, secret, directing him "to march against Kaskaskia, seize the British fort, munitions of war, and whatever articles that may be of advantage to the state, but to treat British subjects and all who may fall into his hands with humanity."

Having been given authority to enlist for his expedition three hundred and fifty men, Clark, after much labor, was obliged to content himself with less than half that number. "The jealousy between Virginia and Pennsylvania," says Mr. Thwaites,* "and the impossibility of revealing his purpose, made it difficult for Clark to raise volunteers; indeed, he met with considerable opposition from those who apparently suspected this western

* R. G. Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, p. 19.

movement, on political grounds, or were jealous of an attempt to sequester men whose services were needed in the defense of the mountain valleys.† It was May, 1778, before he could collect about one hundred and fifty borderers from the clearings and hunters' camps of the Allegheny foothills, both east and west of the range."

The rough and ready recruits that formed Clark's first contingent of the army of conquest was a queer lot no doubt; fresh from the backwoods, unfamiliar with military tactics, clad in homespun or buckskin, shod with moccasins, the dress of the privates and the uniforms of the officers were very similar. "Perhaps," says Mr. Thwaites,* "the majority of the corps had loose, thin trousers of homespun or buckskin, with a fringe of leather thongs down each outer seam of the legs; but many wore only leggings of leather, and were as bare of knee and thigh as a Highland clansman; indeed, many of the pioneers were Scotch-Irish, some of whom had been accustomed to this airy costume in the mother land. Common to all were fringed hunting shirts or smocks, generally of buckskin—a picturesque flowing garment reaching from neck to knees, and girded about the waist by a leather belt, from which dangled the tomahawk and scalping knife. On one hip hung the carefully scraped powder horn; on the other a leather sack, serving both as game bag and provision pouch, although often the folds of the shirt, full and ample above the belt, were the depository for food and ammunition. A broad-rimmed felt hat, or a cap of fox skin or squirrel skin, with the tail dangling behind, crowned the often tall and always sinewy frontiersman. His constant companion was his home-made flintlock rifle—a clumsy, heavy weapon, so long that it reached to the chin of the tallest man, but unerring in the hands of an expert marksman such as was each of these backwoodsmen. They were rough in manners and in speech. Among them, we must confess, were men who had fled

† In a letter to Mason Clark says: "Many leading Men in the fronteers * * * had like to have put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my Destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did everything that lay in their power to stop the men that had Enlisted, and set the whole Fronteers in an uproar, even condescended to harbour and protect those that Deserted; I found my case desperate, the longer I remained, the worse it was * * * I plainly saw that my Principal Design [an attack on Detroit] was baffled * * * I was resolved to push to Kentucky with what men I could gather in West Augusta; being joined by Capts. Bowman and Helms, who had raised a Compy. for the Expedition, but two thirds of them was stopt by the undesigned Enemies to the Country that I have before mentioned. In the whole I had about one hundred and fifty Men Collected and set sail for the Falls of the Ohio [Louisville]."

* R. G. Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, pp. 20, 21, 22. The garb which Mr. Thwaites so interestingly describes was not confined to any nationality, nor did it belong to any particular locality—it was the typical dress of the pioneer hunters and trappers, as well as many of the early colonists of all western and northern sections of the country, and, as he says, was the conventional attire of the borderers during the eighteenth century—"an adaptation to local conditions, being in part borrowed from the Indians."

from the coast settlements because no longer to be tolerated in a law-abiding community. There were not lacking mean, brutal fellows, whose innate badness had, on the untrammelled frontier, developed into wickedness. Many joined Clark for mere adventure, for plunder and deviltry. The majority, however, were men of good parts, who sought to protect their homes at whatever peril—sincere men, as large of heart as they were of frame, many of them in later years developing into citizens of a high type of effectiveness in a frontier commonwealth. As a matter of history most of them proved upon this expedition to be heroes worthy of the fame they won and the leader whom they followed.” Clark had a wonderful faculty of winning the confidence and respect of his men, who looked on him with both awe and admiration. Over these heroic backwoodsmen who had engaged in bloody hand-to-hand encounters with savages and fought wild beasts in forest and glen, Clark wrought a magic spell—bringing them within a few days completely under his control by enforcing disciplinary measures among a class who had never known restraint, to which they conformed without a full realization of having been taught discipline; “and on the 12th of May,” he writes in his celebrated letter to Mason, “I set out from Redstone [Brownsville, Pa.], leaving the country in great confusion, much distressed by Indians.” Regulation flatboats such as were used by the early settlers were the vessels in which the party floated cautiously down the Monongahela into the waters of the Ohio, stopping at Wheeling and Pittsburg to take on supplies and to provide themselves with munitions of war through requisitions drawn by Governor Henry on the military officials at those points; and on the last day of May, or first of June, the expedition arrived at the falls of the Ohio (Louisville). They encountered little or no opposition from the numerous Indian war parties they met en route, and having been joined at the mouth of the Great Kanawha by a party of immigrants on their way to the Ozark country, had a pleasant time during the remainder of the voyage. “Corn Island,” in the center of the falls, was selected as the spot to pitch tents, for the reason, as Clark* says [his memoirs] “that my secret instructions were yet unknown, even to the party with me, and not knowing what would be the consequence when they should be divulged on our being joined by the whole, I wished to have everything secure as much as possible. I observed the little island† of about seventy acres opposite where the town of Lewisville now stands, seldom or never was entirely covered by the water. I resolved to take possession and fortify, which I did, in June, dividing the island among the

* This portion of Clark's memoirs, according to the statement of the late William H. English, who was in possession of the original manuscripts at the time of his death, had never appeared in print until published in English's "Conquest of the Northwest," from which valuable work we are enabled to reproduce it.

† Here a rude fort, designed after the regulation block-houses of frontier posts, was built. The settlers also planted the first crop of Indian corn on the island, on account of which, it is said, the name Corn Island was applied.

families for gardens. These families that followed me I now found to be of real service, as they were of little expense, and with the invalids, would keep possession of this little post until we should be able to occupy the main shore, which happened in the fall, agreeable to instructions I had sent from the Illinois. The people on the Monongahela, hearing by word, I had sent them, of this post, great numbers had moved down. This was one of the principal, among other causes, of the rapid progress of the settlement of Kentucky.

Within a few days after taking possession of Corn Island, Colonel Clark was joined by Capts. Helm,¹ Bowman,² Harrod³ and Montgomery,⁴

¹ Captain Helm was a native of Fauquier county, Virginia—a man of some wealth, having a fair education, and imbued with a spirit of patriotic devotion to country. He was the senior in years of both Clark and Bowman, and, unlike them, was a married man and the proud head of an interesting family, from whom he tearfully tore himself to answer the call of a soldier. His military career is high and honorable, and the splendid service rendered his country on the field of battle was at the sacrifice of all his earthly belongings. He died worse than poor in Louisville, in 1782, and an inventory of his personal estate showed that he only had two coats, one waistcoat, one hat, one pair of shoes and a blanket, aggregating in value £5 12s. His poverty was induced by his representations, while he was in service of Virginia at the front, selling his landed estates for continental scrip, which, contrary to belief, proved utterly worthless. Much of his property, however, was subsequently recovered by his children on the ground of lack of consideration.

² Major Joseph Bowman came of a wealthy family—a native Virginian, and left his comfortable home, in Frederick county, to go on this expedition. He and Clark were very close friends, and the latter advised with him in some of his most important military affairs. In the Illinois campaign he stood shoulder to shoulder with Clark, and was next to him in rank. He was probably the only officer of the American forces to lose his life in actual service. He died in Fort Patrick Henry about two months after Vincennes was captured from the British, and his remains were interred on the shores of the Wabash near the fort.

³ Captain William Harrod was a brother of James Harrod, after whom Harrodstown, Ky., was named. He had served with Clark in Dunmore's war, and, like his colleague, was also a Virginian, having been born in Big Cove Valley, Franklin county, December, 1737. He was an expert scout, and had the reputation of being a judicious purchaser of army supplies. After the capture of Vincennes he commanded a company in the expedition of Colonel John Bowman, a brother of Joseph, against the Ohio Indians. He was married in Western Pennsylvania in 1765 and died there in 1801, in the locality from which he had recruited a portion of his company.

⁴ John Montgomery was the fourth and last captain to join the expedition. Like Helm, Bowman and Harrod, he was also born a Virginian, the place of his birth being Bottecourt county and the year 1748. He belonged to the celebrated "long hunters" which did such effective fighting against the savages in the settlements of southwestern Kentucky in 1771, had fought with Dunmore at Point Pleasant and figured in many other bloody conflicts against the Indians. After Clark took Kaskaskia he sent Montgomery to Virginia with prisoners. For a time he lived in Tennessee, where he was elected Sheriff, but subsequently returned to Kentucky, to take up arms against the hostile Indians, who were again terrorizing the settlements in the southwest portion of that state. In the latter part of November, 1794, in Livingston county, while engaging a host of warriors in deadly conflict, he was killed by a ball from a rifle in the hands of one of the enemy.

commanding four companies of volunteers, mustered for an invasion of the Illinois country. After consulting Colonel Bowman, the county lieutenant, and several other gentlemen prominent in the Kentucky affairs of that day, Clark decided that it would be inadvisable, at that time, owing to the exposed condition of Kentucky, to take too many men with the expedition. However, it was decided that the entire command of Capt. Montgomery, which was the last to put in an appearance, should be pressed into service. Clark had estimated that, to properly carry out his plan of conquest and assure the success of his campaign, it would require at least five hundred men. Had he succeeded in marshaling such a force, there is no doubt but that the taking of Detroit would have followed the capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes. The failure to raise the requisite number of troops for carrying out the project as originally conceived by the dauntless Virginian, was due largely to the interference of leading men in the frontier settlements who, Clark says, not knowing his real design, not only discouraged enlistments, but caused the desertion of some who had enlisted. And on this account, after a temporary absence, both Bowman and Helm returned to Corn Island to find that the ranks of their respective commands had been lessened by withdrawals. Clark had not yet found in his lexicon the word fail, and in the face of all these discouraging and distressing circumstances, resolved to carry out his project or die in the attempt. Although he had scarcely more than one hundred and fifty men now mustered, he bid defiance to the fates and determined to start out on a campaign, the end of which would reveal to the world the inspiring visions of his ambitious dreams. The hope of securing additional forces for Kentucky's defense, or of obtaining troops from the Holston country, which were being recruited by Major Smith,* for the nonce gave him encouragement. On learning subsequently that Smith's boasted numbers were only large enough to form one small company, he felt keenly disappointed, but not disconcerted; and when many of them withdrew, on being apprised of the objective point of the expedition, he heroically and strategically kept his outward appearances from betraying the feelings of discouragement and disgust he experienced inwardly.

All of the available forces Clark could collect being now assembled on Corn Island, and the eve of departure being close at hand, he revealed to his companions in arms for the first time the real object of the campaign on which they were about to enter.† While it has never been shown, it is

* An express had already arrived from Major Smith with information that he had recruited four companies on the Halston, ready to be marched to Kentucky. Clark also received word that the military strength in Kentucky had been largely increased since he left there by new-comers.—[W. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 127.]

† Butler's History of Kentucky says: "Here Clark disclosed to the troops his real destination to be Kaskaskia; and honorably to the gallant feelings of the times, the plan was ardently concurred in by all the detachment, except the company of Captain Dillard. The boats were, therefore, ordered to be well secured, and sentries were

presumed that Helm and Harrod (and certainly Bowman) were given knowledge of the scheme prior to making their voyage down the Ohio, and that Montgomery, who came to the falls at a later day, was informed of the undertaking immediately upon his arrival. The men whom Clark first recruited, and disciplined with kindness, at the announcement of his programme were inclined to be more mutinous than obedient. Many of them felt that, having been taken into the ranks in a sort of an informal way, and not knowing the nature of the service expected of them, they had a perfect right to withdraw after learning of the real object for which they were enlisted without being considered deserters. This assumption was more than the stifled emotions of Clark could withstand, and he burst forth in a torrent of rage, terrorizing the malcontents with the savagery of his demeanor and the fierceness of his visage. His frame shook with the tremors of anger and his eyes flashed with the fire of defiance and determination as he declared that henceforth the strictest military discipline would be enforced and that the first man who talked of deserting the ranks would do so at his peril.* With this admonition he dismissed the men,

placed where it was supposed the men might wade across the river to the Kentucky shore. This was the day before Clark intended to start; but a little before light the greater part of Captain Dillard's company, with a lieutenant whose name is generously spared by Colonel Clark, passed the sentinels unperceived, and got to the opposite bank. This disappointment was cruel, its consequences alarming; Clark immediately mounted a party on the horses of Harrodstown gentlemen and sent after the deserters, with orders to kill all who resisted; the pursuers overtook the fugitives about twenty miles in advance; these soon scattered through the woods, and except seven or eight, who were brought back, suffered every species of distress. The people at Harrodstown felt the baseness of the lieutenant's conduct so keenly and resented it with such indignation that they would not for some time let him or his companions into the fort."

* The obstacles with which Clark was confronted, the discouragements he met, the disappointments that beset him from the inception of the movement to recruit men up to the very moment he started upon his expedition, were sufficient to crush the spirits of the most ambitious. Here he was, launching a gigantic undertaking with a force of one-half the men he expected. His position was so desperate that it filled the hearts of his well-wishers with despair. No one realized his weakened condition more fully than Clark himself, for he says, "I knew my case was desperate, but the more I reflected on my weakness the more I was pleased with the enterprise." To falter would have been ruinous. To have shown the least bit of hesitation would have led to the disorganization of his lukewarm followers. Few men would have been equal to the emergency at this crisis in the progress of such a stupendous undertaking. But Clark was. He saw that the only way to hold his half-hearted forces in line and win success was to get them in action, and for that reason started several days in advance of the designated time towards the enemy's country. Most men would have abandoned the project altogether. This, however, was an epoch that marked a turning point in the life of George Rogers Clark, as well as in the destiny of the nation, and he determined to make the best of a distressing situation, which only increased his enthusiasm for conquest and heightened the charm of adventure. Had Clark deferred, or declined, to start upon the journey, which ended in such magnificent achievements and glorious results, the Northwest Territory may never have

whom he had called in a circle around him, and proceeded to give further instructions, prior to his departure therefrom, to those who were to remain to guard the island, which had been provided with cabins, temporary storehouses and fortifications. Among the men selected for this duty, some of whom had seen military service under Clark, were Richard Chenowith, James Patten, John McManus, Sr., John McManus, Jr., Edward Worthington, William Swan, Neal Dougherty, Samuel Bickens, John Sitzler, John Tuel, William Faith, John Means, Isaac Kimbley, James Graham, James Galloway, John Donne, Joseph Hunter, Jacob Reager, John Sinclair, Robert Travis.

It was on June 24, 1778, in the early dawn of a bright morning, that Clark and his "small army," comprising in all about one hundred and seventy-five men, with a transport of flatboats, shot the falls of the Ohio and pulled down the river. Three hours before noon of that memorable day the moon's shadow, passing over the northern part of the Gulf of Mexico, obscured the "tender eye of the pitiful god of day," causing an almost total eclipse* of the sun—a phenomenon not understood by the simple backwoodsmen, who viewed the spectacle with superstitious dread, looking upon it as an ominous foreboding for the success of the undertaking.

The usual water route—by descending the Ohio to its mouth and ascending the Mississippi—was not pursued, for the reason that Clark knew that spies were kept on the river below Kaskaskia, and had resolved to march part of the way by land, which necessitated leaving behind much necessary baggage and the discarding of all equipments that would be in the least cumbersome. By pressing into service relays of oarsmen, and running the boats day and night, towards the close of the fourth day the party landed at the foot of a small island in the mouth of the Tennessee, three leagues above Fort Massac. At the latter place Clark had decided to leave the Ohio and take to the land, and the stop at this island was made for the purpose of preparing for the march. Shortly after the landing had been made, a boat was sighted, and when it hove within hailing distance, required to land. Fortunately, the occupants proved to be a hunting party friendly to the American cause who were out only eight days from Kaskaskia, and readily imparted much valuable information regarding the condition of affairs at that post. They stated the fort was in good repair,

become the priceless possessions of the United States, the boundary lines of our common country west would have been the Ohio instead of the Mississippi, the Louisiana purchase may not have occurred, and it is not likely the star spangled banner would have ever been recognized as an emblem of authority in any of the isles of the sea.

*If Clark's departure at the very time of the occurrence of this eclipse was accidental the coincidence is very singular, and it may be he had some information of its expected occurrence, and took advantage of it. At all events the departure was attended with surroundings but seldom, if ever, equaled in awe-inspiring effect. It was a fitting introduction of an event humble in itself, but truly great and far-reaching in its ultimate results. [W. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 100.]

strongly fortified and garrisoned, the force defending it outnumbering Clark's three to one; that large numbers of Indians, friendly to the British and hostile to the Americans, had been in conference with the commandant for several days, but had taken their departure, leaving behind only a few chiefs. The hunters expressed a desire to join Clark's expedition, and after a consultation among the officers and a critical examination of the applicants, only one of their number was accepted—John Duff.

Having concluded preparations at the island, "we moved down to a little gully," relates Clark, "a small distance above Massac, in which we concealed our boats," etc. And here the forces were allowed to repose for the night, "and in the morning took a route to the northwest, having a very fatiguing journey for about fifty miles, until we came into those level plains that are frequent throughout this extensive country. As I knew my success depended on secrecy, I was much afraid of being discovered in those meadows, as we might be seen in many places for several miles." The distance from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia was about one hundred and twenty miles, affording pathless wildernesses and untrodden prairies. Before starting on the dreary march Colonel Clark received a letter from Colonel Campbell, dated at Pittsburg, informing him that France had formed an alliance with the United States in the prosecution of the Revolutionary war, which inspired him with the hope of more readily inducing the French inhabitants of settlements in the Illinois and Wabash counties to rally under the banner of America, and impelled him to hasten his steps in the direction he was going. Indian signs were numerous, but they had no terror for Clark. Since the severe reprimand given the men at Corn Island a day or two before the expedition started, he had exhibited neither passion nor anxiety, until the third day of the march, when John Sanders, the principal guide, became bewildered and confused, and finally confessed that he had lost the way. Clark strongly suspected the man of deception, and charged him with treachery, declaring that he would give him two hours in which to regain his bearings, and if he failed to discover the route within that length of time he would put him to death. The terror that struck his heart by this warning seemed to quicken his perceptive faculties, and with the cry of traitor from the whole detachment ringing in his ears, the wretched pilot went in search of the trail, which he found within an hour, much to his own gratification and to the great satisfaction of Clark and his men, who were now convinced, after all, that the poor fellow had been really bewildered.

With renewed vigor, the dauntless and fearless Colonel pushed on, reaching the banks of the Kaskaskia river three miles below the town on the Fourth of July, just as the shades of evening were falling towards the west. Under cover of darkness and with a silence enjoined through fear of the death penalty being enforced by the commander, the troops were cautiously rowed to the opposite bank of the stream, two hours being required in the prosecution of the work. The night being now well advanced,

Clark's forces crept stealthily toward the town, having been divided into two divisions, one long-drawn out column to surround the village, so that none of the villagers might escape, the other, composed of picked men, Clark himself led in the direction of the fortress. From every aperture of the fort shafts of light shot forth into the darkness and strains of music floated out on the still air of a sultry night. Crawling on his hands and knees with the stealth of an Indian, Clark approached to within a few feet of the British stronghold. Sounds of mirth and jollity and the melody of sweet voices fell upon his ear. The officers of the garrison were giving a ball, and from the loud and continuous exclamations of the joyous revelers it seemed as though the entire populace had graced the occasion with their presence. His quick eye noticed that in the midst of all this revelry the sentinels had temporarily left their posts, and, gliding swiftly to a postern gate on the river side of the enclosure, he passed through and entered the fort, having first taken the precaution to place his men about the entrance. Finding his way alone to the great hall where the mirth-making spirit had reached its zenith, he leisurely strolled to the ballroom door, and leaning with folded arms against the jamb, calmly watched the beautiful Creole girls whirling in the mazy waltz, apparently as much interested in the festivities as though he were an invited guest. He loved the spectacular, and eagerly grasped this opportunity for the enactment of a dramatic scene. It was, however, some moments before his presence was regarded, and no notice had been taken thereof until a painted and plumed Indian chief, reclining on the floor at some distance from the doorway, observing the armed stranger, gave a frightful war-whoop. At this alarm the dancing instantly ceased, and the joyous mouthings of the merry throng were changed into exclamations of alarm. Frightened women ran hither and thither and the faces of the men took on grave and serious aspects. But Clark, standing as firm and immovable as a statue* of adamant, never twitched a muscle or changed his facial expression, as he solemnly bade them to proceed with the dance, but to remember that they would dance under Virginia and not Great Britain. His men by this time were at his side, with the officers of the garrison, including M. Rochblave, commandant of the post, as prisoners. A panic ensued, the females shrieked with fright and swooned on the floor, the captured officers gave vent to profane invectives, the war-whoops

* The ball room incident, preventing Clark as the central figure in the picture, is discredited by some historians—at least portions of it. Reuben Gald Thwaites, in his *Essays in Western History*, refers to it as "a picturesque hero tale." Colonel Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West*, introduces it in the pages forming the body of a volume of his work, making the following comment in a foot-note: "Mémorial of Major E. Denny, by Wm. H. Denny, p. 217. In 'Record of the Court of Upland and Military Journal of Major E. Denny. The story was told to Major Denny by Clark himself, some time '87 or '88; in process of repetition it evidently became twisted, and, as related by Denny, there are some very manifest inaccuracies but there seems no reason to reject it entirely.'"

of the Indians grew less shrill, and Clark's men overjoyed at the manner in which the enemy had been entrapped, rent the air with shouts of victory.

Instantly every street was guarded, and runners dispatched in all directions to notify the people of the town to keep within their homes on the penalty of death; and before the dawn of morning all of the inhabitants had been disarmed. Squads of soldiers patrolled the streets all night long, and a deathly silence such as had never been experienced pervaded the terrorized village, the inhabitants of which huddled in their adobe houses mute with fear. The appearance of the backwoodsmen was so sudden and mysterious that it dumbfounded the villagers. The stern and grim visage of the commander and his stubborn silence struck terror to their very hearts. The ferocious mien and unkempt condition of his followers and their mad onslaught led the dazed inhabitants to believe they had to deal with demons and the thought filled their souls with terrible anxiety for their future fate. Within two hours after their arrival in Kaskaskia, Clark and his men had taken complete possession of the town. The surprise to the officers and natives at beholding the invaders was not greater than the victory was overwhelming. And not a gun was fired nor a drop of blood shed.* A number of the leading citizens had been arrested and put in irons, and other bloodless means of increasing the terror of the French inhabitants had been resorted to by the resourceful and strategic Virginia Colonel. The half-crazed villagers feared that on the morrow they would be put to death, or torn from their families and homes and taken as slaves to the Kentucky country by the murderous backwoodsmen with tales of whose brutality they had been so often regaled. The British had painted the "Long Knives," as these frontier fighters were called, as fiends incarnate, and the simple folks regarded them as nothing less than murderers and assassins of women and children. Clark, diplomat that he was, saw a splendid opportunity not only to indulge his passion for the dramatic, but to win over the natives to his cause, and he readily took advantage of it. After his stern demeanor and stolid indifference to the pitiful pleas of the terrified natives had brought them cringing at his feet, he changed his attitude completely—surprised his supplicants greatly, and won their loyalty, confidence and esteem by the unexpected performance of acts that savored of justice, humanity and generosity. A deputation of six aged citizens, among whom was the beloved Father Gibault, the

*It is marvelous that a military post, well provided with soldiers, cannon and provisions, in an old town of several hundred families, should have been captured without the firing of a gun, by less than two hundred tired and hungry backwoodsmen, without cannon, army supplies, transportation, or even food. This little band had been three days on the river, rowing, by turns, day and night, and for the next six days marching across a wild and unknown country, without roads, much of it brush or swamp, and in the range of savage foes, making ten days of continuous strain and labor, and the last two without food.—[William Hayden English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, p. 170.]

parish priest, called on the haughty Colonel, and feeling themselves as captives in the clutches of barbarians, pleaded to be spared, declaring, says Clark, "with the greatest servility they were willing to be slaves to save their families." Clark received the callers with a feigned military dignity so pronounced that it was painful. Noticing that it had the desired effect, he bade Father Gibault speak for the delegation. The priest, with a grave look on his face, said that the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps never to meet again, and they begged to be permitted to assemble in their church and there to take leave of each other. Clark, relaxing into a more natural pose, mildly told the priest that he had aught to say against his religion; that it was a matter which Americans left every man to settle with his God; that the people might assemble in their church, if they would, but they must not venture out of town. The little church was inadequate to accommodate those who assembled, as nearly every man, woman and child in the village turned out, leaving empty homes, which Clark had forbidden the soldiers to enter. At the close of the meeting Father Gibault again sought Clark, and, speaking for his parishioners, said that "their present situation was the fate of war; that they could submit to the loss of their property; but they solicited that they might not be separated from their wives and children; and that some clothes and provisions might be allowed for their support." Clark, feigning astonishment at such a request, abruptly, but not ineloquently, exclaimed, "Do you mistake us for savages? I am almost certain you do, from your language! Do you think that Americans intend to strip women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen," said he, waxing in eloquence and increasing in stature, "disdain to make war upon helpless innocence. It was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our own wives and children that we have taken arms and penetrated into this remote stronghold of British and Indian barbarity, and not for the despicable prospect of plunder. That now the king of France had united his powerful arms with those of America, the war would not, in all probability, continue long; but the inhabitants of Kaskaskia were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without the least danger to either their property or families. Nor would their religion be any source of disagreement, as all religions were regarded with equal respect in the eye of the American law, and any insult offered it will be immediately punished. And now, to prove my sincerity, you will please inform your fellow citizens that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual without the least apprehension. I am now convinced, from what I have learned since my arrival among you, that you have been misinformed and prejudiced against us by British officers; and your friends who are in confinement shall immediately be released."

Here was an opportune time for Clark to make a diplomatic move and play a winning card. He knew full well it were hopeless to think of his "little army" permanently holding down a hostile population that was nu-

merically superior by many hundreds to his own forces, allied as it was with neighboring tribes of warring Indians. He first took Father Gibault into his confidence, and then discoursed to the natives of the joys of a free and untrammelled democracy and of the untold blessings and privileges that would be theirs if they would renounce allegiance to the king of England and become citizens of the new republic. The Creoles were captivated by Clark's eloquence, and listened to his speech in open-mouthed astonishment. He completely won their hearts and lifted the gloom that had rested on their minds. What he had left undone Father Gibault finished, and the now grateful and happy members of his flock cheerfully took the oath of allegiance to Virginia. The beautiful Creole girls, who doted on garments of variegated colors, tore up their gowns to make flags, and the "stars and stripes" were afloat everywhere. Arms were restored to the citizens, and a volunteer company of French militia was hastily formed and joined a detachment under Captain Bowman, when that officer, a day later, marched against and took peaceable possession of Cahokia. The inhabitants of this settlement, which lay about sixty miles north of Kaskaskia, through the entreaties of Father Gibault and other new found friends of Clark, who accompanied Bowman, offered no resistance, made no effort to defend the fort, and subsequently subscribed an oath of fidelity to the American cause.

In the estimation of the people, within a few days, Clark had won an enviable place. At times theatrical, he was always courageous, brave, generous and far-seeing, combining the cunning of the fox with the courage of the lion. His graceful figure, "prudent* swagger, calculating rashness, graceful lies, blustering finesse, and his high spirits and dashing *espieglerie* won the Frenchmen's hearts." In all the Illinois country there was only one man whom Clark, with all his bluster, treated harshly—and that was M. Rochblave, whom he unceremoniously yanked out of bed the night Kaskaskia was surprised. M. Rochblave, however, who was the French commandant of the British fort, behaved badly after he was captured, and probably deserved harsh treatment. Clark invited him to dinner, and he responded to the invitation in an insulting manner, whereupon his captor promptly put him in irons and sent him a prisoner by Captain Montgomery to Virginia, sold his slaves for five hundred pounds and divided the money as prizes among the troops.

The Indians feared Clark intensely, and no man knew how to handle the redskins better than he did. He knew their savage natures, and in dealing with the more hostile ones always assumed an attitude of haughtiness and defiance, securing by adroitness, diplomacy and intimidation what he had neither force nor strength to take. He made them believe that he only waited an excuse to fall upon and crush them out of existence, and they trembled at the mention of his very name. After having them completely cowed, he would enfold the great sachems to his bosom in affection-

*Lymn Lew Sprague, *Outing Magazine*.

ate embrace. By this method he won their esteem and confidence. They looked on him with adoration, and considered him of heroic mould, so superior to any of their white brothers that years afterward in conference with commissioners, the wily chiefs would address themselves to no one but Clark, were he present.

While at Kaskaskia Clark had to deal with hordes of Indians, hailing from wigwams scattered from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi, who came from as far away as five hundred miles to learn what had actually taken place in the Illinois country, and to hear personally what the "Long Knives" had to say. Having hitherto been hostile to the Americans, but friendly to the Spanish and French, they were much confused by the change in the sentiments of the latter, and the sudden turn affairs had taken put them in a quandary. Clark engaged them in conference.[†] For several days no conclusion was reached, though speech-making was much indulged. On the night following the third day of the conference a party of warriors made an attempt to forcibly enter the house where Clark was lodging for the purpose of kidnapping him. Clark, who had been, so he says, "under some apprehensions among such a number of devils," was anticipating treachery. His guards promptly seized the savages, and the natives, aroused by the alarm, hastily armed themselves, evincing their sincerity in espousing the American cause. The captives, by Clark's orders, were put in irons. While he had treated the Indians well and had not incurred their displeasure by brutality or harshness, which often embittered them against the English and Americans, and made them side with the French, he knew to display timidity would be ruinous, and he simply exercised the boldness and decision for which he was noted, and carried his point. The cringing prisoners protested that they were simply trying to find out the friendship of the French for Clark, and begged mercifully for their release. The chiefs from other tribes came to intercede in their behalf, but Clark, with his characteristic haughtiness and indifference, absolutely refused to release the captives. Indians and whites had become greatly confused by the incident, mistrusting what the outcome might be. Clark was apparently not agitated by the attempt to carry him away, for he did not even transfer his lodgings to the fort, but he took the precaution to secretly place a body of armed men in the room adjoining his own, while the guards were kept in readiness for immediate action. To more effectively carry out his appearance of indifference, he "assembled a number of gentlemen and ladies and danced nearly the whole night"; while the time was put in by the savages in holding continuous councils among themselves. "Next¹ morn-

[†] This notable gathering, however, was held at Cahokia, where Clark did nearly all his treating with savages while in the Illinois country, and among the many tribes having representation were chiefs and warriors from the Shawnees, Weas, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, and other confederations whose names and deeds are buried in oblivion.

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, pp. 197-198.

ing he invited all the tribes to assemble in grand council, liberating the captive chiefs that they might hear what he had to say to them in the presence of their friends and allies. The preliminary proceedings were marked by rigid rules of Indian etiquette. Clark, standing in the center of a circle formed by the squatted warriors—his riflemen, with tasseled and tattered uniforms stationed on the outside edge—produced the bloody war belt of wampum and handed it to the chiefs who had been taken captive, telling the assembled tribes that he scorned alike their treachery and their hostility; that he would be thoroughly justified in putting them to death, but that instead he would have them escorted safely from the town and after three days would begin war upon them. He warned them that if they did not want their own women and children massacred, they must stop killing those of the Americans. Pointing to the war belt, he challenged them, on behalf of his people, to see which would make it the most bloody; and he finished by telling them that while they stayed in his camp they should be given food and strong drink, and that now he had ended his talk to them, and he wished them to rapidly depart.”

As Clark concluded his remarks, not only the prisoners, but all the other chiefs rose, and in a submissive and dignified manner, expressed a deep regret at having listened to the blandishments of the British, who had led them into error by falsehood, expressing a determination thenceforth to be loyal to Americans and the American cause. Clark further told them that he was there as a warrior, not as a counsellor; that he was not begging for truce, but that he carried in his right hand peace and in his left hand war; that for their worst men he had no terms whatever. To those who were disposed to be friendly he would be a friend; but if they chose war, he would call from the thirteen² council fires warriors so numerous that they would darken the land, and from that time on the red people would hear no sound but that of the birds that lived on blood. He³ went on to tell them that there had been a mist before their eyes, but he would clear away the cloud and would show them the right of the quarrel between the “Long Knives” and the king who dwelt across the great sea; and then he told them about the revolt in terms which would have applied almost to an uprising of Hurons or Wyandots against the Iroquois. At the end of his speech he offered them the two belts of peace and war.

“The⁴ peace belt was eagerly accepted by the savages, but the Colonel rejected the pipe of Calumet, announcing that he would not enter into the solemn peace treaty with them until the following day. He likewise declined to release all his prisoners, and insisted that two of them should be put to death. They even yielded to this, and surrendered to him the young

² In his speeches, as in those of his successors in treaty making, the United States were sometimes spoken of as the Thirteen Fires, and sometimes as the Great Fire.—[Roosevelt.]

³ Theodore Roosevelt.

⁴ Roosevelt.

men, who advanced and sat down before him on the floor, covering their heads with their blankets to receive the tomahawk. Then he granted them full peace and forgave the young men their doom. After this treaty there was peace in the Illinois country; the Indians remained for some time friendly, and the French were kept well satisfied."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CAPTURE OF VINCENNES FROM THE BRITISH.

COLONEL CLARK CASTS A LONGING LOOK AT VINCENNES FROM KASKASKIA—
FATHER GIBAULT VISITS THE OLD POST TO CONVERT ITS INHABITANTS TO
AMERICANISM—CAPT. HELM TAKES CHARGE OF FORT SACKVILLE—CLARK
WINS THE "GRAND DOOR OF THE WABASH"—TROUBLE WITH THE TROOPS—
CLARK MAKES FRIENDS WITH SPANIARDS—HIS SPEECH TO THE INDIANS—
VIRGINIA ESTABLISHES ILLINOIS COUNTY—HAMILTON'S MARCH FROM
DETROIT TO VINCENNES—HELM'S ALARMING LETTER TO CLARK—HAMILTON
TAKES FORT SACKVILLE FROM HELM—CLARK'S IGNORANCE OF HAMILTON'S
PRESENCE AT VINCENNES—VIGO GIVES CLARK VALUABLE INFORMATION—
CLARK DECIDES TO MOVE AGAINST HAMILTON—THE DREADFUL MARCH FROM
KASKASKIA TO VINCENNES—CLARK'S MESSAGE TO THE INHABITANTS OF
VINCENNES—FIRING ON THE FORT—THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE CON-
TENDING FORCES—CLARK DEMANDS HAMILTON TO SURRENDER—THE FIGHT
RESUMED—HAMILTON SURRENDERS—ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION—CAPTURE
OF BRITISH BOAT ON THE WABASH—HAMILTON TAKEN IN IRONS WITH
OTHER BRITISH PRISONERS TO WILLIAMSBURG—HIS BLOOD-STAINED
RECORD.

Disappointed, no doubt, at the tameness of some incidents which followed, but nevertheless gratified at the success attained at the inauguration of his Illinois campaign on the western side of the Wabash—which not only resulted in the capture of the important towns of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, but in securing as well all the white settlements of lesser significance in the Illinois country—Clark now turned his gaze in the direction of the eastern side of that classic stream, his eye resting on Old Vincennes, a post, he records, that "never had been out of his mind" from the instant he conceived of an expedition against the British posts in the Northwest Territory. The glory, however, that came with the initial move in a conquest that was to end so brilliantly and be productive of such overshadowing results, did not engross the mind of the gallant Virginian as much as the duties it brought with it.

Straining every nerve, and exercising all the strategic and diplomatic energies that an active brain or courageous heart could devise or suggest,

to keep his unruly backwoodsmen half disciplined, to extend his protecting arm out over a territory as vast as an empire, and peopled with subjects of an alien race, speaking a foreign tongue, and to fortify himself against the contemplated advances of large numbers of well-drilled and well-fed British soldiers, who were inciting hordes of blood-thirsty Indians to deeds of treachery and violence, were some of the perplexing problems that presented themselves for Clark's solution immediately after he had taken Kaskaskia.

At the time of its capture, Kaskaskia's population consisted of two hundred and fifty families, and its fortifications had the strength to resist the force of a thousand men. Today it doesn't contain enough people to entitle it to a postoffice. Cahokia is another town that has almost completely disappeared, with scarcely a physical trace of its former existence. Cahokia formerly stood on the east side of the Mississippi, a few miles below where St. Louis now stands. When Captain Bowman marched against the place there were more than a hundred families living there; and when he took Prairie du Rocher it had a population of about one hundred and thirty souls. All three of these places, which had their birth about the same time as Vincennes, were at one time consequential towns. Prairie du Rocher was within five miles of the celebrated Fort Chartres, and St. Phillippe, a thriving hamlet, was also in the cluster of French settlements (in the shadow of the ancient fortification), which Clark, through Bowman, seized and converted to Americanism. After Clark and Bowman had captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia, respectively, the forts at these places were given the names of their captors.

At the close of their first meeting a strong attachment was formed between Colonel Clark and Father Gibault, and only a few days intervened until the assurances previously had by the gallant Virginian of the holy man's sympathy for the American cause were made doubly sure by convincing proofs of his loyalty. That the generous-hearted and brave soldier saw in the lowly man of the cloth a worthy exponent of the doctrines of liberty and a powerful ally is best told in his own words: "I had some reason to suspect that Mr. Gibault, the priest, was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country. He had great influence over the people at this period, and Post Vincennes was under his jurisdiction. I made no doubt of his integrity to us. I sent for him, and had a long conference with him on the subject of Post Vincennes. In answer to all my queries, he informed me that he did not think it worth my while to cause any military preparations to be made at the Falls of the Ohio for the attack of Post Vincennes, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in its neighborhood, who, to his knowledge, were generally at war; that Governor Abbott had a few weeks before left the place on some business to Detroit; that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at the Illinois, and the present happiness of their friends, and made fully acquainted with the nature of

the war, that their sentiments would greatly change; that he knew that his appearance there would have great weight, even among the savages; that if it was agreeable to me he would take this business on himself, and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest without my being at the trouble of marching against it; that his business being altogether spiritual, he wished that another person might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy; but that he would privately direct the whole; and he named Doctor La Font as his associate.

"This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with there intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set out preparing for their journey, and set out on the 14th of July, with an address to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, authorizing them to garrison their own town themselves, which would convince them of the great confidence we put in them, etc. All this had its desired effect. Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and after spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally exceeded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country) and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately garrisoned, and the American flag displayed to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people here immediately began to put on a new face, and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfect freemen. With a garrison of their own, with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the United States, and informed the Indians that their old father, the King of France, was come to life again, and was mad at them for fighting for the English; that they would advise them to make peace with the Americans as soon as they could, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody, etc. The Indians began to think seriously: throughout the country this was now the kind of language they generally got from their ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois. Through the means of their correspondence spreading among the natives our batteries began now to play in a proper channel. Mr. Gibault and party, accompanied by several gentlemen of Post Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia about the first of August with the joyful news. During his absence on this business, which caused great anxiety in me, (for without the possession of this post all our views would have been blasted) I was exceedingly engaged in regulating things in the Illinois. The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of our troops. I was at a great loss at this time to determine how to act, and how far I might venture to strain my authority. My instructions were silent on many important points, as it was impossible to foresee the events that would take place. To abandon the country, and all the prospects that opened to our view in the Indian department at this time,

for the want of instruction in certain cases I thought would amount to a reflection on government as having no confidence in me. I resolved to usurp all the authority necessary to carry my points. I had the greater part of our troops re-enlisted on a different establishment—commissioned French officers in the country to command a company of the young inhabitants—established a garrison at Cahokia, commanded by Captain Bowman; and another at Kaskaskia, commanded by Captain Williams. Colonel William Linn, who had accompanied us a volunteer, took charge of a party that was to be discharged on their arrival at the Falls, and others were sent for the removal of that post to the main land. Colonel John Montgomery was despatched to government with letters." Continuing, Colonel Clark says:

"I again turned my attention to Post Vincennes. I plainly saw that it would be highly necessary to have an American officer at that post, Captain Leonard Helm appeared calculated to answer my purpose. He was past the meridian of life and a good deal acquainted with the Indian disposition. I sent him to command at that post, and also appointed him Agent for Indian Affairs in the Department of the Wabash, and about the middle of August he set out to take possession of his new command. An Indian chief called the Tobacco's Son, a Piankeshaw, at this time resided in a village adjoining Post Vincennes. This man was called by the Indians 'The Grand Door to the Wabash,' and as nothing of consequence was to be undertaken by the league on the Wabash without his assent, I discovered that to win him was an object of signal importance. I sent him a spirited compliment by Mr. Gibault: he returned it. I now, by Captain Helm, touched him on the same spring that I had done the inhabitants, and sent a speech, with a belt of wampum, directing Captain Helm how to manage, if the chief was pacifically inclined or otherwise. The captain arrived safe at Post Vincennes and was received with acclamations by the people. After the usual ceremony was over he sent for the 'Grand Door' and delivered my letter to him. After having read it, he informed the captain that he was happy to see him, one of the Big Knife chiefs, in his town—it was here he had joined the English against him; but he confessed that he always thought they looked gloomy; that as the contents of the letter was of great moment he could not give an answer for some time; that he must collect his counselors on the subject, and was in hopes the captain would be patient. In short, he put on all the courtly dignity that he was master of; and Captain Helm, following his example, it was several days before this business was finished, as the whole proceeding was very ceremonious. At length the captain was invited to the Indian council, and informed by Tobacco that they had maturely considered the case in hand, and had got the nature of the war between the English and us explained to their satisfaction; that, as we spoke the same language and appeared to be the same people, he always thought that he was in the dark as to the truth of it; but now the sky

was cleared up; that he found the Big Knife was in the right; that perhaps if the English conquered they would serve them in the same manner that they intended to serve us; that his ideas were quite changed, and that he would tell all the red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English. He jumped up, struck his breast, called himself a man and a warrior, said that he was now a Big Knife and took Captain Helm by the hand. His example was followed by all present, and the evening was spent in merriment. Thus ended this valuable negotiation and the saving of much blood. * * * In a short time almost the whole of the various tribes of the different nations on the Wabash, as high as the Quiatenon, came to Post Vincennes and followed the example of the 'Grand Door' chief; and as expresses were continually passing between Captain Helm and myself the whole time of these treaties, the business was settled perfectly to my satisfaction, and greatly to the advantage of the public."

Before the news of Clark's victory in the Illinois country had reached the Virginia authorities, the time of service of his troops had expired and every mother's son of them was anxious to go home. Thus was the courageous Virginian beset with a new difficulty, which really made his position one of imminent peril, and caused the high hopes he had builded for a final move against Detroit, after he had succeeded in capturing the southern towns forming the outposts of this formidable base of British operations, to become perceptibly shattered, although he revealed his feelings to but few friends. While he had received no direct information of the strength of the British forces at Detroit, he had no idea of marching against it with the small number of men he then had; but he feared by them returning home at this time it would make it more difficult for him to recruit later on a larger army in the localities whither they went. And, worst of all, he needed the men at this most critical time to carry out his campaign against Vincennes; and the condition which confronted him in this instance was one calling for the exercise of both strategy and diplomacy, prerequisites for which he was never lacking. "It was," he says, "with Difficulty that I could support that Dignity that was necessary to give my orders that force that was necessary, but by great preasants and promises I got about one hundred of my Detachment Enlisted for eight months, and to colour my staying with so few Troops I made a faint of returning to the Falls, as though I had sufficient confidence in the People, hoping that the Inhabitants would remonstrate against my leaving, which they did in the warmest terms. Then seemingly by their request I agreed to stay with two Companies of Troops, and that I hardly thought, as they alledged, that so many was necessary; but if more was wanted I could get them from the Falls, where they were made to believe there was a Considerable Garrison."

After having despatched the dissatisfied volunteers who refused to remain with him, to the Falls, and delivering into their hands for extradition

to Williamsburg the crest-fallen prisoner, Mr. Rochblave, Clark forwarded by special messenger a letter to Governor Henry "letting him know of my situation and the necessity of Troops in the Country," and determined on spending the winter at Kaskaskia. His "little army" had now been reduced to merely a handful. His position was one of such distress that had he not been a man of undaunted courage, daring and determination he would have forsaken it. Removed by hundreds of miles from any post garrisoned by American soldiers, and being still further separated from the seat of government he was striving with unparalleled heroism to serve, knowing that it would be impossible for him to get reinforcements, or even advice or instruction, from Virginia for months to come, he made up his mind to "hold the fort" at any and all hazard. He recognized that a temporary relinquishment of the territory he had just acquired would result in it again falling into the hands of the British and forever destroy the plans he had formulated for the capture of Vincennes. Governor Henry had an abiding faith in Colonel Clark and had given him the privilege of exercising his own powers of discernment and descretion in every measure of a last resort, and it was Clark's aim to hold on to what he had acquired at the sacrifice of his life. Few, if any, men could have maintained the position that Clark did. It is doubtful whether any other man could have counceled so successfully with and subdued so completely the treacherous and warlike Indians with whom he was called upon to treat. In spite of the fact that the dusky warriors were coached by the Britons, Clark's knowledge of the nature of the red people enabled him to pacify and win them over by the adoption of measures as phenomenal in results as they were bold and courageous in character.

There was one man at least in all the Illinois country to whom Clark knew he could look for aid—Father Gibault. The magnanimous conqueror had been given assurance of the good priest's friendship after telling him that American soldiers had nothing to do with churches further than to defend them all alike from insult; that in the eyes of the laws of Virginia the Catholic church had as great privileges as any other, and for the priest to assemble his flock in the little church as often as he wished. Clark had also been given unmistakable evidence of Father Gibault's loyalty by the impressive manner in which he had told his parishioners of the alliance formed between France and America in the prosecution of war against the British, and the earnestness with which he exhorted them, both at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, to espouse the cause of Virginia. And, at the mere suggestion from Clark, the holy man gave the Virginian all the aid possible in filling the ranks of his depleted troops with young French recruits, until, as Clark observes, "the different Companies soon got Com-pleat." While the undaunted Colonel was much elated in thus having the gaps in his lines closed up, it brought him, nevertheless, additional difficulties. His situation and weakness, he says, convinced him that more depended on his own behavior and conduct than all the troops he could raise—so

far removed from the seat of the government he was serving, located among French and Spaniards, and surrounded on every side by numerous bands of savages who were just as liable to become favorably as well as unfavorably impressed with his actions, with the result of leaving lasting effects of good or evil. But he persevered, and tells how he went about it: "Strict subordination among my troops was my first object, and I soon effected it. Our Troops being all Raw and undisciplined You must be sensible of the pleasure I felt when harrangeing them on Parade, Telling them my Resolutions, and the necessity of strict duty for our own preservation, &c. For then to return me for answer, that it was their zeal for their Country that induced them to engage in the Service, that they were sensible of their situation and Danger; that nothing could conduce more to their safety and happiness, than good order, which they would try to adhere to, and hoped that no favour would be shown those that would neglect it. In a short time perhaps no Garrison could boast of better order or a more Valuable set of Men."*

St. Louis, then a hamlet of little consequence, was the home of Don Francisco de Leyba, Lieutenant-Governor of Louisiana, the business partner of Colonel Vigo. Clark sought to cultivate the friendship of all the Spaniards with whom he came in contact, and, on account of de Leyba's official prominence, nerved himself in order to make proper advances for the purpose towards that individual. The first meeting between the two, which occurred at Cahokia, seems to have been mutually agreeable to both, inasmuch as it subsequently led Colonel Clark to assert that as he "was never before in company with any Spaniard Gent I was much surprised in my expectations; for instead of finding that reserve thought peculiar to that Nation, I here saw not the least symptoms of it; freedom almost to excess gave the greatest pleasure." How well Clark succeeded in his advances to gain the sympathies and good will of other subjects of Spain is disclosed in his letter to Governor Henry, which relates that "our friends, the Spaniards, are doing everything in their power to convince me of their friendship."

In the preceding chapter mention is made of Clark's conduct towards the Indians, who came from far and near to treat with him while he was in the Illinois country, and especially has reference been made to a memorable conference held at Cahokia, which was attended by warriors representing every Indian nation between the Northern Lakes and the Mississippi river. These conferences began about the last of August and continued for five or six weeks. On the second day of the great council Clark delivered a speech, in reply to the speeches of several chiefs who had spoken the day before—and while it may be a slight digression, and a repetition of a few phrases heretofore quoted, to introduce in full his remarks here, they will, nevertheless, be acceptable to the reader as show-

* Reuben Gold Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, p. 36, 37.

ing more clearly the great Indian fighter's method of handling his red-skinned subjects—friends and foes. He said:

"Men and warriors! pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped, as he was good, that it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon—whether it be peace or war—and henceforth prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior—not a counsellor. I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country; and to watch the motions of the Red People; to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads from us to those who desire to be in peace—that the women and children may walk in them without meeting anything to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the Red People may hear no sound, but of birds that live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispell the clouds that you may clearly see the cause of the war between the Big Knives and the English, then you may judge, for yourselves, which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and do not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knives are very much like the Red People; they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth. They buy these things from the English from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting, and trade, as you, and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knives, daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor, and hunting scare; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves. They soon made blankets for the husbands and children, and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from English. They then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country; as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French. They would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder; nor let us trade with anybody else. The English said we should buy everything from them; and, since we had got suasy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased, and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us, which did not take place for some time after this treatment.

"But our women became cold and hungry and continued to cry. Our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark. The old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun; and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a Great Council Fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia. He then stuck down a post and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out; the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads and assembled at the fire. They took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war post, and blood was shed. In this way the war began; and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak; and then they hired you Red People to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old father, the French King, and other great nations, to join the Big Knives and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like deer in the woods; and you may see that it is the Great Spirit that has caused your waters

to be troubled, because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourself for it, and not the Big Knives.

"You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt, and a white one; take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knives cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knives, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening; and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men with but one heart and one tongue."

The speeches of Clark to the Indians, which were delivered frequently, without effort or study, eventually convinced the red people that the Big Knives were in the right; that the Indians would be subjected to the same treatment as the Big Knives by the English if the latter were not prevented from building forts and increasing the number of their soldiers in the red man's country. They, therefore, accepted the belt of peace, and promised their loyal support to the Big Knives; and at the conclusion of the council the Piankeshaws, Ouiatenons, Kickapoos, Illinois, Kaskaskias, Peorias, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Puans, Sacs, Foxes, Sayges, Tauways and Maumees signed articles of peace.

Colonel Clark was holding his own in the Illinois country against many difficulties, but he met every emergency with such determination that his demeanor, outwardly, was that of confidence and composure rather than of doubt and anxiety. While he was conferring with the Indians his communication to Governor Henry, relative to the success of his expedition in the Illinois country, conveying the important intelligence that the French inhabitants of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, had taken the oath of allegiance to Virginia, had not yet reached the chief executive of that State. Soon after receiving the message, however, the Governor put its contents before the General Assembly of the Old Dominion with the result that in an act passed by that honorable body in October, 1778, provision was made that "all citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are already settled, or shall hereafter settle, on the western side of the Ohio, shall be included in a district county, which shall be called Illinois county: and the Governor of this Commonwealth, with the advice of the Council, may appoint a County Lieutenant, or Commander-in-Chief in that county, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission so many Deputy Commandants, Militia officers and Commissaries, as he shall think proper in the different districts, during pleasure; all of whom, before they

enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this Commonwealth, and the oath of office according to the form of their own religion. And all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of the peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose by the County Lieutenant, or Commandant, or his Deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said County Lieutenant or Commandant-in-Chief."

At this stage of the great drama of change a new character appeared, and prevented any provisions of the law above set forth being carried into execution at this time. The character referred to was Henry Hamilton, who bore also the ignominious title of the "Hair-Buyer General." Hamilton was the British Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit and acquired the appellation of "Hair-Buyer General" from the fact that he incited the Indians to raid the exposed and unprotected settlements of the American frontiers, which necessarily led to the taking of scalps of the defenseless settlers and subjecting them to all the indignities and atrocities that savage and fiendish natures could suggest. The fame of the "Hair-Buyer General" was known to Clark and the Kentuckians long before the Illinois expedition was undertaken, and the name of Hamilton had become a stench in the nostrils of all self-respecting people in the Northwest Territory before the blood-thirsty Briton's triumphant entry therein. Governor Abbott, who preceded him, discountenanced his policies—his barbarous treatment of American settlers—and wrote to the Governor of Canada that they were working an irreparable injury to the cause of His Britannic Majesty in this country. Hamilton claimed that in inciting Indian raids on the borders, by which helpless women and innocent children were made to suffer the most horrible indignities, he was simply executing orders received from his superior officers. Mr. Bancroft, the historian, says as much. But Governor Abbott intimates that Hamilton went beyond his instructions; that he was the instigator of policies which led to events "too shocking to dwell upon." Mr. English, unlike many of his contemporaries, places all blame on Hamilton for these Indian outrages, and scorns his pretensions that "all parties going to war (meaning the Indians, in this instance) were exhorted to act with humanity." Mr. English says: "The idea of giving arms and ammunition to savages raiding a frontier, coupled with an admonition that they were to be humane and behave well, is absurd. Hamilton must have known perfectly well that Indians were strangers to humanity on such occasions, and that to 'behave well' in their estimation, meant to take as many scalps as possible. To furnish arms and ammunition, and to encourage Indians by presents and otherwise to make raids upon the frontier settlements, meant the practice of every enormity savage ingenuity could devise, and there was but little difference discernible between the guilt of the actual perpetrators and those who sent the Indians on such expeditions. Thomas Jefferson believed there was no difference. Referring

to the subject, he said 'he who employs another to do a deed of an assassin, or murderer, himself becomes the assassin or murderer.' These raids, instigated or encouraged by Hamilton, soon brought legitimate results, and his own admissions show the falsity of the pretense that they were conducted with humanity. He wrote General Carleton, early in 1778, that the Indians had 'brought in seventy-three prisoners alive, twenty of which they presented to me, and one hundred and twenty-nine scalps,' and on the 16th of September of that year he wrote to General Haldimand, who in the meantime had succeeded Carleton as Governor, that 'since last May the Indians in this district have taken thirty-four prisoners, seventeen of which they delivered up, and eighty-one scalps, several prisoners taken and adopted not reckoned in this number.*' Eighty-one scalps and thirty-four prisoners show the kind of humanity practiced by Hamilton's Indians. That Hamilton was guilty of encouraging these Indian expeditions is manifest, and mere pretty speeches about favoring humanity could not relieve him of the odium of the usual savagery of such raids. Hence the animosity of Clark and the Americans towards him was natural, and not at all surprising."

General Haldimand, in writing to Hamilton under date of August 26, 1778, says: "The expediency of supporting the Ouabash Indians is very evident and I can not therefore but approve of such steps as you shall find necessary to take for this purpose. And I must observe that, from the great expense to which government had been put for the Indians in general, it might be expected that some of them might be induced to undertake expeditiously to clear all the Illinois of these invaders. * * * The situation of the Ouabash Indians is very favorable for this design, to which all the parties you sent out from Detroit would also contribute best, as it appears to me, by acting in concert with those, as they might together fill all the lower parts of the Ohio with bodies of savages that such constantly succeeds each other, and at no time leave the river without a force which would be ready to fall upon all the rebels that appear there," etc. Commenting on the letter in full, from which only excerpts are here given, Mr. English says: "It will be seen that this letter recommends not only that the Wabash Indians 'be induced to undertake expeditions to clear all the Illinois of these invaders' (Clark's forces) but that such a union of various Indian tribes should be secured as would fill the Ohio river border with savages, 'ready to fall upon all the rebels that appear there.' Here was a proposal for destruction by the wholesale! Even on the line claimed by Hamilton that the Indians were advised to be humane it amounted to this in substance, that all the rebels appearing on the Ohio were to be killed after the Indian fashion—but with humanity. The wrong was the employment of savages for such purposes at all, well knowing that under certain circumstances it was impossible to restrain them

*Canadian Archives—Haldimand Papers, B., 122, p. 26, and B. 122, p. 156.

from brutal barbarities utterly inconsistent with warfare between civilized peoples.* The contrast between the British officers and Colonel Clark, who refused to employ the Indians against his white enemies, must ever stand to his credit in the estimation of posterity. When he had Hamilton 'shut up like a rat in a trap' at Fort Sackville, and it was not certain but an assault on the fort would be resorted to, Tobacco, son of a chief of the Piankeshaws, offered the assistance of a hundred of his tribe, but Clark, in an adroit manner, avoided accepting the offer. On another occasion, when Indian assistance was offered by Lajes, another Indian chief, Clark replied, 'We never wished the Indians to fight for us; all we wished them to do was for them to sit still and look on.'† His fame is not tarnished with setting a savage and heathen race against a civilized and Christian people."‡

Hamilton was an ambitious soldier, as well as a merciless warrior—a valiant fighter and ungenerous victor—and plied the nefarious business of buying scalps in whatever section of country his military duties called him. Having been rather successful in his operations in and around Detroit, and more than gratified at the wholesale slaughter of the innocents by his bands of red marauders on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, he was planning to march against Fort Pitt, when news of the fall of Kaskaskia, the capture of his pet, Mr. Rochblave, and, later on, the reduction of Post Vincennes, reached him. His great chagrin at this turn of affairs in the Illinois and Wabash countries was heightened all the more when he learned that the inhabitants at two of the most important British posts in the Northwest Territory, excepting Detroit, had foresworn allegiance to Great Britain and even taken up arms against His Britannic Majesty. He forthwith sent Frenchmen friendly to British interests into these localities to win back the inhabitants to the British cause and to incite the Indians to make war on the American soldiers and settlers that had come into the country from Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky, and began immediately preparations for an expedition into the Illinois and Wabash countries. And again Clark felt his position becoming more perilous. While the Piankeshaw Indians were disposed to remain friendly towards him, the Kickapoos and Weas signified a willingness, in consideration of numerous presents, and the assurance of the support of British arms, to violate the obligations of their late treaty, and sally forth on forays of murder and pillage. The Miamis were quite as easily persuaded to take up arms against the Big Knives, to whom, a few months before, they swore eternal friendship; and nearly all the other tribes, especially in the lake regions, were lured by British blandishments and bought by British gold to turn against their best friends and massacre the women and children of

*Wm. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 222.

†Clark's *Memoir*.

‡Wm. H. English, *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 223

a people who were disposed to treat them humanely and just. The French, however, were not as susceptible as the Indians to the entreaties of the British, although Clark had slight misgivings as to their ability to stand firm against the further overtures likely to be made by the enemy to win them over.

It was on August 8, 1778, that Governor Hamilton was informed by a messenger named Francois Masonville, that Clark had taken Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and several smaller settlements, in the Illinois country, and that his men (the "rebels") were advancing towards Vincennes, in the Wabash country. It took the Hair-Buyer General just two months, lacking one day, from the receipt of the foregoing intelligence, to fit out his expedition. During the preliminary steps toward shaping ends "he led the main body in person," says Colonel Roosevelt* in his *Winning of the West*, "and throughout September every soul in Detroit was busy from morning until night in mending boats, baking biscuits, packing provisions in kegs and bags, preparing artillery stores, and in every way making ready for the expedition. Fifteen large bateaux and pirogues were procured, each capable of carrying from 1,800 to 3,000 pounds; these were to carry the ammunition, food, clothing, tents, and especially the presents for the Indians. Cattle and wheels were sent ahead to the most important portages on the route that would be traversed; a six-pounder gun was also forwarded. Hamilton had been deeply exasperated by what he regarded as the treachery of most of the Illinois and Wabash Creoles in joining the Americans; but he was in high spirits and very confident of success. He wrote to his superior officer that the British were to succeed if they acted promptly, for the Indians were favorable to them, knowing they alone could give them supplies; and he added: 'the Spaniards are feeble and hated by the French, the French are fickle and have no man of capacity to advise or lead them, and the Rebels are enterprising and brave, but want resources.† The bulk of the Detroit French, including all their leaders, remained staunch supporters of the crown, and the militia eagerly volunteered to go on the expedition. Feasts were held with the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawattomies, at which oxen were roasted whole, while Hamilton and the Chief of the French Rangers sang the war-song in solemn council, and received pledges of armed assistance and support from the savages.'"

It was in the early dawn of a hazy morning, October 7, 1778, at Detroit, when General Hamilton, with a force of one hundred and eighty men, including English regulars, militiamen, volunteers and Indians, "drew up" his flotilla, received divine blessing from the venerable Catholic priest, Father Pere Potier, and coursed down the Detroit river. As the shades of evening began to gather in the east, the wind shifted to the north, and when darkness fell a terrific blizzard accompanied with a biting snow,

*Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, pp. 202, 203.

†Hamilton to Haldimand, September 23, October 3, 1778.

found the party, who had "traversed" its course, on Lake Michigan, five miles from the mouth of the Maumee, the objective point. The crossing was attended with great danger and difficulty, but was accomplished without loss of life; and the men, deprived of fires or tents, spent the first night out on the cold and wet ground, not far from the mouth of the Maumee. Proceeding up the last named stream, the army arrived at the rapids on October 11th, and thirteen days later pulled up at Quiatenon, (Fort Wayne) where they were joined by a large number of Indians from various tribes, whose services had been previously engaged. The red men were overwhelmed with handsome presents, bestowed by the late arrivals, and readily consented to send messengers to the Shawnees and other nations along the route to join Hamilton, or at least, in the language of the Hair-Buyer General, "watch the motions of the rebels on the frontiers, for which purpose I sent them ammunition."

Travel on the Maumee was necessarily slow and irksome, as the river was at a very low stage, and particularly shallow from Miamitown (Quiatenon) to the deeper waters of the Wabash. After passing the portage of nine miles, which brought the army to Petite Riviere, one of the sources of the Wabash, the waters were so uncommonly low that had not the industrious beaver been busy in that locality the boats would have never been able to make the passage. About four miles above the landing place, however, the beavers had constructed a complete dam, which kept up the water, and up to this embankment it was "smooth sailing." Putting the bows of the boats against the dam, the same was cut in order to admit of passage through. It was due solely to the beavers that this portion of the stream was made navigable, and for that reason these valuable animals, led by nature to repair the dam as often as it was cut by voyageurs, were never molested by either the white or red trappers and hunters. Passing on to the swamp of Les Volets, the fleet entered La Riviere Boete, a very small stream joining the beaver-dammed river, where it was found necessary to dam both rivers in order to back the water into the swamp, after which the dykes were cut and permitted the craft to pass through in safety. Similar difficulties were encountered at the Riviere a l'Auglais, at which point the damming process had to be renewed. Once on the Wabash, progress was impeded by the frosts lowering the water lines, floating ice interfering with the men as they worked in the water to haul the boats over shoals and rocks; "and our bateaux," says Hamilton, "were damaged and had to be repeatedly unloaded, caulked and paved; ninety-seven thousand pounds of provisions and stores to be carried by the men, in which the Indians assisted cheerfully when the boats were to be lightened. It was sometimes a day's work to get the distance of a half league. It was necessary to stop frequently at the Indian villages to have conference with them, furnish them with necessaries, and engage a few to accompany us. At length we got into a good depth of water, a fall of rain having

raised the river; this advantage was succeeded by fresh difficulties, the frost becoming so intense as to freeze the river quite across."

While Hamilton's march was longer and productive of many disagreeable features, when compared to the hardships and sufferings endured in Clark's march from Kaskaskia, it bears about the same relation to the latter as a rolling pebble to the side of Himalaya. Hamilton, however, had lots of trouble, and fought courageously against innumerable obstacles, eventually overcoming them all. When within a few days' journey of Vincennes, his advanced guards ran on to a scouting party—a lieutenant and three men—which had been sent out from Fort Sackville by Captain Helm to look out for the approach of the enemy, and made them prisoners. Helm, however, was not aware of the presence of the British troops in this immediate locality until they got within a few miles of the town. He thereupon wrote a letter to Clark, apprising him of the fact, and despatched the same with a trusty messenger, who was killed by Hamilton's Indians and the letter intercepted. The letter (a copy of which was enclosed in a letter written by Hamilton December 18th and marked December 25th) is part of the Canadian Archives, and is printed in the Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, (vol. i, p. 226) edited by H. W. Beckwith. It reads:

"Dr. Sir:—At this time there is an army within three miles of this place. I heard of their comin several days beforehand, I sent spies to find the certainty, the spies being taken prisoners, I never got intelligence till they got within 3 miles of the town, as I had called the militia & had all assurance of their integrity I ordered, at the firing of a Cannon, every man to appear, but I saw but few. Capt. Buseron behaved much to his honour & credit but I doubt the certaint (conduct) of a certain gent. Excuse haste as the army is in sight. My determination is to defend the Garrison though I have but 21 men but wh't has lef me. I referr you to Mr. Wm. for the test. The army is in three hundred y'd of village, you must think how I feel, not four men that I can really depend on, but am determined to act brave; think of my condition I know its out of my power to defend the town as not one of the militia will take arms thoug before sight of the army no braver men than. Their is a flag at a small distance. I must conclud

"Yr humble servt

"LE'OD HELM.

"To Col. Clark.

"Must stop."

In the foregoing letter, Captain Helm, without the least attempt at braggadocio, illustrates that he was not only a man of determination, but a valorous and brave soldier, ready to defend his position against the enemy notwithstanding he had full knowledge that his defeat was inevitable. Accordingly he had a cannon planted at the entrance to the fort, loaded to the mouth, and "not four men he could really depend upon," to extend General Hamilton greeting—truly, a complement not likely to terrorize the mildest of invading hosts.

After a march (and voyage) of over six hundred miles, to accomplish which required seventy-one days, on December 18, 1778, Hamilton entered Vincennes at the head of his forces, which at this time had increased to

five or six hundred, mostly Indians. The sight of the Hair-Buyer General and the great number of his troops, and especially the red-coated English soldiers, struck terror to the hearts of the natives. The boasted bravery of the Creole militia, who had been loud in their declarations of fealty to the American cause, seemed to desert them instantaneously, and one by one they slipped away to surrender their arms to the British. Helm was practically left all alone, and Hamilton knew it full well when he marshaled his forces and marched towards the fort for an attack. When Hamilton arrived at the gate he found Helm beside the cannon, with a lighted fuse in hand, ready to fire the weapon. "Halt!" exclaimed Helm, addressing Hamilton; "no man shall enter here until I know the terms." The reply came back, "You shall have the honors of war." "Then," rejoined Helm, "I surrender the fort on that condition." Immediately upon its surrender, the Indians broke into the fort and plundered it, and began to terrorize and rob the inhabitants. Old Vincennes had again fallen into the hands of the British. The French inhabitants, who were not disposed to take issue with either side, feeling more kindly towards the Americans perhaps, were forced, under duress, to assume an attitude repulsive to their convictions and attachments.* However, they went to the little church—the same one in which four months before, at the behest of Father Gibault, they had taken the oath of fidelity to America—and swore allegiance to Great Britain. The arms they had previously surrendered were returned and they avowed themselves as soldiers of the British King. Clark, on learning later of the turn affairs had taken, manifested but little surprise, for he had felt all along the strong aversion of the Frenchman to be on the minority side would assert itself as soon as the English forces showed a superiority in numbers and adopted coercive methods to secure subjects.

Hamilton, therefore, had nothing to fear from the inhabitants, even had they been inclined towards hostility, for the fort virtually commanded the town; and he immediately installed himself as supreme dictator of the community and began to issue orders. His first move against the natives was to "take up all the spirituous liquors in the place, which is better surety for their good behavior, and a more beloved hostage than wife or child." The next step he took—which certainly appears at this late day and date as an incredulous thing—was to destroy two billiard tables, which, he declared were "sources of immorality and dissipation in such a settlement." And, in the letter to Governor Haldimand, conveying the foregoing information, he concludes that if he could "catch the priest, Mr. Gibault, who has blown the trumpet of rebellion for the Americans, I should send him

*Several days before Hamilton's arrival at Vincennes he says "Major Hay was detached with orders to fall down the river, and sent to the principal inhabitants of St. Vincennes acquainting them that unless they quitted the rebels and laid down their arms there was no mercy for them. Some chiefs accompanied him to conciliate the Peau Kashaa Indians residing at St. Vincennes, and to show the French what they might expect if they pretended to resist."

down unhurt to Your Excellency, to get the reward for his zeal,"* thus unintentionally paying the good Father a high compliment and bringing the holy man closer to the hearts of loyal Americans, for the only offense of which he was guilty in the eyes of the blood-thirsty British officer was in showing his unflinching devotion to America and the principles for which that nation stood.

Immediately upon taking possession thereof—as has been shown in a previous chapter—Hamilton began extensive alterations and improvements on the fort. He at once sent to Mr. Stewart, the British agent of Indian affairs in the southwest, a number of letters, proposing that early in the spring a meeting be held at either Vincennes, or the Cherokee river, for the purpose of reconciling the southern Indians with the Shawnees and other nations, with a view of making a concerted and general invasion of the frontiers. In fact, he had determined on putting in the winter formulating plans for the spring campaign. Had he decided, while commanding a force of five or six hundred men, to have left a sufficient number at Vincennes, to maintain the garrison and protect the post from the invasion of foes or the overt acts of disloyal people, and pushed on to the Illinois country with the remainder of his troops, there is no doubt but that he could have succeeded in dislodging Clark and Bowman and wresting Kaskaskia and Cahokia from the grasp of the Americans. It is fortunate for Clark that Hamilton did not make this move. Had he done so, there is no doubt that he would have succeeded in regaining for England the whole of the Illinois country.[†] And, again, the question presents itself, where (in that event) would be the western and northern boundaries of our common country today? At this time Clark had no definite knowledge of the strength of Hamilton's forces; indeed, he had no idea that the Hair-Buyer General was in full possession of Vincennes, or anywhere near it. He, however, realized that his own troops were too few to engage an army, but determined on holding the Illinois country that year at any and all hazards; but to retain his hold beyond that period, unless provided with reinforcements, he had faint hope, as indicated in a letter to Governor Henry in which he says that "I think I shall keep His Excellency out of possession of it this year; as for the next you are the best judge."

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 234.

†If Hamilton had at once pushed forward and attacked Clark at Kaskaskia, there is no doubt the Americans must either have succumbed or retired beyond the Mississippi into Spanish territory. But in the midwinter the way was filled with great difficulties for the advance of an army column, hampered with baggage. Hamilton therefore remained at Vincennes, allowed all but some eighty or ninety whites and a hundred Indians to return home, and spent the time planning for a great spring campaign against the Illinois, in which he proposed to batter down the forts with cannon, and then turning southward make a clean sweep of the Kentucky stations. Had he succeeded in this bold project, all American settlements west of the Alleghenies would have been destroyed, and the United States might have lost the West forever.—[Reuben Gold Thwaites, *How George Rogers Clark Won the Northwest*, p. 42]

Clark received no news concerning the recapture of Vincennes for more than a month following the event. He had not, in fact, heard anything of Hamilton's movements since the latter reached Miamitown, (Fort Wayne) but surmised that his expedition was headed towards the Illinois country, and he accordingly left Kaskaskia early in January for Cahokia, for the purpose of conferring with the inhabitants of the latter place relative to the defense of the settlements.† He was accompanied on the journey by his "guard of about six or seven men and a few gentlemen in chairs," who narrowly escaped being ambushed, three miles out of Kaskaskia, by a party of "40 savages headed by white men," whom Hamilton had sent out from Vincennes to take Clark prisoner, having given them "such instruction for my treatment as did him no dishonor." Having encountered a variety of obstacles en route the evening shades found the party no further advanced on the journey than Prairie du Rocher, about fifteen miles out of Kaskaskia, to the northwest. The gay villagers were in the midst of a ball, to which Clark had been invited, and had just become imbued with the spirit of the occasion when a messenger rushed up to him with the startling intelligence that Hamilton, with eight hundred men, was within three miles of Kaskaskia. In describing this incident, Clark says that he never saw greater confusion among a small assembly than was manifest at this time; and that every person in the room set their eyes on him, as though a word from him would "determine their good or evil fate." With a coolness, almost approaching indifference, he gave orders for his horses to be harnessed for the return to Kaskaskia, and calmly remarked to the terrified company, that he hoped they would not allow the news to "spoil our diversion sooner than was necessary; that we would divert ourselves until our horses were ready;" and, further, he adds, "I forced them to dance, and endeavoured to appear as unconcerned as if no such thing was in adjutation."

On his arrival at Kaskaskia Clark found the French inhabitants greatly agitated, fearing every moment would bring Hamilton's invading hosts into their midst. Having by this time acquired knowledge of the great strength of Hamilton's army, as compared with Clark's, the Creoles felt that their only safety lay in affecting neutrality, or in veering over to the side of the British, whom they feared would—unless they did so—show them no mercy for having taken up American arms. Clark was again in a trying position, which required the exercise of tact and talent, and he displayed both, by professing ignorance of his Frenchmen's fears, and moved about as though he felt himself fully capable of coping with the British army. And this attitude had a tendency to bolster up the faith of his lukewarm followers. He ordered Major Bowman to evacuate the fort at Cahokia and join him at Kaskaskia; set fire to several houses around the fort, in order to gain a clear field, and made every preparation possible

†Reuben Gold Thwaites.

for the reception of the attacking party, all of which brought the faltering Kaskaskians back into line, with reassurances of their fealty to Virginia.

But the alarm of Hamilton's approach was premature, and the incident which gave rise to it was the discovery of a band of about forty whites and Indians (thought to be the army) making a retreat for Vincennes, with all possible speed, and sent for no other purpose, as was learned afterwards, than to capture Clark and take him a prisoner before Hamilton. While he had not as yet received any news from Vincennes, (the messengers despatched by Helm were captured by British spies) Clark very properly conceived the idea that Hamilton was at the Old Post, but he had nevertheless already "suffered more uneasiness," he says, "than when I was certain of an immediate attack, as I had more time to reflect."

A few days later, (January 29, 1779) Colonel Vigo returned to Kaskaskia from Vincennes, whither Clark sent him to provide Helm with supplies, and removed all further doubt as to General Hamilton's presence at the Old Post. The thrilling incidents connected with the colonel's trip, and his treatment by the general on arriving at Vincennes as a captive, have already been mentioned. Suffice to say Vigo brought back valuable information to Clark, pertaining to Hamilton's future movements, the strength of his garrison, which was provided with three pieces of cannon and some swivels mounted. He also learned that Hamilton was planning a big meeting for next spring at Vincennes of all the hostile tribes along the Wabash for the purpose of routing Clark and his men in the Illinois country, and to later "attack the Kentucky settlements, in a body, joined by their southern friends; that all goods were taken from the merchants of Post Vincennes for the King's use; that the troops under Hamilton were repairing the fort and expected reinforcements from Detroit in the spring; that they appeared to have plenty of all kinds of stores; that they were strict in their discipline; but, that he did not believe they were under much apprehension of a visit; and believed that, if we could get there undiscovered, we might take the place. In short," continues Clark, "we got every information from this gentleman that we could wish for; as he had had good opportunities, and had taken great pains to inform himself with a design to give intelligence." *

Clark thereupon decided to beard the British lion in his den, as it were, and, instead of waiting for Hamilton to come and get him, determined to sally forth and get Hamilton, while the latter was yet pleasantly ensconced in his winter quarters. Clark knew that Hamilton, in the spring, by the junction of his northern and southern Indians, would be at the head of such a force that nothing in this quarter could withstand his arms; that Kentucky was doomed to fall, and that the desolation the Briton sought would not end there. "If we could immediately make our

*Dillon's publication of Jefferson's Correspondence, i, 451, and Clark's MS. Memoir.

way good to Kentucky," reasoned Clark, "we were convinced that before we could raise a force even sufficient to save that country, it would be too late—as all the men in it, joined by the troops had, would not be sufficient; and to get timely succor from the interior counties was out of the question. We saw but one alternative, and that was to attack the enemy in their quarters. If we were fortunate, it would save the whole. If otherwise, it would be nothing more than what would certainly be the consequence if we should not make the attempt."

During all of his stay in the Illinois country Clark had not received a "scrip of a pen" from Governor Henry. He was, therefore, without instructions from his superiors and virtually destitute of means to procure the necessaries of life for his soldiers, let alone carry on a warfare against a "foe worthy of his steel." His situation was truly desperate, and he declared that it was "at this moment I would have bound myself seven years a slave to have had five hundred troops." But Colonel Vigo assured him that he would advance the funds to carry on the campaign; and, with tears of gratitude trickling down his cheeks, the valiant Virginian thanked the kind and patriotic Spaniard, and accepted his generous offer.

"Orders were immediately issued for preparations," wrote Clark, "and the whole country took fire at the alarm; and every order was executed with cheerfulness by every description of the inhabitants—preparing provisions, encouraging volunteers, etc." To convey the artillery and stores a large Mississippi boat—subsequently named "The Willing"—was purchased and fitted out as a galley, provided with two four-pounders and four large swivels. It was manned by forty-six men under command of Captain John Rogers, who "set sail" on February 4, 1779, with instructions to force his way up the Wabash as high as the mouth of White river, and to secret himself until further orders; "but, if he found himself discovered, to do the enemy all the damage he could without running too great a risk of losing his vessel, and not to leave the river until he was out of hope of our arrival by land; but by all means to conduct himself so as to give no suspicion of our approach by land."

Father Gibault again appeared upon the scene, and busied himself in behalf of his friend Clark and the cause of Virginia. In the line-up of Clark's men, gathered from the French settlements, were a goodly number who enlisted at the solicitation of the patriotic priest, who had also been among his parishioners pleading with them to encourage the young men to stand by their guns for the sake of American liberty. The pretty black-eyed Creole girls urged the brave fellows on, presenting their sweethearts with mementos of affection, and bestowing on the regiments beautiful banners (pavillions) of brightly colored silk and satin which their deft hands had wrought.

The marshaling of Clark's forces at Kaskaskia on the morning of February 5, 1779, furnished a beautiful and inspiring scene in the great drama of change, in which the climax was reached on the very eve of

departure, when Father Gibault, in the presence of the entire populace, who had assembled on the banks of the Kaskaskia river to accord the departing heroes a farewell cheer, after delivering a soul-stirring lecture to the men in arms, gave absolution to one hundred and seventy as brave soldiers as ever marched under the victorious banner of a righteous cause.

The "little army," having crossed to the opposite bank of the river, deserted their boats and proceeded to a point about three miles distant, where they lay in camp until the morning of February 7th, when there began a march that, for the display of human endurance, intensity of suffering, continuity of hardships, imminent perils and dangers, deeds of valor, bravery, skill, ingenuity, daring, rashness, defiance and perseverance, has never met with a counterpart in the military annals devoted to the marching armies of either the old or new world. The weather for several days had been unusually mild for the season and climate and heavy, incessant rains had caused the streams to leave their banks and inundate the lowlands to a great depth. In the verdant glow of summer or the golden haze of autumn, when the numberless streams were confined to their natural courses, the region of country traversed by Clark and his chivalrous, patriotic and devoted band, with rivers and lakes, woodlands and prairies, presented a landscape picture of dazzling beauty, and afforded an avenue of travel over which one could pass with comparative ease. The worldly wastes of water, however, not only made the established route utterly impassable, but had obliterated every vestige of it, and in making that wonderful pilgrimage from Kaskaskia to Vincennes the men composing the expedition walked over two hundred and forty miles.

Clark says he could not account for it, but he had an inward assurance of the success of his undertaking, which the weight of circumstances could not make doubtful. His first object, however, was to keep his men in good humor, which he did by encouraging them to "shoot game on all occasions, and feast on it like Indian war-dancers; each company by turns inviting the other to their feasts; which was the case every night; as the company that was to give the feast was always supplied with horses to lay up a sufficient store of wild meat during the day; myself and principal officers putting on the woodsmen, shouting now and then, and running as much through the mud and water as any of them."

With such freedom as this, and by the introduction and encouragement of other diversions, the troops, without a murmur, were led insensibly, through incredible difficulties, to the banks of the Little Wabash, which they reached on February 13th. By the glow of the log-heap fires, with jest and song and story, the unpleasant incidents of the preceding day were forgotten in the diversions furnished by the night. Forming a camp on a single knoll on the bank of the river, the troops were suffered to amuse themselves in any way they saw fit, while the commander-in-chief silently viewed the sheet of water with feelings of apprehension and distrust. The two branches of the river had converged, forming a lake prob-

ably five miles in width. But fearing he might be accused of doubting, Clark, without consulting anyone, and not suffering others to consult in his presence, ordered a pirogue to be built at once, suggesting that to cross the stream would only afford a new piece of diversion. The pirogue was completed on the following day, and a party sent forth to explore the drowned lands on the opposite side, where a half acre that had not been submerged was discovered. The 15th was a warm, moist day, for the season, and the men were early put to work building a scaffold on the opposite shore, which was covered with about three feet of water, and to this the baggage was ferried over; then the pack horses, after swimming across the channels of the two rivers thirty yards in width, were brought up to the scaffold and, standing belly-deep in the water, received the loads.

Then began the march through mud and water, the disagreeableness of which was forgotten at the close of day, when the party ascended the elevated plateau discovered by the advanced guard of boatmen. Mirth and jollity banished all feelings of misery and woe entertained on the march, and the men laughed heartily and twitted one another over some of the ridiculous incidents that had taken place in ferrying across the river or walking through its surplus waters—the antics of the little drummer boy, who had floated on his drum, furnishing them with no end of amusement. Clark encouraged the spirit of levity which had taken possession of his men, and they really began to think themselves superior to other men, and that neither the rivers nor the seasons could stop their progress towards the citadel of the Hair-Buyer General, whose scalp they were all eager to obtain. Clark says that the spirits of his little band on this occasion reached such a height and that “they wound themselves up to such a pitch that they soon took Post Vincennes, divided the spoil, and before bedtime were far advanced on their way to Detroit.”

Clark now fully realized that all of the lowlands on the Wabash were overflowed and that it would be an easy matter for the enemy to get to him, if discovery was made, and they had any desire to risk an action. But he kept his counsel to himself, not wishing to disturb the minds of his followers. He resolved, however, if not discovered by the enemy, to cross the river, by some means or other, even though Captain Rogers, with his galley, did not arrive at his station at the appointed time.

The next morning (February 16) after marching a half day in the cold, drizzling rain, the “little army” crossed Fox river, near where Olney, Ill., now stands. It rained almost every day since the party left the first camping ground. The weather had begun to tell on the men, and physically, as well as mentally, they were becoming more distressed. Provisions were running out, and game had become painfully scarce, and some of the volunteers, under breath, were talking of retreating. It was the unrest among his soldiers that led Clark to hastily jump into dangerous places and carry his forces hurriedly and farther towards the point of destination so as to thwart any hope of retreat. The crossing of the

Little Wabash was an undertaking attended with the greatest hazard, and would have balked the most daring of men not in the same frame of mind as the dauntless Virginian. It was made at a time of greatest danger, so as to impress the men with what they would be obliged to forego were they to retrace their steps.

All day long "the low-hung clouds dropped their garnered fullness down," and Clark, commanding and impetuous, led his disheartened followers through seas of ice, mud and water, praying that the frigidity of the weather would become intense enough to freeze the watery wastes and banish all hopes of retreat. The night was passed in camp on one of the northwestern tributaries of the Fox river, in proximity to the St. Louis trace; and the next morning, (February 17) with a view of reaching the troublesome Embarrass river before nightfall, an early start was taken by the weather-beaten, half-frozen, half-starved band of patriots, who were compelled to cross some very deep runs in an endless sea of water. The sun was an hour high in the heavens when the Embarrass was sighted, and the wordly wastes of water satisfied Clark, at that great distance, that the Wabash, too, was out of its banks. More than ever was he convinced that to have success attend him in his invasion of Vincennes, he must catch the enemy off their guard by perfecting a speedy surprise; that unless secrecy was enjoined the presence of his forces in the vicinity of the fort would be revealed and preclude all hope of its capture; that were the invading party discovered, Hamilton, who was well equipped with boats, would ride out on the boundless bosom of the Wabash and have Clark and his men completely at his mercy. As a precautionary measure, Clark sent Mr. Kennedy, a commissary, forth, with three guards, to cross the Embarrass, if possible, and gain what information he could pertaining to Vincennes. This occurred near Lawrenceville, whence the party followed the course of the Embarrass towards its mouth for a mile or two, often wading in water up to their arm-pits vainly striving to find the Wabash, and tramping until darkness overtook them, in mud and water, without locating a spot on which to camp. Mr. Kennedy and his men, finding it impossible to cross the Embarrass, returned and joined the forces who, after traveling some distance further, found a small knoll from which the waters had receded, and, huddled and cramped, spent the night, benumbed with cold and weakened by hunger.

On the morning of the 18th, at break of day, they heard Hamilton's morning gun. The Embarrass was a barrier against their further approach to the town, and they retraced their steps, following the ridges in the direction of St. Francesville, which was reached about two o'clock in the afternoon. Here upon the rock* that lies at the foot of the town, Clark put his men to work building pirogues, in which to cross the river, with instruc-

*The river bank at St. Francesville is of rocky formation.

tion to steal boats if any were to be found on the opposite side, and at the same time select a camping place.

On the morning of the 19th the men returned, having spent the preceding night on some logs in the water and reported that there was not one foot of dry land to be found. Captain McCarthy's company had been busy making canoes, and in one of these the captain and three men embarked on a voyage of exploration. At the same time two men were sent down the Wabash to meet the galley, with instructions for them to come on day and night; that being the last hope for the starving troops to get food. Captain McCarthy and party returned soon after embarkation, having discovered four large fires about a league distant from camp around which were assembled whites and Indians.

The whole "little army" was much dispirited, having now been without food for two days. The Creoles were much cast down and still talked of returning home, and the report from the morning and evening guns at the fort, which came floating o'er the waters, did not lessen that desire. The Kentucky and Virginia backwoodsmen were less complaining, although all of them sorely felt the pangs of hunger and cold. Clark made fun of the poor wretches who talked of turning back, and told them to go out and bring in a deer and have a feast. He knew that their detention could be effected without resort to drastic measures and hence attempted none.

The morning of the 20th found all the men weakened from exposure and starvation and drenched with cold rains that had been falling for two nights and a day. About noon, however, their drooping spirits were raised by the appearance of a boat from Vincennes, containing five Frenchmen, who had been hailed by the sentry and brought to shore. The voyageurs told Clark that neither Hamilton or the inhabitants had an inkling of the approach of the Long Knives, and also informed him that two canoes were adrift some distance above. Captain Worthington was ordered with a party to go in quest of the boats, returning at a late hour with only one. One of the men, acting on Clark's suggestion, had gone out and killed a deer and brought it into camp, much to the delight of his starving companions.

On the morning of the 21st the nose of a mamelle was discovered through the thick growth of trees on the Indiana shore, about an eighth of a mile up the river from St. Francesville and about equi-distant back of the eastern shore line. It took the greater part of the afternoon to ferry the troops across. The horses were abandoned on the opposite side. The whole army being over, the march was resumed and the men plunged into the water with a look of despair on their countenances, wading sometimes up to their necks for a distance of more than a league—when they reached another mamelle (hill.) The spot is designated as Compangionet Hill, an elevation on the east side of the Cathlinette road where the same is intersected by the St. Francesville ferry road.

Here a much-needed rest was taken, and the fresh vension brought from across the river prepared and devoured with a relish, notwithstanding the quantity was only sufficient to deal out in limited portions. Another plunge into the icy water and the forlorn band groped and floundered about for a distance of more than a mile, when they reached the old Bouchie farm,* now owned by W. H. Brevort, where they stopped for the night, the "little antic drummer,"† as Clark called the youth, keeping the men in good humor with jokes and funny sayings.

Next morning (22d) the march was resumed. As far as the eye could reach, save where a few hillocks reared their small heads above the flood, the land was covered with water. Bearing towards the east, the "little army" plodded on in the direction of town, until they got opposite Horse Shoe Pond, when they veered to the west and followed a ridge that parallels the pond, which brought them in sight of Sugar Camp, a mile ahead, and at the foot of a stretch of water of greater depth than they had just been through. Here, through pure exhaustion, some of the men balked. The stronger ones, however, waded painfully in, while the weaker and famished were taken in canoes, the progress of which was so impeded by underbrush and bushes that the boats made little better headway than some of the men. Clark, always in the lead, continually urged the men on. At one place the water came up to Clark's shoulder, and the men seeing this faltered, but the tall Virginian determined that there should be no standing still or turning back and, blackening his face with gunpowder he gave an Indian war-whoop and dashed on through the icy water, gave his officers orders to close up the rear and shoot the first man who refused to march. On reaching Sugar Camp, which was on the old John Deloria farm, about six miles south of town, between the Cathlinette and the New York Central railroad, the men were well nigh exhausted. Wet to the skin, frozen to the bone, and famished for food, even the sinewy, lion-hearted and steel-nerved backwoodsmen winced and wore a look of utter hopelessness, but

*An elevation on the east side of the Cathlinette, where the same is intersected by the St. Thomas road.

†While many of the writers are silent on this point, Winston Churchill in *The Crossing*, and Judge Law, in his *Colonial History of Vincennes*, tell rather a pretty story about the drummer boy. Clark speaks of the little fellow in his memoirs, from which no doubt Judge Law takes the picture, to which he adds his own coloring. He says: "In one of the companies was a small boy who acted as drummer. In the same company was a sergeant, standing six feet two inches in his stockings, stout, athletic, and devoted to Clark. Finding that his eloquence had no effect upon the men, in persuading them to continue their line of march, Clark mounted the little drummer on the shoulders of the stalwart sergeant, and gave orders to him to plunge into the half-frozen water. He did so, the little drummer beating his charge from his lofty perch, while Clark, sword in hand, followed them, giving the command as he threw aside the floating ice—'Forward!' Elated and amused with the scene, the men promptly obeyed, holding their rifles above their heads, and in spite of all obstacles, reached the high land beyond them safely."

Clark was buoyant and hopeful and showed no sign of discouragement. The night was intensely cold and a thick coat of ice formed on the surface and along the edges of the still water, and from sheer exhaustion the men sank to sleep on the cold ground.

The most trying of all the ordeals with which the men had to contend was yet to come, when on the morning of the 23d they looked out from the little island upon Horse Shoe Plain, which the floods had converted into a lake four miles wide. It lay between Sugar Camp and Warrior's Island,* the only dry spot visible. The sun came above the eastern horizon with a brilliant glow and Clark, his face wreathed in smiles, told the men, in a burst of eloquence, that before the god of day sank in the west they would have attained the goal of their hopes and reached Vincennes. And without waiting to hear a response, he plunged into the water with a cheer, and his men took up the glad acclaim and followed him in Indian file. When a dozen or so of the more stalwart followers reached his side the water was breast high to him, and it showed no diminution in depth as they advanced towards the farther side. When the middle was reached, some of the men became so weakened from cold and exhaustion that the canoe men had to exercise the greatest dexterity in taking them aboard to save them from drowning. Those who were still able to stay on their feet clung to their stronger comrades in arms, Clark all the while infusing them with animation by encouraging words and the display of his herculean strength. At a clump of woods, forming a sort of an island in the lake, the water became so deep that it reached to the shoulders of the tallest man, but to the limbs and bushes and drift and logs the weaker ones and those of lower stature could cling until rescued and taken in canoes to dry land. The more hardy fellows got to shore and built fires, and took care of the weaklings, many of whom fainted on landing, falling prone upon the icy ground, some with their faces in the water, who would have drowned had they not been rescued. To some of them the fire had no life-giving properties, and the only way they could be revived was to be taken up by the arms between two strong men who ran them up and down.

How opportune was the appearance of a canoe at this juncture, paddled by squaws, which was run down by one of the men in a dug-out. Besides the Indians, it contained a quarter of a buffalo, a saddle of venison, corn, tallow and an iron kettle. These articles seemed to have come to the starving backwoodsmen through a providential act, and the owners parted with them almost without protest, all of which made the broth, that was hastily prepared, taste all the better. There was plenty to go around, but the weaker ones were given their portions first. These morsels of food, which were the first the men had seen or partaken of in days, had an exhilarating

*Warrior's Island is an elevated piece of ground south of the residence of Jacob Kline, on the Cathlinette road, now covered by the barn lot.

effect, and put them in a mood to laugh, jest and joke the same as they did immediately after crossing the Little Wabash. The rich broth, the bright sunshine and the thought of being so near their destination put them all in the most pleasant frame of mind they had found themselves since leaving Kaskaskia,

They were now within three miles of town, which was plainly visible from Warriors' Island, although the fort could not be seen. The plain that stretched from east to west between the town and the island was well covered with water, yet it contained many shallow places, and seemed to afford a gathering place for water-fowl, of which large numbers were noticeable. Observing a number of mounted horsemen with fowling-pieces, in quest of game, Clark sent out a trio of young Creole soldiers to bring in as a prisoner one of the hunters, which was soon accomplished. From the prisoner, who was a Frenchman, it was learned that neither Hamilton or any one else had the least suspicion of an attack being made on the fort at this season of the year; although just the day before two or three hundred warriors, supposedly British allies, had entered the town. Clark was not disposed to receive kindly the latter part of the hunter's information, since he opined that Hamilton's forces, including English, French and Indians, were five times more numerous than his own. The odds were so heavy against him that the advantages of a surprise were greatly lessened, notwithstanding he had every assurance that his followers would fight to the last ditch before they would take chances of capture and the subsequent torture, which was sure to come with defeat. "A thousand ideas," says Clark, "flashed in my head at that moment." His pet scheme—the surprise!—became a dubious proposition. He argued that if he were to take the populace unawares, in the fight that was to ensue some of the friendly French and *Indians might be killed and thus bitter enemies would be made of all the rest, for his captive had told him that the French were not at all loyal to the British and would not take up arms against the Long Knives unless forced to it. He resolved, therefore, to appear as bold and daring as possible, in order to give the enemy the impression that he had a band of soldiers who were both numerous and courageous. Accordingly, he "determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants," entrusting the hunter prisoner with its delivery:

"To the Inhabitants of Post Vincennes.

"GENTLEMEN: Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be that are friends to the King will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer General and fight

*"I also learned that the Grand Chief, the Tobacco's son, had but a few days before openly declared in council with the British that he was a brother and friend to the Big Knives."—[Clark's *Memoirs*.]

like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I shall find in arms on my arrival I shall treat him as an enemy.

"G. R. CLARK."

After the messenger had departed Clark marshaled his forces as one company, marched down the Cathlinette road until a point through which the city ditch now runs was reached, when the column veered to the east and south, and following the higher ridges marched to the hill whereon the brick house of William Brevoort is located, southeast of the city cemetery. Here the men rested, dried their powder and clothing and got their long-barreled rifles in trim. Saplings were cut and the vari-colored flags the Creole girls had given the troops on their departure from Kaskaskia were fastened on poles held high in the air to deceive the townspeople into the belief that a dozen or more companies had assembled on the hill, the rapidly-gathering dusk aiding in the deception. In the falling shades of evening the descent of the hill was made and the troops were drawn up in line at the foot of Tenth street, where the same intersects Willow, and two divisions consisting of two companies each was formed, Clark assuming charge of one division and Bowman the other. Clark's final instructions to the men were to maintain perfect silence, march with regularity and obey their superiors. Captain Charleville, who was with Clark's detachment, proceeded with his men along Willow street to Sixth, thence to Vigo, thence to Ninth. Bowman, with whom were Captains McCarthy and Worthington, proceeded up Tenth street to Church, thence to Sixth; and Clark, who entered Sixth from Willow, marched up Sixth to Dubois, to Fifth, and to Barnet.

†It is as much an error for writers to claim that Clark marched his men to Bunker Hill as it is to aver he crossed the Wabash near the mouth of the Embarrass. Had he gained the eastern shore of the Wabash nearly opposite the Embarrass it is not likely that he would have gotten anywhere near Horse Shoe Plain or Warrior's Island. The route followed by Clark and his men on this side of the Wabash was pointed out to the writer by Mr. W. H. Brevoort, on a bright afternoon of last December, after Mr. Ike Henderson had placed his touring car at our disposal. While it differs in some respects from accounts hitherto published, it is probably nearer correct than any of the others. Mr. Brevoort has studied the route, which he learned from the older descendants of the first French settlers who were here forty-five years ago when he came to Knox County. He says he has surveyed the territory in the height of the greatest floods, taken mental observations of the land when it was completely inundated, and that it would have been impossible for Clark at that time to have followed any other route than the one we have attempted to describe. Another fallacy, not quite as popular today, however, as it was years ago, is that when Clark left the Cathlinette road at the city ditch he proceeded in a circuitous course to Sugar Loaf Mound, which he encircled with his marching troops, Indian file, to give the impression to the townspeople of the numerical superiority of his forces. This would have certainly been a ridiculous move, inasmuch as the Sugar Loaf could not be seen from the site which the town then occupied.

At eight o'clock that night Clark gave Lieutenant Bagley fourteen picked men with instructions to march directly under the fort and open fire upon its port-holes. This was a signal for all the commands to move. Charlesville, who had come double-quick, sheltered his men behind houses in the rear of the fort and fired a volley into the barracks. Bowman brought his command to the river front at the foot of Main street. Lieutenant Bagley, having been re-enforced, now opened fire upon both the rear and front of the fort. The garrison, thinking that the fusillade was the prank of some drunken Indians, gave no response. A moment later a British soldier, pierced by a rifle-ball, fell dead at a port-hole. Then, it was that Captain Helm, a British prisoner, engaged in pleasant conversation with Hamilton, rose suddenly from his seat with an oath and exclaimed, "By the eternal, that's Clark." Immediately Hamilton gave orders to beat the drums, and as the long roll of alarm was sounded the men scampered from the barracks across the parade towards the fort, the sure-shot back-woodsmen and Charleville's French volunteers, who had been joined by quite a number of young men of the village, dropping several in their tracks as they ran.

Immediately upon Clark's entry quite a number of the Indians, who were there by Hamilton's invitation, left town. Some Kickapoos and Piankeshaws, however, to the number of about one hundred remained, armed themselves and volunteered their services to the Americans which were promptly declined with thanks, the colonel informing the friendly red skins that all he asked of them was to occupy neutral ground. The Indians vied with the French in their admiration for the bold Virginians.

Nearly all of the Creole inhabitants were overjoyed at Clark's arrival and rendered him every assistance. Major Busseron and Colonel La Gras replenished his scanty stock of ammunition by supplying the troops with powder and ball, which they had buried on learning of Hamilton's approach. Tobacco, the Indian chief, mustered thirty of his warriors to fight with the Long Knives, and begged Clark to "let these young men go to the front: they will climb in." But Clark, while expressing himself as grateful, refused to accept the proffered assistance, explaining to the chief that there were a great many Indian enemies in and near the town, and in the darkness confusion was likely to occur; that he hoped, however, the chief would give him his company and counsel during the night, to which Tobacco readily assented. The women busied themselves in supplying food for the famished Americans, who were not, however, permitted to partake thereof until the next morning, when they had breakfast "in the street behind the church, the first food," says Clark, which "the men had tasted for two days."

Notwithstanding a small detachment of the American troops had been detailed to guard against any relief from without, while the remainder were devoting their attention to a concerted attack on the fort, Hamilton's scouting party sent out the night before to ascertain the cause of Clark's

camp-fires, crept in unobserved, lay in an old barn all night and before daylight next morning rushed into the fort unharmed. The firing was kept up almost incessantly all night long. The heavy artillery of the fort shattered some of the houses, but did no damage to the wily backwoodsmen, who sought protection behind cabins, palings, ditches and the banks of the river. At one o'clock the moon sank to rest, and taking advantage of the darkness Clark threw up an earthen embankment within rifle shot of the strongest battery, which comprised two guns. All of the cannon and swivels in the fort were planted on embrasures at a height of about eleven feet from the ground and occupied the block-houses forming the angles of the palisaded enclosure. Clark had no cannon, having been forced to abandon his artillery on the march shortly after leaving Kaskaskia. Bowman, in anticipation of the arrival of artillery on the Willing, began some works near Vigo street for the purpose of blowing up the fort's magazine. Clark had determined, if the vessel did not arrive before the following night, to undermine the fort, selecting the spot and perfecting plans for the execution of the work.

The British had become painfully aware of the unerring aim of the backwoods riflemen before the battle had progressed far. Eight of Hamilton's men had been picked through one loop-hole before the cannon had been fired thrice. The embrasures of the cannon were frequently shut as the riflemen poured such volleys into them that the gunners could not stand the fire. The Americans by taunts and jeers sought to make the British open their ports and fire their cannon that they might have the pleasure of cutting them down, and the instant a port flew open forty long-barreled rifles were levelled at the opening. The Americans lay within thirty yards of the walls of the fortress and had the British stood courageously at their posts, "I believe," says Clark, "the greater part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night."

The methods adopted by the backwoodsmen mystified as well as alarmed the British. "Sometimes an irregular fire, as hot as possible," says Clark, "was kept up from different directions for a few minutes, and then only a continual scattering fire at the ports as usual; and a great noise and laughter immediately commenced in different parts of the town, by the reserved parties, as if they had only fired on the fort a few minutes for amusement; and as if those firing at the fort were only regularly relieved. Conduct similar to this kept the garrison in constant alarm. they did not know what moment they might be stormed or blown up, as they could plainly see that we had flung up some intrenchments across the streets and appeared to be frequently busy under the bank of the river, which was within thirty feet of the walls of the fort."

At daylight on the morning of the 24th, taking advantage of an opening, the riflemen from the entrenchments sent a perfect hail of shot into the loop-holes of the battery and completely silenced both guns, mortally wounding one of the gunners. Soon after the troops were withdrawn

from their positions about the fort, with the exception of a few sharpshooters, who were kept to take observations, and the firing practically ceased.

Captain Lamothe, Hamilton's right-hand man, who had been out in charge of an Indian foray party, was hovering around, awaiting an opportunity to make his way good into the fort, and had evaded the clutches of a searching party, who succeeded in capturing several of his companions, of whom one was Francois Maisenville, a famous Indian partisan. The two young men who effected his capture during the storming of the fort, tied him to a post in the street and fought from behind him as a breastwork—supposing the enemy would not fire at them for fear of killing him, as he would alarm them by his voice. Discovered by an officer while thus amusing themselves, the young men were ordered to untie the prisoner and take him to the guard, which they did; but were cruel enough to take part of his scalp on the way. But aside from this no damage was done him.

Clark was anxious to get Lamothe in his grasp and feared if the British officer found he could not get in the fort he would go out and do more proselyting with the Indians. "Finding that without some unforeseen accident," says Clark, "the fort must inevitably be ours, and that a reinforcement of twenty men, although considerable to them, would not be of great moment to us in the present situation of affairs, and knowing that we had weakened them by killing or wounding many of their gunners, after some consideration we concluded to risk the reinforcement in preference of his going again among the Indians." Orders were therefore given in case of his approach not to fire on him, without a certainty of killing or capturing the whole party. In less than a quarter of an hour he passed within ten feet of an officer and some soldiers who lay concealed. "Ladders were flung over to them," relates Clark, "and as they mounted them our party shouted. Many fell from the top of the walls—some within and others back; but as they were not fired on they all got over, much to the joy of their friends." And Clark took the cheerful unction to his soul that by him allowing Lamothe and his followers to scale the fort walls without molestation the British would think him indifferent as to the men composing it or the size of their garrison.

No sooner had Lamothe and his friends been safely ensconced behind the walls of the fortress than there came boldly marching into town another band of Hamilton's murderous Indians, who had been out on a scalping expedition towards the Kentucky frontiers, bringing back many trophies of their bloody work. They had not heard of the turn affairs had taken at the Old Post, and scarcely before they realized it were in the hands of Clark's avenging backwoodsmen. Two Frenchmen were discovered among the number taken prisoners. One of these happened to be the son of a lieutenant in one of Clark's companies, and after the father and his friends had pleaded piteously for the young man's release he and his col-

league were allowed to go. Clark had resolved, however, to make a dreadful example of the six Indian captives, both for the purpose of striking terror to the hearts of the hostile red skins and to illustrate the powerlessness of the English to protect their savage allies; and he had them led in full view of the fort, where they were tomahawked and their hapless bodies thrown into the river—a spectacle which the garrison failed to enjoy.

This performance called for a resumption of hostilities, which had suffered temporary suspension—the firing commencing simultaneously on both sides with renewed vigor; and “more noise,” says Clark, “could not have been made by the same number of men; their shouts could not be heard for the fire arms, and a continual blaze was kept around the garrison. A loop-hole could scarcely be darkened but a rifle ball would pass through it. To have stood to their cannon would have destroyed their men without a probability of doing much service. Our situation was nearly similar. It would have been imprudent in either party to have wasted their men, without some decisive stroke required it.”

It was about nine o'clock of the morning of the 24th when the bombardment ceased. A survey of the field showed that the attacking party, in spite of the heavy artillery and musketry of the defenders, had suffered but little, having lost but one man and four wounded, although some of the houses near the fort were demolished by cannon balls. The British loss was seven or eight killed or wounded. Learning that the two prisoners brought into the fort the day before had a large quantity of letters on their persons, Clark says, “I supposed it an express that we expected about this time, which I knew to be of the greatest moment to us, as we had not received one since our arrival in the country; and not being fully acquainted with the character of our enemy, we were doubtful that those papers be destroyed to prevent which I sent a flag (with a letter) demanding the garrison.” The letter, which was addressed to Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton, reads as follows:

“SIR: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself with all your garrison, stores, etc., etc. For if I am obliged to storm you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town—for, by heaven! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

G. R. CLARK.”

In answer to the foregoing the British commandant immediately returned the following reply:

“Lieutenant Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy British subjects.”

The order was again given the Americans to open fire, and the exchange of shots between the contending forces became spirited and was kept up for quite a while, during which period Clark found it necessary to caution his men, who had been animated by Hamilton's rejoinder to his message

to not venture too far beyond the danger line. Bullets were sent whizzing into every crack discernible about the fort, which led Bowman to exultantly remark, "Fine sport for the sons of Liberty." The sharpshooters were steadily advancing towards the stockade, precluding all possibility of the defenders standing near the embrasures, and a dozen British soldiers lay fatally wounded within the inclosure. The silence of the batteries made the crack of the long rifles grate harsher on the British ears, and there were evidences of disconcerted action within the fort. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon Hamilton ran up a flag of truce and sent a messenger to Clark with the following proposal:

"Lieutenant Governor Hamilton proposes to Colonel Clark a truce for three days, during which time he proposes there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Colonel Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation of any defensive work: that is, he wishes to confer with Colonel Clark as soon as can be; and promises that whatever may pass between them two, and another person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished; as he wishes, that whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Colonel Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton will speak to him by the gate.

"February 24, 1779.

HENRY HAMILTON."

Clark was at a "loss to conceive what reason Lieutenant Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce of three days, on such terms as he proposed." Some had suggested to the Virginia colonel that it was a scheme to entrap and take him prisoner, which he would not entertain, for the reason he argued, that such an act on Hamilton's part "would infallibly ruin him." Notwithstanding he had every reason to expect reinforcements within three days, which would virtually mean the end of the siege, he did not think it the better part of valor to agree to such a proposal, and immediately had conveyed to Hamilton the following answer:

"Colonel Clark's compliments to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that he will not agree to any terms, other than Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Colonel Clark he will meet him at the church with Captain Helm.

"February 24, 1779.

G. R. C."

The conference was accordingly held at the church, where four months before Father Gibault had induced the natives to oppose the cause Hamilton espoused. Hamilton was attended by Major Hay, British superintendent of Indian affairs; Clark was accompanied by Major Bowman; and Captain Helm, still a British prisoner, was mutually agreed upon as a witness. Hamilton produced terms of capitulation, already signed, the articles of which provided that the garrison should be surrendered on condition that the officers and men be allowed to go to Pensacola on parole. After deliberating on each article separately the whole was rejected by Clark, who was then asked to make a proposition. He replied that he had none to offer other than the one already made—that Hamilton and his

men surrender as prisoners at discretion. Telling Hamilton that his troops had behaved with spirit, but that they should not suppose they would be worse treated in consequence of it, it were far better for him, though hard it seemed, to comply with the request. "You," said Clark, addressing Hamilton, "must be sensible that the garrison will fall; and both of us must view all blood spilt in the future by the garrison as murder." Clark's men it seems were thirsting for British gore, for the commander declares that "my troops were already impatient, and called aloud for permission to tear down and storm the fort. If such a step were taken many of course would be cut down; and the result of an enraged body of woodsmen breaking in must be obvious to him. It would be out of the power of an American officer to save a single man. Various altercations took place for a considerable time. Captain Helm attempted to moderate our fixed determination. I told him he was a British prisoner and it was doubtful whether or not he could with propriety speak on the subject." Hamilton thereupon interrupted with the remark that "Captain Helm is from this moment liberated and may use his own pleasure." "Upon no such terms will I receive him," said Clark; "he must return to the garrison and await his fate." And with these words, Clark told Hamilton that hostilities should not commence until five minutes after the drums were sounded. And thus ended the conference.

The party had only proceeded a few steps outside the church door and were on the eve of parting when Hamilton stopped suddenly, saluted Clark and asked him politely if he would be kind enough to give his reasons for refusing to grant the garrison any other than the proposed terms. Clark, as if glad of the opportunity, gave his reasons in an elevated tone of voice in which he took occasion to let Hamilton know that he knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him, and that he wanted an excuse to put them to death or subject them to such other treatment their conduct merited. "The cries of the widows and the fatherless on the frontiers, which they had occasioned, now require their blood from my hands," spoke Clark, "and I do not choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute commands of their authority, which I look upon to be next to divine; and I would rather lose fifty men rather than not to empower myself to execute this piece of business with propriety." Clark further told Hamilton that if he choose to risk the garrison for the sake of these murderers it was his own pleasure, and that if Hamilton persisted, he "might perhaps take it into his head to send for some of those widows to see justice executed."

Major Hay, who had been an attentive listener, wore a look of distrust on his countenance all the while Clark was speaking, and at the conclusion of the remarks hesitatingly enquired, "Pray, sir, who is it that you call Indian partisans?" "Sir," promptly replied Clark, "I take Major Hay to be one of the principal." Abashed, pale and trembling, Hay skulked back at this last remark, Hamilton blushed a deep crimson, and the features

of Bowman's face betrayed the disdain he felt for the one and the sorrow he experienced for the other. For a moment the little group stood in silence, and in that moment sympathy, provoked by Hamilton's humiliation, softened Clark's heart, and the attitude of the Virginia colonel towards the British general was completely changed. Clark then told Hamilton, in a softer tone of voice than he had yet spoken, that they would return to their respective posts, where the matters discussed at the conference would be reconsidered and the results attained subsequently made known; that in the meantime no offensive measures should be adopted by either side. The agreement being mutual, the officers parted, to meet again in the afternoon, when previous resolutions were modified, the following articles duly signed, and the garrison capitulated:

I. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton engages to deliver up to Colonel Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present with all the stores, etc.

II. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms, accoutrements, etc.

III. The garrison to be delivered up at ten o'clock to-morrow.

IV. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders of this place.

V. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, etc.

Signed at Post St. Vincent [Vincennes] 24th of Feby., 1779.

Agreed for the following reasons: The remoteness from succor; the state and quantity of provisions, etc.; unanimity of officers and men in its expediency; the honorable terms allowed; and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy.

HENRY HAMILTON.

Lt. Gov. and Superintendent.

In compliance with the articles of capitulation on the morning of the 25th, at the hour appointed, Lieutenant Governor Hamilton and his garrison, consisting of seventy-nine men, filed out of the fort past the companies of Bowman and McCarthy, while Captains Williams and Worthington, at the head of their respective companies, passed inside, relieved the sentries, hoisted the American colors and took possession of all the arms. Thirteen guns were fired as a national salute and as a signal for a general jubilation, in the midst of which, unfortunately, by the premature explosion of a box of cartridges belonging to one of the batteries Bowman, Worthington and four privates were seriously injured. As a mark of respect to the patriotic governor of Virginia, by whose grace Clark was enabled to formulate his plans for the conquest of the Northwest Territory, the name of the fort was changed from Sackville to Fort Patrick Henry.

The capture of Vincennes from the British furnishes one of the most brilliant chapters in American history. It is doubtful whether in the military annals of two continents there are to be met such acts of bravery, valor, heroism, self-sacrifice and devotion to country as were called forth by this achievement. When the conditions under which it was accomplished are taken into consideration, the event becomes a marvel in either ancient or modern warfare. Well may historians, who have scanned bat-

tlefields and traced with mental vision the historic highways over which have passed the greater soldiers of all times and all climes, call George Rogers Clark the Hannibal of the west. Whether in action or at rest Clark was always brave, courageous, daring, diplomatic, magnanimous, undaunted, and he accomplished brilliant results where other men would have met with dismal failures. His courage was often taken for rashness, but his fine military mind never permitted him to become so rash that he did not succeed in every undertaking he put on foot. He never was defeated, and never allowed himself to be outwitted by an enemy, whether dealing with the treacherous savages of the wilderness or the trained and disciplined soldiers from the advanced grades of the best military schools. Hamilton's mortification and humiliating defeat cannot be justified on the ground of the superiority in numbers of Clark's forces. The British general was in possession of a strong fortress, heavily stockaded, protected by cannon and swivels, garrisoned by trained soldiers, officered by men of military education, with all the munitions of war and plenty of provisions, and would have certainly held the fort had it not been for the fact that he had a superior commander to deal with. There are plenty of instances where forts have been defended against much larger forces than Clark's. It was the boldness and skill with which Clark made the attack that baffled Hamilton and his followers and awed them into surrendering. The more one thinks of what Clark and his "little army" underwent for the sake of taking Fort Sackville the more memorable becomes that event. The hardships, suffering and perils of that dreadful march we have but faintly described form the most thrilling and important incidents in the story of Clark's conquest of the Northwest Territory, of which the capture of Vincennes was the climax. All records of marching armies on the American continent are uneventful when compared with Clark's—when the difficulties which beset his half-clad, half-famished militiamen at every step, in a hostile and unknown country, for a distance of two hundred and forty miles, are taken into consideration. No greater generalship than Clark displayed in this campaign has ever been shown. The alacrity with which he transformed raw recruits into well-disciplined soldiers only serves to illustrate the power of a masterful military mind, and the man's wonderful influence over his men, all of whom are entitled to share in the glory of their commander's victory, which shall ever remain on the pages of American history as one of the greatest military achievements of the Revolutionary war west of the Alleghany mountains, if not the greatest enterprize that has to do with the success of American arms during that memorable struggle.

But the results growing out of the capture of Vincennes from the British were greater than the event itself. They momentarily gave repose and safety to the western frontier settlements wherein the very name of Clark struck terror to the hearts of every savage nation that was wont to harrass the peaceful inhabitants. They deranged an elaborate plan of oper-

ations on the part of the British designed for wiping out all the white settlements on the borders of the western frontiers, which was to be accomplished by an invasion of the combined Indian forces of the north and south. They temporarily stilled the war cry of the savage and made American allies of British Indians. They insured greater safety to every infant settlement in the western country, and opened new territory for homes of the people who came across the eastern mountains. They gave Kentucky new life by extending greater protection to her settlements and made that commonwealth the haven for early colonists from the south and east. They made it possible for Virginia to extend her laws and arms over a vast area of new territory. The capture of Vincennes from the British gave to the United States the great states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a portion of Minnesota. It was an event that made possible the purchase of Louisiana, paved the way for the annexation of Texas, brightened the galaxy of states by the addition of California, extended the dominion of Uncle Sam to the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, unfurled the stars and stripes in every clime and gave sweeter tone to the glorious song of American freedom, on land and on sea, at home and abroad.

The gun boat *Willing* did not arrive until three days after the surrender. The crew, whom Clark complimented for their diligence, were sorely disappointed in not being in time for the battle, in scenes of which they were anxious to participate and share with their comrades in arms the glory of that momentous siege. On its passage the *Willing* had picked up William Myres, express from the Virginia government, who brought despatches of an encouraging nature, setting forth that Clark's present battalion was to be completed and that an additional one was to be furnished in the spring. The despatches, with which their respective commissions were enclosed, announced that, for the splendid services both had rendered Virginia in the Illinois country, Colonel Clark had been appointed General and Captain Bowman, Major; and that the Legislature had given an official vote of thanks to all the soldiers, with assurance of more substantial awards for the future.*

On the day following the fall of Fort Sackville, General Clark had received intelligence that a fleet from Detroit, laden with provisions and reinforcements for the British, was hourly expected, and he sent a detachment of sixty men to intercept the flotilla. The detachment, under command of Captain Helm, Major Busseron and Major Lagras, proceeded

*One hundred and fifty thousand acres of land opposite Louisville were finally allotted them. Some of the Piankeshaw Indians ceded Clark a tract of land for his own use, but the Virginia Legislature very properly disallowed the grant.—[Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, p. 234.]

up the Wabash in three armed boats a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles when the British boats, seven in number, were surprised and captured without firing a gun. The bateaux had on board goods and provisions of the value of about ten thousand pounds sterling and were manned by about forty men, among whom was Philip Dejean, a magistrate of Detroit. The captured fleet was sighted descending the river when a mile above town, on the evening of March 5th. Men, women and children, with jubilant shout and joyous song, gathered on the banks to witness the spectacle of Vincennes' naval expedition towing its captive vessels down the long stretch of river. The natives were completely beside themselves with excitement. Frantic men waded and swam out into the river in their anxiety to reach the boats and be the first to learn of the details of capture. Bareheaded women, dressed in the gaudy colors of the rainbow, their raven locks, unadorned, flying in the wind, rushed madly along the shore towards the incoming vessels to bear the conquering heroes company on their triumphal entry into town. The landing was made near the fort, and the ranks of Clark's prisoners were augmented by an addition of nearly fifty. With the exception of articles valued at £800, retained to clothe the expected reinforcements, the cargo was divided among Clark's faithful followers, "who got almost rich."†

The number of British prisoners had grown so large that Clark found it necessary to parole many who had been least offensive, which, of course, had no reference to any of the Indian partisans. The backwoodsmen mutually and bitterly hated Hamilton for pursuing the policy of rewarding Indians for bringing in scalps of Americans, and lost no opportunity to impress the fact upon the mind of the distinguished prisoner. Clark would no doubt have entertained great admiration for Hamilton as a General had he not blighted his reputation as a soldier with the blood of innocent victims. Neck-iron fetters and handcuffs were the "decorations" which Clark proposed for the more distinguished of the British captives, and in giving orders for their design he was particular to announce in a tone of voice sufficiently loud for all to hear that they were intended "for those officers who had been employed as partisans with the Indians." Hamilton interposed, by taking Clark aside to remind him that by the articles of capitulation these men were recognized as prisoners of war and could not be subjected to such treatment. But Clark could not be dissuaded, saying he had taken a solemn vow to spare neither man, woman or child of the Indians, or those who were employed with them.

On March 7 Captain Williams and Lieutenant Rogers, with a detachment of twenty-five soldiers, set off for the Falls of the Ohio, having

†Clark's *Memoirs*.

the following prisoners in custody: Lieut.-Gov. Henry Hamilton, Major John Hay, Captain William Lamothe, Monsieur Dejean, grand judge of Detroit, Lieutenant John Schieffelin, Doctor I. McBeth, Francis Masonville, Mr. L. F. Bellefenille, French interpreter, and eighteen privates. The prisoners* were received at Louisville on March 31 by Captain William Harrod, who, with an escort, composed of Kentucky militiamen, conducted them to Williamsburg, Va. The route as followed from Vincennes to Williamsburg provided three hundred and sixty miles of water carriage and eight hundred and forty to march—quite a journey for the astute British officers to make, especially when they went in irons.

On the arrival of the prisoners at Williamsburg, Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, fully cognizant of the Indian atrocities committed on the defenseless white settlers, for which Hamilton and his colleagues were solely responsible, and not unmindful that acts of kindness and generosity towards the vanquished had been reciprocated on the enemy's part by persistent and wanton outrages, signalized by the most inhuman treatment of American prisoners, determined to make an example of these British captives. He accordingly issued an order, by advice from the council, directing that Hamilton, Lamothe and Dejean should be "put in irons, confined in the dungeon of the public jail, debarred the use of pen, ink and paper, and excluded from all converse except with the keeper." Subsequently an order was issued by the Governor to send the aforesaid prisoners to Hanover Court House, there to remain on their parole within certain reasonable limits; and, later, another order was issued to send Major Hay, under parole to the same place. The conditions of the parole were that the British trio should be inoffensive in word and deed. To this demand they objected, insisting on a privilege of abusing verbally the "rebels" to their heart's content. They were remanded to prison cells, but with their irons removed. Lamothe and Dejean shortly after lamented, and subscribed to the parole, but Hamilton, with characteristic stubbornness, remained obstinate, until informed by General Phillips, another British prisoner who had been exchanged, that his further confinement would be entirely gratuitous, he yielded with a great deal of reluctance.

*On taking charge of the prisoners Capt. Harrod gave a receipt for them. But, according to Mr. English, (in his *Conquest of the Northwest*, p. 608) there were other prisoners taken from Vincennes at the same time as those above mentioned and formed part of the deputation that arrived at Louisville. In addition to the names of the eight officers already given, Mr. English says "the list accompanying the receipt gives the names of Sergeant James Parkinson and Corporal Abel Leazenby, and sixteen privates, as follows: Robert Bryant, George Spittal, John Fraser, John Sutherland, Thomas Keppel, John Wall, Christ McCrow, John Brebonne, William Taylor, Patrick McKinlie, Reuben Vesey, Amos Ainsley, Benjamin Pickering, John Horne, William Perry and Belser Givine."

The drastic measures enforced against British prisoners in due time had the effect that Governor Jefferson anticipated. Where first applied they provoked considerable indignation on the part of the enemy, who talked of retaliatory methods of the severest character, and issued a pronouncement "that no officers of the Virginia line should be exchanged until Hamilton's affair should be settled satisfactorily." After this was done Mr. Jefferson ordered the exchange of all British prisoners stopped, with a determination, expressed, to use them as pledges for the safety of American prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The practicability of Jefferson's course as here applied was shown in the subsequent progress of the war when the British, yielding to the admonitions of experience and the cries of their own countrymen, became less savage as captors and more amiable as captives. On April 18th, 1780, Lieutenant Schieffelin, in company with Monsieur De Rochblave, make his escape, and the twain, after running many risks and encountering great difficulties, arrived safely in New York. On the first day of June, Masonville committed suicide while in jail. On the first day of August, Hamilton and Major Hay were transferred from Williamsburg to the jail at Chesterfield, while Doctor McBeth and Mr. Bellefenille were taken to King William Court House. Mr. Hamilton states that "while at Chesterfield our confinement was rendered very tolerable, and several of the military and others who were convinced of the injustice and illiberality of our treatment showed by their behavior what opinion they had of the executive power. In this jail Major Hay and I had a very severe, though short, attack of fever, which was pretty generally felt through the country. We were well attended. We had liberty to walk about in the neighborhood of the jail." He had stubbornly refused, until the fall of 1780, all proffered paroles, and only consented to accept when informed by the British authorities that unless he did so there was no likelihood of him being exchanged. By having signed the parole he gained the consent of Governor Jefferson a month later to go to New York and join his British comrades, "until he shall be exchanged or otherwise liberated with consent of the Governor of Virginia for the time being or until he shall be recalled by him." Major Hay was also allowed to go to New York under conditions similar to those provided in Hamilton's case. In March, 1781, through the medium of exchange of prisoners, Hamilton became an entirely free man, and on May 27th of that year sailed for England. He took up his abode in St. Jermyns street, London, from which place on the sixth day of July he indicted his famous letter, (of which a brief extract is published in a preceding chapter) attempting to justify himself for the overwhelming and humiliating defeat he sustained at the hands of Colonel George Rogers Clark, attributing the same largely to the treachery of his French, Canadian and Creole troops, but remaining silent as to his Indian allies. He highly compliments Clark and his devoted band of frontier soldiers for their courage, bravery and

wonderful perseverance exhibited in the march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes, and on the heroic and miraculous manner in which they overcame difficulties seemingly unsurmountable. Clark, he says, was more fortunate than he in not having traitors in camp, but whether on the whole the conqueror of the Northwest Territory was entitled to the success that crowned his efforts was not for him to decide.

Mr. English, in his *Conquest of the Northwest*, says: "The author tried in every direction to procure his (Hamilton's) portrait for this volume but was not successful in finding it. Knowing the thorough information of Mr. Douglas Brymner, the custodian of the Canadian archives, upon such subjects, a letter was addressed to him inquiring as to the existence of any portrait of Governor Hamilton, and as to his history after his return to Canada. Mr. Brymner promptly replied: 'I do not know of any portrait of Henry Hamilton. He was lieutenant-governor of Quebec (Canada was then the province of Quebec) from the 14th of November, 1784, till the end of 1785, having only the civil authority, the civil and military having been separated in the retirement of his predecessor, General Haldimand. On the 13th of August, 1785, the secretary of state notified Hamilton that the king had no further need of his services. On the 20th Hope was informed that he was to succeed. Hope's first letter as lieutenant-governor is dated 12th October, 1785. Hamilton became lieutenant-governor of Bermuda on the 16th of September, 1788, and governor on the 11th of January, 1790; he was afterwards appointed governor of Dominica, the date of his appointment being the 23d of April, 1794: Henry Hamilton, Esq., to be captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Island of Dominica, *vice* Orde. He assumed the duties on the 30th of November, 1794. The date of his death I have not ascertained.' From other sources the author ascertained that Hamilton died in Antigua in September, 1796."

Hamilton's fame as a "remorseless destroyer of not only men, but innocent, unoffending women and children," will endure for a longer time than any laurels he may have won as soldier, statesman or diplomat; and the attempt of some historians to ameliorate the fiendishness of his acts or the brutality of his deeds on the ground that they were perpetrated by orders from his superiors, can never cleanse his hands of bloody stains. Under his own hand and seal he issued proclamations offering specified amounts for every American scalp brought to his headquarters, and not only encouraged, personally, the Indians to engage in the bloody business, but offered bribes to his own troops to become active along that line. He instigated and planned the murderous forays, and incited the savages to greater activity by paying rewards for scalps—not prisoners. He had the instincts and cunning of the most brutal savage, and planned incursions against peaceful white settlements, suggesting the commission of crimes of such a heinous nature against the settlers as to cause the less hostile

Indians to hesitate in their perpetration. Not satisfied with the scalps of the frontiersmen, he sought the blood of their wives and children, and took a more fiendish delight in the wholesale slaughter of the helpless and innocent than the red demons he had incited to commit murder and rapine. He was the author of the methods, the designer of the plans, of the most revolting atrocities witnessed on the borders of the northern and western frontiers, and the fact that his superiors condoned his dark and bloody deeds does not lessen their criminality nor diminish their enormity or brutality.

CHAPTER XVII.

VIRGINIA EXTENDS CIVIL GOVERNMENT TO THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

A FIGHT WITH THE DELAWARES—CLARK'S REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVE—DEATH OF LABALME—ARRIVAL OF COL. TODD AS LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS COUNTY—APPOINTS MR. LE GRAS TO ACT FOR HIM AT VINCENNES—QUEER CONDUCT OF COURT IN ISSUING LAND GRANTS—GOVERNOR HARRISON'S LETTER ON THE SUBJECT—HIGH COST OF LIVING AT THE OLD POST—INDIAN HOSTILITIES—DEATH OF COL. TODD—TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA—INDIANS MAKE WAR ON AMERICAN SETTLERS—CLARK'S POSITION IN THE SPAIN AFFAIR AND TREATMENT OF SPANISH MERCHANTS—LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF GENERAL CLARK—VIRGINIA CEDES THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY TO THE UNITED STATES.

The news of the capture of Vincennes from the British spread rapidly to the western settlements and was not long in reaching the other side of the eastern mountains. Clark became the lion of the hour. His men fairly worshipped him. The French and Americans alike paid him every distinction; and the Indians, thrilled by his daring and prowess, looked on him as a being to be respected and feared. On the 20th of March he set about putting his military and civil household in order by appointing Lieutenant Richard Brashear commandant of the garrison of Fort Patrick Henry, which consisted of Lieutenants Bayley and Chaplin and forty picked men; Captain Leonard Helm, commandant of the town and superintendent of Indian affairs; Moses Henry, Indian agent, and Patrick Kennedy quartermaster, with forty volunteers at his beck and call. Having imparted to his appointees necessary instructions for the fulfillment of their official trusts, he took his departure on the same day for Fort Clark at Kaskaskia, setting sail on the *Willing*, which had been subjected to a thorough overhauling. Beside the *Willing*, his flotilla consisted of five armed boats and seventy men, who, with favoring winds and no important incidents to mark the progress of the voyage, landed a few days later at the harbor of Kaskaskia, where Capt. George, the successor of Dillard, greeted the crew "with great joy."

A small party of Indians from the Delaware nation, feigning friendship for the whites, but in reality having murder in their hearts, established a settlement at the two forks of the White river, having their hunting grounds along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. These red skins were as objectionable to the other tribes as they were to the whites as they were great hunters and generally reduced the quantity of game alarmingly in the localities they were wont to stop. Their patched peace did not deceive Clark in the least, for he knew, when augmented in numbers, they would be for an open fight, and he was only awaiting an excuse to make war on them in such a way that the horrible plight in which he left them would deter any other tribes from desiring to engage the Long Knives in conflict. The opportune time came on the first day of May when a party of traders who were going by land to the Falls were killed and plundered by the hostiles. Clark received this information by express from Capt. Helm. He immediately sent orders from Kaskaskia to Vincennes for the post to make relentless war on the Delawares—to destroy them by any means possible—to show the bucks no mercy whatever, but to spare the squaws and papposes. The order was executed without delay. The camps of the Delawares were attacked in the night time, when the warriors lay in peaceful slumber, and the surprise was so complete that many of their number were killed, while others were captured, unharmed, and brought as prisoners to Fort Patrick Henry. They immediately sought a reconciliation, but were told by Helm that the war had been ordered by Clark, who had forbidden them to lay down the tomahawk without permission from him; but, if agreeable to the Indians, no more blood would be split until an express would go to Kaskaskia. The messenger went, and came back with the word from Clark that there would be no peace for the Delawares, who had violated their faith and were not to be trusted; **“but that if they had a mind to be quiet, they might; and if they could get any of the neighboring Indians to be security for their good behavior, I would let them alone; but that I cared very little about it, etc.—privately directing Capt. Helm how to manage.”* Tobacco's son came to the rescue as surety for the Indians; bitterly arraigned them for the baseness of their conduct, and said they richly merited the punishment administered; that when he had given them permission to settle in the country where their latest outrage had been perpetrated it was with the implicit understanding that neither the Long Knives or any of their white friends should be molested. The putting to death of quite a number of the Delawares had the effect of subduing that nation completely and temporarily stopping hostilities towards the whites on the part of all other tribes.

Several days after reaching Kaskaskia General Clark's long-looked-for reinforcements arrived at Vincennes, at which place four days later the General put in an appearance, having journeyed hither “with a party on

*Clark's *Memoir*.

horse, where the whole safely arrived in a short time after." He was very much down-cast on ascertaining the reinforcements to be less than half the number he had anticipated, which necessitated the postponement of his cherished expedition against Detroit and caused him to lament the fact that he had not undertaken it immediately following the fall of Fort Sackville.

Augustin Maltin de la Balme, a Frenchman by birth, who had been a lieutenant-colonel in the French cavalry, and who also claimed that he came to this country with Lafayette, in the fall of 1780 was at the head of an expedition that marched against Detroit. He recruited about forty or fifty soldiers at Kaskaskia and Cahokia and raised a like number of men at Vincennes. On August 22d he embarked upon the Wabash, arriving on September 3d at the Indian village of Miamitown, (Ft. Wayne) where his troops plundered the English traders of large quantities of stores. The conduct of the pillagers not only exasperated the traders, but incensed the Indians as well. Under the leadership of Little Turtle, the Miami Indians determined to avenge the wrongs that had been committed on their villages, and in the night stealthily crept to the tents of the looting soldiers on the banks of the river Aboite. Antoine Rembault, an officer of the troops, who had joined the expedition at Vincennes, was the first man to discover the approach of the enemy and had just risen from his berth to awaken his sleeping companions, when he fell dead in his tracks, with a tomahawk buried in his brain. La Balme and forty of his followers were killed outright, while the remainder of the troops were taken prisoners and many of them burned at the stake. While the looting of the English traders may not have been an honorable war measure to adopt, the ostensible purpose of La Balme's expedition was laudable, and furnishes only another illustration of the loyalty and devotion to their adopted country of the French citizens, whose patriotic zeal and earnest endeavors in behalf of America during her struggle for the establishment and maintenance of liberty and independence have noticeably contributed in more instances than one to the success of American arms.

Clark had been looking after the civil as well as the military affairs of the Illinois and Wabash countries since his capture of Kaskaskia. The Virginia Legislature, as has already been stated, in October, 1778, passed a law providing for the organization of all territory lying northwest of the Ohio river as the county of Illinois. Under this law, the rights of property of the inhabitants were unabridged, and their religious and civil institutions were left undisturbed. By its provisions power was vested in the Governor of Virginia to appoint a county lieutenant and commandant in-chief, who, in turn, was authorized to appoint deputy commandants, militia officers and commissaries. The county lieutenant was given also power to pardon offenders where the crimes charged were not murder or treason, in which cases he was permitted to issue a respite, pending the laying of the charges before the Executive Council or the Governor of the

Old Dominion. In May, 1779, Colonel John Todd was sent out here by Governor Patrick Henry to act as county lieutenant and commandant-in-chief of the county of Illinois. He was formally presented to the citizens of Vincennes and later escorted by General Clark to Kaskaskia, the territorial seat, to put in motion the machinery of civil government. Clark was glad enough to be delivered from the care of civil responsibilities and took his departure for the Falls of the Ohio. He reached his destination on the 20th of August and at once assumed a sort of a military supervision over both the counties of Illinois and Kentucky, with the hope to some day gratify his long-cherished wish to march against Detroit—but the day never came. Not long after his arrival at the Falls Clark was made a brigadier general. His presence in that locality had a salutary effect on the Southern Indians, and even alarmed the British at Natchez, who, on learning of the bold and fearless methods he employed in taking possession of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, feared he might descend upon them. He built a fort on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, below the Ohio, as a menace to the Chickasaws, whose hostilities were renewed afresh after a season of rest. The Indians, after repeated attacks on the fort, attempted one night to take it by storm. They were repulsed with heavy losses, and yet, in order to neutralize the savages, the Americans deemed it expedient to yield the fort and abandon the country. Clark, however, was not there.

It appears that on his arrival at Vincennes, prior to his departure for Kaskaskia, Colonel Todd organized a "court of common pleas for the counties of Vincennes and Illinois" by appointing as judges Francois Busseron, Louis Edeline, Pierre Gamelin and Pierre Querez, with Mr. Le Grand as clerk. J. M. P. Le Gras was selected as lieutenant colonel of militia, Francois Busseron, major; Latulippe, first captain; L. Edeline, second captain; W. Brouibet and P. Gamelin third and fourth captains; Goden, Richardville, Goden, Richardville and Joseph Rougas, first, second, third, fourth and fifth lieutenants. Mr. Le Gras acted as a substitute for Col. Todd at the Old Post, and manipulated the power of issuing land grants ("fantastically" arranged by Mr. Todd) with greater celerity and lesser scruples than even his superior. Le Gras not only took it upon himself to dispose of the public domains, but he delegated that power to the court composed of the four judges above mentioned. The court, it is charged, did a "land office" business in issuing grants—not only to others, but to themselves, and gobbled up "arpents" as well as "leagues." Three of the four judges (so it is asserted by Judge Law) were left on the bench while one retired. "The court then made a grant of so many 'leagues' of land to their absent colleague, which was entered of record—he returned as soon as the grant was recorded, and another of these 'ermined' gentlemen left the bench, while the chief justice and the other judges made a similar grant to their absent friend. After the grant was made and duly recorded, he returned—the third departed, and a similar record was made

for his benefit; and so with the fourth. In this wholesale transfer of the public land, if continued, Virginia would have had but a small donation to make her sister states of the confederacy when she gave up the empire she held in the Northwest Territory for the common benefit."

Governor Sargent complained to General Washington in 1790 of the "looseness" of these transactions, and among the documents accompanying the letter addressed to the "Father of His Country," was a reply from the judges in answer to Sargent's enquiry "by what right these concessions were made." It reads as follows:

"SIR: As you have given orders to the magistrates who formerly composed the court of the district of Vincennes, under the jurisdiction of Virginia, to give you their reasons for having taken upon them to grant concessions for the lands within the district, in obedience thereto we beg to inform you that their principal reason is, that since the establishment of the country the commandants have always appeared to be vested with the powers to give lands. Their founder, Mr. Vinsenne, began to give concessions and all his successors have given lands and lots. Mr. Le Gras was appointed commandant of Post Vincennes by the lieutenant of the county and commander-in-chief, John Todd, who was in the year 1779 sent by the state of Virginia for to regulate the government of the country, and who substituted Mr. Le Gras with his power. In his absence, Mr. Le Gras, who was then commandant, assumed that he had in quality of commandant authority to give lands according to the ancient usages of other commanders, and he verbally informed the court of Post Vincennes that when they would judge it proper to give lands or lots to those who should come into the country to settle, or otherwise, they might do it, and then he gave them permission so to do. These are the reasons we acted on, and if we have done more than we ought, it was on account of the little knowledge which we had of public affairs. We are with great respect, your honors most obedient and very humble servants,

"F. BOSSERON.

"L. E. EDELINE.

"PIERRE GAMELIN.

his

"PIERRE X QUEREZ."

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No confirmation was ever made by the government of any of the grants made by the above named court. The tract disposed of extended on the Wabash river, twenty-four leagues from Point Coupé to the mouth of White river and forty leagues into the country west and thirty east from the Wabash, excluding about twenty or thirty thousand acres lying adjacent to Vincennes, which had previously been granted. The government, however, experienced considerable trouble over these authorized grants, as attested by extracts from a letter written June 19, 1802, by General Harrison, Governor of the Northwest Territory, to Mr. Madison, Secretary of State, in which he says: "The authors of this ridiculous transaction soon found that no advantage could be derived from it, as they could find no purchasers; and I believe that the idea of holding any part of the land was, by the greater part of them, abandoned a few years ago. However, the claim was discovered, and a part of it purchased by some of those speculators who infest our country, and through these people a number

of others in different parts of the United States have become concerned, some of whom are actually preparing to make settlements on the land the ensuing spring. Indeed I should not be surprised to see five hundred families settling under these titles in the course of a year. The price at which this land is sold enables anybody to become a purchaser—one thousand acres being frequently sold for an indifferent horse or gun. And as a formal deed is made reciting the grant of the court many people have been induced to part with their little all to obtain their ideal property; and they will no doubt endeavor to strengthen the claim as soon as they discover the deception, by an actual settlement. The extent of these speculations was unknown to me until lately. I am now informed that a number of persons are in the habit of repairing to Vincennes where they purchase two or three hundred thousand acres of this claim for which they get a deed properly authenticated and recorded, and then disperse themselves over the United States to cheat the ignorant and credulous. In some measure to check this practice I have forbidden the recorder and prothonotary of this county from recording or authenticating any of these papers—having determined that the official seals of the territory shall not be prostituted to a purpose so base as that of assisting an infamous fraud.”

There is no doubt but that the court, in the exercise of “personal privileges,” felt that they were clothed with authority from Virginia, and had been led to believe so through the representations of Governor Todd, Signor Le Gras, colonel commandant, and Gabriel Le Grand, clerk of the court; and the culpability of their acts, which they averred were performed in good faith, were charged directly to the last named trio. The members of the court, however, never lost caste entirely with their fellow-citizens, and continued up to the termination of their respective earthly careers to occupy positions of honor and trust, while Todd, Le Grand and Le Gras (the latter decamping between two days) were accredited with being the real culprits.

When the legislative act of Virginia, providing for the establishment of civil government by that state in the county of Illinois was passed, its provisions were to remain in force for a period of twelve months, or to the close of the following session of the Virginia assembly. By a subsequent act, passed in May, 1780, the time was extended to the period when Virginia had agreed to relinquish her claim on the Northwest Territory to the federal government.

Todd's stay in the Wabash and Illinois countries was as brief as it was inglorious, as he departed in the fall following the year of his arrival, going to Kentucky, from whence, in the spring of 1780, he was sent as a delegate to the Virginia legislature. The same year, in November, he was appointed commandant of Fayette county, one of three counties then comprising the whole state of Kentucky. He commanded a small force of men at the battle of Blue Licks, and while leading a charge on August 18, 1782, was killed.

Virginia, by her own volition, allowed her statutory organization of Illinois to expire by limitation in 1781. The elective and appointive officers of the territory, however, continued in exercising the functions of their respective offices; and their authority was not questioned by the people, and probably would not have been by the general government had they not attempted to exert powers with which they were not clothed, especially with reference to grants for lands. And, while we have again touched upon this subject, it may not be amiss to hear from Mr. Dunn, who speaks in a more charitable tone of those directly interested than some other gentlemen whom we have quoted. Mr. Dunn, referring to the court heretofore discussed, says, "they assumed power to make grants of land, and having used it freely for the benefit of others, they generously divided all that remained of the old Indian grant, of twenty-four leagues square, among themselves, each judge, in turn, absenting himself for a day while his associates voted him his portion. The United States of course repudiated this action; and yet the French judges had arrived at the conclusion that they possessed this power, in a very natural way. Todd, whom they labelled '*Colonel et Grande Judge civil pour Les Etats Unis*,' had been sent to govern them. He had commissioned Le Gras lieutenant colonel of the militia of Vincennes, and consequently Le Gras was commandant of the post. The commandants had always made concessions of land; hence Le Gras had the same power, and Le Gras had given the court permission to make grants. Such was the course of their authority as they explained it to Secretary Sargent."*

The condition of the French settlements of the Illinois and Wabash countries while Virginia occupation prevailed and during the subsequent years, prior to the arrival of General Harmar, caused the inhabitants no little trouble and annoyance. The severance of commercial relations between Vincennes and Detroit after the fall of Fort Sackville, the interference with northwestern trade and traffic on the Mississippi south by the Cherokees, Chickasaws and other southern Indians, who had been won by British gold to make war against Americans and American interests, paralyzed commerce and trade to such an extent that the price of commodities advanced more than five hundred per cent and the cost of living at Vincennes then was one hundred per cent higher than it is today. And, while it is not pleasant to relate, General Clark charged that a few of the leading merchants took advantage of the direful situation to enrich themselves at the expense of the helpless public. The Mississippi settlements suffered more or less from the impediment of trade, but none of them to such an alarming extent as the Old Post. At the beginning of the year 1781 the Virginia troops were withdrawn from Fort Patrick Henry and sent to Fort Jefferson, the void thus created being filled by the militia. The departure of the regular soldiers, within whose ranks

*J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 158.

Vol. I—15

were many of the fearless Long Knives who came with Clark, was noted by the Indians, who began to lose that respect for American arms which the terror of the valorous Virginian had enforced, and went forth again on the war path.

Clark's final effort for an expedition against Detroit was made at the Falls of the Ohio in 1781, but the slaughter at Loughery Creek, of a detachment of his picked men, under Colonel Archibald Lochry, by a band of Indians, led by Joseph Brandt, disarranged every preparation that had been made for it. In this conflict nearly half of Lochry's men were killed, the remainder taken captives and tortured.

The year 1782 was prolific for hostilities between the red and white people, and the western frontiers witnessed many battles in which the Indians were often the victors. The massacre of the Moravians on the Muskingum was a notable exception; and the plight of these Christianized savages was such as to excite pity. The Indians had assembled in two houses—the men in one and the women and children in the other. When the white murderers descended upon them the doomed Moravians asked one another's forgiveness for any wrongs they had inflicted, knelt and prayed, kissed each other farewell, sang songs of praise to the Almighty, and delivered themselves into the hands of their blood-thirsty foes, who slew them all, the list composing ninety-six men, women and children. A few months after the enactment of this terrible tragedy the bloody occurrence at Estill Springs, on the Kentucky border, took place. Capt. Estill, with a force of twenty-five men had been pursuing for two days a like number of Wyandot Indians who had scalped a white girl. The Indians when brought to bay put up a standing fight, which resulted in the death of the Captain and nine of his followers and the wounding of five, who, with their uninjured comrades, escaped. The Wyandots suffered the loss of only four or five braves. A month later followed the siege at Sandusky, towards which Col. Wm. Crawford marched his men with instructions to destroy every Indian in sight, whether hostile or otherwise. Entering the plains of Sandusky with nearly five hundred (480) soldiers he was met by a strong force of Wyandot and Delaware Indians which had been permitted to gather through his lack of generalship. Notwithstanding his forces were trained militiamen, gathered from Pennsylvania and Virginia, they were overwhelmed by the savages, and routed from the field, after sustaining a loss of more than one hundred men. Crawford himself, with others, was taken prisoner and subjected to torturing death at the stake. Three months later in Simon Girty's attack on Bryan's Station and the subsequent battle of the Lower Blue Licks, where more than a hundred men were killed outright, including Colonel Todd and Lieut.-Colonel Trigg, and in both of which engagements Boone and Kenton participated, the savages out-classed some of the greatest Indian fighters the Kentucky borders furnished and came out victorious mid scenes of dreadful slaughter.

Clark, straining every effort to formulate an expedition against Detroit, was forced by the fierceness of the recurring Indian hostilities to abandon the project altogether, and in November he left the Falls with ten hundred and fifty troops to march against the Indian settlements towards the head of the Miami. In this, as in all other expeditions he ever undertook, he was successful, and completely routed the savages in every settlement from the Ohio to the head waters of the Miami, burning their villages, destroying their crops and supplies, driving the hostiles, terror-stricken, from the country.

During the pendency of peace negotiations between the United States and Great Britain there was a cessation of hostilities towards Americans on the part of both the English and their Indian allies. Provisional articles of peace between the two countries were signed at Paris, France, in November, 1782, followed by a negotiated armistice at Versailles, January, 1783, declaring a cessation of hostilities, and culminating in a definite peace treaty at Paris in September, 1783, which the Congress of the United States ratified in January, 1784. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in October, 1781, precipitated the treaty of two years later, for it was an event which practically broke the backbone of the Revolution. By proclamation, in April, 1783, Congress declared a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain. In the acquisition of the territory resulting from the treaties between America and the mother country, the only argument advanced by the United States Commissioners to this country's claim to the Northwest Territory (embracing the great states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and a portion of Minnesota) was that it belonged to the chartered limits of Virginia by reason of "the conquest of it by George Rogers Clark, and the establishment of the forts and garrisons to the lakes by himself and troops, 'serving as the monuments of our possession,' and, carrying out the rules of '*uti possidetis*,' was adopted as the basis of our negotiations. The British Commissioners had to yield to evidences so apparent of our use and occupation, and the Mississippi became our boundary on the west and the Lakes on the north, through the wisdom of Jefferson and the valor and enterprise of Clark. But where now are these monuments of title?—these emblems of our power?—these land-marks of our possessions? Echo answers—where? Their very foundations are removed. The tall grass of the prairie grows over their dilapidated bastions. The plough-share of the husbandman has furrowed their parade grounds; and the hardy pioneer of the west has long since preëmpted the localities upon which they stood. More than one generation of the 'sons of the west,' who have occupied these fields, have been gathered to their fathers; while they, as well as their present descendants, have been for the most part ignorant of the valor by which they were won, or the patriotism and wisdom which secured them. The names of Jefferson and Clark should have been household words in every log cabin between the Miami and the Father of Waters, and the

present owners of these countless acres should never forget the memory of those by whose courage and peril this immense empire was added to the Union. To no state but Virginia is the west indebted for this priceless treasure. It is her child; and cold be the tongue and palsied the arm that would not speak our gratitude for her princely gift, or strike a blow, if required, in defense of her honor and her rights. I very much doubt whether any other state in the old confederacy would, under the circumstances have made such a donation, 'for the common benefit.' ”*

From 1782 to 1785 there was much activity shown by the United States to induce the savage tribes northwest of the Ohio to enter into treaties of peace. Only a portion of them, however, agreed to the terms, and, as an evidence of their sincerity in accepting the government's proffered peace and friendship, they signed articles of agreement held at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney. The greater number were determined to hold fast to the lands they had long claimed north of the Ohio, and, to check the tide of white emigration that was sweeping in that direction, formed a powerful confederacy and for ten years or more prevented any perceptible growth of the border settlements.

It was on May 11, 1783, that Congress issued a proclamation declaring a cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, and in July of the same year General George Rogers Clark was dismissed from the services of Virginia. Benjamin Harrison, the Governor of Virginia, who issued the order of dismissal, addressed a letter to Clark explanatory of his action, which contained the following paragraph: "The conclusion of the war and the distressed situation of the state, with respect to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone I have come to a determination to give over all thoughts for the present of carrying on an offensive war against the Indians, which you will easily perceive will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary; you will therefore consider yourself as out of command. But before I take leave of you I feel myself called upon in the most forcible manner to return you my thanks and those of my council for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the executive." At a later period when the ravages of disease and the inroads of age had rendered George Rogers Clark a helpless cripple at his humble home in Clarksville, the authorities of Virginia presented him with a sword as a token of their appreciation for the valuable services he had rendered the commonwealth. It is said he received the gift demurely, thrust the sword in the ground, snapped it off, and flung away the hilt,

*Judge Law, *Colonial History of Vincennes*, ed. 1858, p. 132.

exclaiming, with bitterness and sorrow: "I asked Virginia for bread and she sends me a sword."

Representatives of the non-treaty Indians from all the tribes on the Wabash assembled at Quiatenon in August, 1785, and held a great council of war. Emboldened by the defiant stand his brethren had determined on, a Shawnee murdered in cold blood one of the French inhabitants of Vincennes. Friends of the dead man avenged the crime by killing the murderer, slaying four or five of his companions, and in wounding three or four others. During the winter the murderous forays of the red skins became less frequent, but with the coming of spring they increased in number and atrociousness.

The red men, who opposed the coming of the white settlers, and were bent on stopping the eastern tide of emigration westward at the Ohio river, had already served notice on the settlers to leave the country, informing the French inhabitants, to whom they had been friendly disposed, that war was to be declared against all Americans and if the French persisted in remaining they would be treated as Americans. Only a few months before the Indians had brutally attacked a trading party in boats on the Wabash, near the mouth of the Embarrass, killed the occupants of several lonely cabins in the sparsely settled districts, and singled out two or three American farmers as the objects of their wrath, burning their huts and scalping the inmates. Many of the settlers who had come to this locality from the east and south fled for their lives, leaving behind them the charred ruins of their homes, and came to the fort for protection, or continued in their flight across the borders into the settlements of Kentucky.

As the weather grew milder the hostilities increased and became more barbarous.* "In May Clark wrote to Governor Henry (from the Falls) that the Wabash Indians, encouraged by British traders from Detroit, had begun war. Letter after letter brought confirmation of the statement. In June it was reported that 'the whole of the Americans settled at Post Vincennes on the Wabash, are massacred.'" Settlers from Kentucky had been the victims largely of the Indian outrages, which the intimidated French seemed powerless to prevent, and at once there came a universally expressed desire on the part of the Kentuckians that Clark should be clothed with authority to lead an expedition to the Wabash and squelch the offending red skins, who once fawned at his feet. The refusal of the French to accord the Americans protection was no doubt due to fear for their own safety, rather than from indifference. They are nevertheless charged not only with not attempting to aid the Americans, but in absolutely refusing to allow them to protect themselves, by denying the use of the cannon left for the protection of the fort. It is further charged that after the Americans had succeeded in repulsing the Indians in an attack against the post Colonel Le Gras had ordered them to leave Vincennes and

*J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 163.

and quit the country; that the Americans had called for assistance on Kentucky and that a party had gone to their succor.†

Through the intervention of Kentucky, Virginia sent a military expedition into the Wabash country to deal with the Indians, whose future move against the Kentucky settlements was anticipated. Clark was appointed commander of the forces that were to be used, and in September with a force of one thousand men marched over the old buffalo trace from Louisville to Vincennes, arriving here in October. The Kentucky forces, which had been reinforced by quite a number of the inhabitants of the Old Post, were ordered to proceed up the Wabash towards Quiatenon, which was a cluster of Indian villages. The savages had learned of the coming of the enemy and ambushed themselves along Pine creek. On arriving within a short distance of the Vermilion river, the army found the villages deserted. Tired, hungry, and depressed in spirits by disappointment at finding no signs of the enemy, the feelings of officers and men partook of supreme disgust when a thoughtless fellow announced that Clark had sent to the Indians a flag of truce, with the offer of peace or war. The report had a demoralizing effect on the men, and, when coupled with the sad and sorrowful transformation their commander had undergone—when they saw the fire that beamed in his eye had died out, the fine lines of his face had faded, when they heard the rasping notes of a voice once clear and musical—they gave way to a spirit of rankest insubordination; nor tears nor entreaties of the once brave, bold, fearless and handsome commander, who had thrilled the country with the brilliancy and grandeur of his military achievements, could subject them to discipline. About three hundred of the troops, who had been given their first intimation of Clark's intemperance, deserted the camp and marched homeward in a body. The expedition was then abandoned, and the remainder of troops, with Clark, returned to Vincennes.

Colonel Benjamin Logan had in the meantime marched with his troops against the Shawnee villages. His detachment consisted of four or five hundred mounted riflemen, who crossed the Ohio near Maysville and penetrated the Indian country as far as the head waters of Mad river. They burned eight large towns, and destroyed the corn in many fields by applying fire brands. About seventy or eighty savages were taken prisoners, and twenty warriors were slain, among the number the great sachem of the nation, whose death was deeply regretted by Logan, and who had given his men explicit orders to spare the life of the great chief. The Kentuckians sustained a loss of about ten men.

The field officers who had been sent out from Kentucky by the executive council of Virginia, were in session at Vincennes when Clark and the remnant of his brigade returned down the Wabash. They had determined that the establishment of a garrison at the Old Post would "be of essential

†J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 163.

service to the district of Kentucky, and that supplies might be had in the district more than sufficient for their support, by impressment or otherwise, under the direction of a commissary to be appointed for that purpose." Clark, before leaving the Falls, had invited the chiefs of all tribes along the Wabash to meet him in council at Clarksville for the purpose of effecting a treaty. The Indians did not object to the meeting, but they did to the place of holding it, and gave expression to their disapproval through a communication addressed to Clark by a chieftain named "The Goose and Fusil," who referred to Clark as "my elder brother" and wrote to him thus wise: "Thou oughtest to know the place we have been accustomed to speak at. It is at Post Vincennes. There our chiefs are laid. There our ancestor's bed is, and that of our father, the French—and not at Clarksville, where you required us to meet you. We do not know such a place: but at Post Vincennes where we always went when necessary to hold councils. My Eldest Brother, thou informest me I must meet you at the place I have mentioned; yet thou seest, my brother, that the season is far advanced; and that I would not have time to invite my allies to come to your council, which we pray to hold at Post Vincennes."

Clark's reply to the foregoing communication was in his characteristic style, and portrays the quickness of decision and determination of the man, who promptly declared: "I propose the last of April for the grand council to be held at this place, Post Vincennes, where I expect all those who are inclined to open the roads will appear, and we can soon discover what the Deity means."

The same board which recommended the establishment of a garrison at Vincennes as being "of essential service to the district of Kentucky," appointed John Craig, Jr., a commissary of purchases. He, however, for some cause not stated, did not qualify, and his place was filled by the brilliant John Rice Jones. It was further decreed by the board that one field officer and two hundred and fifty men—which did not include a company of artillery to be commanded by Captain Valentine Thomas Dalton—be recruited for the Old Post garrison; that Colonel John Holder take command of troops; and that the "supreme direction" of the officers and men be vested in General Clark, who began at once the enlistment of recruits, appointment of officers and the impressment of provisions for supplying the garrison.

While considerable indignation was manifest, at this particular time, on the part of some of the citizens of Vincennes on account of Spain's attitude towards the western country relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, which feeling was intensified by the seizure and confiscation of the property of a Vincennes merchant at Natchez, the attitude of the community was not quite so revolutionary as has been represented. This, too, at a period when General Clark was actively engaged in encouraging treaties with the Wabash Indians.

The order, however, issued by the field officers made it possible for some of the "impresses" to take retaliatory steps against Spanish merchants for alleged wrongs perpetrated on the Mississippi against American traders by Spanish authorities, and they no doubt sought to give expression to their indignation by making the impressments on Spanish merchants heavier than on any other class. In a deposition of one Daniel Neeves, sworn to before Christopher Greenup, December 20, 1786, the treatment to which Spanish merchants were subjected, is minutely told. The deposition reads:

"The deposition of Daniel Neeves, being first sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that he, this deponent, was enlisted by Captain Thomas Mason as a soldier in the Wabash regiment; that he was summoned as one of a guard by a Captain Valentine T. Dalton, and was by him marched to a store; and he, the said Dalton by an interpreter demanded of a Spanish merchant to admit him, the said Dalton, into his cellar. The Spaniard asked what he wanted. The said Dalton said he was sent by the commanding officer to search his cellar. It being at a late hour of the night, the Spaniard lighted a candle and opened his doors, and went and opened his cellar door. The said Dalton with several others entered the cellar; after some time he came out and placed this deponent as a guard over the cellar, and took the rest of the guard to another store. That the succeeding day the said Dalton came with a number of others and plundered the cellar of a large quantity of peltry, wine, taffy, honey, tea, coffee, sugar, cordial, French brandy, and sundry other articles, together with a quantity of dry goods, the particular articles this deponent does not at present recollect; that part of the goods was made use of to clothe the troops, the remainder with the other articles was set up at public auction and sold; that the sale was conducted by a certain John Rice Jones, who marched in the militia commanded by General Clark as a commissary general. And further this deponent saith that he obtained a furlough, dated the 24th day of November, 1786, signed Valentine Thomas Dalton, Captain Commandant Wabash Regiment, of which the following is a copy: 'Daniel Neeves a soldier in the Wabash Regiment, has liberty to go on a furlough for two months from the date hereof; at the expiration he is to return to his duty, otherwise looked upon as a deserter. November 24, 1786. Valentine Thomas Dalton, Captain Commandant Wabash Regiment. To all who it may concern. And further this deponent saith not.' "

In the seizure of property the soldiers were simply acting in accordance with the instructions from the board comprised of field officers of the Wabash expedition—a necessary procedure to secure provisions for the sustenance of the garrison. In the instance above referred to, however, Dalton may have been a little harsh as well as indiscreet. But it is not likely that his conduct on this occasion, and the action of other officers and privates on other occasions, with reference to the treatment of Spanish merchants, were influenced or condoned by Clark. As stated at the outset, there was a very strong sentiment among some of the inhabitants of Vincennes against Spain, which was largely shared by Clark, but the feeling did not manifest itself at any time in such a general or demonstrative manner as Mr. Thomas Green, a settler at Louisville, Ky., represented in a letter written to the governor of Georgia in December, 1786. Mr. Green, who deploras the condition to which the western country generally has been sub-

jected by Spanish prohibition of the navigation of the Mississippi, says, among other things, that "the troops stationed at Post Vincennes by orders of General George Rogers Clark have seized upon what Spanish property there was at that place, also at Illinois in retaliation for their many offenses. General Clark, who has fought so gloriously for his country, and whose name strikes all the western savages with terror, together with many other gentlemen of merit, engages to raise troops sufficient, and go with me to the Natchez to take possession, and settle the lands agreeable to the lines of that state, at their own risk and expense; provided you in your infinite goodness will countenance them and give us the lands to settle it agreeable to the laws of your state. Hundreds are now waiting to join us with their families, seeking asylum for liberty and religion. Not hearing that the lines are settled between you and the Spaniards, we therefore wish for your direction concerning them and the advice of your superior wisdom. At the same time assuring you that we have contracted for a very large quantity of goods, we hope sufficient to supply all the Indians living within the limits of Georgia. Trusting that we shall be able to make them independent of the Spaniards, wean their affections and procure their esteem for us and the United States, as we expect to take the goods down with us. We earnestly pray that you would give us full liberty to trade with all those tribes, and also give your agents for Indian affairs all the necessary instructions for the prosperity of our scheme. The season for the Indian trade will be so far advanced that I await with very great impatience. General Clark, together with a number of other gentlemen, will be ready to proceed down the river with me on the shortest notice, therefore hope and earnestly pray that you will despatch the express back with all possible speed with your answer, and all the encouragement due to so great an undertaking. As to the further particulars I refer you to the bearer, Mr. William Wells, a gentleman of merit who will be able to inform you more minutely than I possibly can of the sentiments of the people of this western country."

General Clark, after the contents of Green's letter was made public, claimed that the only tacit understanding he and the writer had had was in relation to establishing a settlement within the borders of Georgia—the other propositions never having been discussed. Be that as it may, the culpability of Clark's actions, if really they were culpable, is lessened when one considers that he was acting under the direction of a board which had received its authority from the executive of Virginia. The said board decided that it was necessary to raise troops here for the purpose of presenting a more formidable front to the warring Wabash Indians; that the establishment of a garrison here would "be of essential service to the district of Kentucky," and that supplies for the support of the garrison should be raised by impressment. Clark, therefore, as "supreme director of the corps," was simply exercising an authority which he believed the board had a right to confer, when he subsequently recruited, garrisoned

soldiers and procured supplies for the garrison by impressment. The executive council of Virginia, however, repudiated the action of the board whence these orders came, and demanded the prosecution of persons responsible for alleged outrages against Spanish merchants at Vincennes, which had no doubt been greatly magnified. Had it not been that the seizure of goods from Spanish merchants occurred at a time when negotiations were pending for a treaty on the Mississippi question between Mr. Jay and Mr. Gardoqui, on the part of the United States and Spain, and the relations between these two countries were not strained to the highest tension, the enormity of the offense would have not been nearly so apparent. Mr. Green's extravagant statements regarding affairs at the Old Post, and Mr. Neeves' affidavit of an isolated case gave a false coloring to the picture. The true situation is presented in a report of a committee, which called on General Clark for an account of his conduct in the premises. Thomas Todd acted as clerk of the committee, which was appointed and convened at Danville for the purpose of eliciting such information it could relative to the establishment of troops and seizure of Spanish property at Vincennes. The report states that the committee find "by enquiry from General Clark, and sundry papers submitted by him for their inspection, that a board of field officers composed from the corps employed on the late Wabash expedition, did in council held at Post Vincennes, the 8th of October, 1786, unanimously agree that a garrison at that place would be of essential service to the district of Kentucky, and that supplies might be had in the district more than sufficient for their support, by impressment or otherwise, under the direction of a commissary to be appointed for this purpose, pursuant to the authority vested in the field officers of the district by the executive of Virginia. The same board appointed Mr. John Craig, Jr., a commissary of purchases; and resolved that one field officer and two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of the company of artillery to be commanded by Captain Valentine Thomas Dalton, be recruited to garrison Post Vincennes. That Colonel John Holder be appointed to command the troops in this service. In consequence of these measures it appears to your committee that a body of men have been enlisted and are recruiting for one year; that General Clark hath taken the supreme direction of the corps, but by what authority it does not appear; and that the corps hath been further officered by appointments made by General Clark, who acknowledges that the seizure of the Spanish property was made by his order for the sole purpose of clothing and subsisting the troops; and that the goods seized were appropriated in this way; that John Rice Jones, who acts as commissary to the garrison, had passed receipts for the articles taken. The General alleges that the troops were raised for the security of the district; that he considers them subject to the direction of this committee, who may discharge them if they think proper, but conceives this measure may prevent the proposed treaty, and involve this country in a bloody war. He denies any intention of depredating on the

Spanish possessions or property at the Illinois; and declares that he never saw the intercepted letter from Thomas Green; that he understood Green's object was to establish a settlement at or near Gaso river, under authority of the state of Georgia; that his view was by encouraging the settlement to obtain a small grant of land, and that he had no idea of molesting the Spaniards, or of attending Green in person. He informed the committee that the garrison now at Post Vincennes is about one hundred strong, and that the merchants at the Illinois had determined to support it for which purpose they had sent for the commissary, Jones, to receive provisions. That Major Bosseron was sent to Illinois to advise the settlers there of certain seizures made at Natchez of American property by the Spanish commandant, and to recommend to them to conciliate the minds of the Indians, and be prepared to retaliate any outrages the Spaniards might commit on their property; but by no means to commence hostilities."

The so-called outrages, in view of the facts contained in the foregoing report, which clearly define General Clark's position, it would seem, were not so terrible after all. *And, according to an opinion of the supreme judges and attorney general of Kentucky, relative to their perpetration, there was nothing illegal in them either. The court referred to say, in passing upon the military laws of Virginia, under which the troops were raised and seizure of goods made: "We are of opinion that the executive council have delegated all their power under the said law and article of confederation, so far as they relate to invasions, insurrections and impressments, to the field officers of that district, and that the officers, in consequence thereof have a right to impress, if necessary, all supplies for the use of the militia that may be called into service by their order or orders under said order of council."

Colonel Logan, acting under the same authority with which the field officers clothed Clark, impressed supplies for his troops after he had been detached by Clark, and his acts in this respect seemed eminently proper—at least there was naught said against him. Clark in his latter days seemed to have acquired a number of secret enemies, for reasons not assigned. Singular as it may seem, the attorney general and two supreme judges of Kentucky, who pronounced Clark's action relative to the impressment of supplies in the Wabash and Illinois countries as legal and proper, after giving that decision were the first to accuse him of wrong-doing, and particularly the attorney general, who appears to have worked up the case against him. There was a noticable change of sentiment, however, in the minds of the people of the east before the flowers of spring blossomed in regarding the Spanish question, and in April 1787, when documentary evidence of the seizure of Merchant Amis' goods and the Green-Clark episode was presented to congress, Mr. Jay's accompanying letter declared that he was convinced that "the United States have a good right to navigate the

*Dunn, *Indiana, Commonwealth Series*, p. 171

Mississippi river from its source to and through its mouth," and that, unless the states could agree to relinquish the use for a time, as he had suggested, they should remonstrate against Spain's action, and in case of continued refusal "declare war against Spain." As to the action of the people of the west, he said: "If war is in expectation, then their ardor should not be discouraged nor their indignation diminished."*

Clark suffered greatly mentally and physically towards the close of his earthly career. He was the victim of false friends—an object of a nation's and man's ingratitude—and it is no wonder that he sought solace in the cup that inebriates. His reputation as a soldier and citizen could never be justly assailed, and no taint attached to his fair name, no selfish act detracted from the glorious fame he won in the heroic fights he made for the country he loved so well, save the great indiscretion which came with the unbearable miseries of his old age. How pitiful the concluding words of a letter addressed to Governor Randolph in October, 1787, when he was smarting under the doubtful treatment received at the hands of the Virginia authorities: "Conscious of having done everything in the power of a person under my circumstances, not only for the defense of the country, but to save every expense possible. I can with pleasure View Countries flourishing that I have stained with the blood of its enemies, pitying them when I deign to think of them as citizens; otherways with the utmost contempt." With the exception of the very brief period he came forward to act as brigadier general for the erratic French minister Genet, who made a futile attempt to raise American troops and invade Spanish territory for possession, in defiance of the protest of the president of the United States, the remainder of Clark's life was spent in comparative retirement. Mr. Genet had simply gotten to the point where he had issued a proposition calling for troops, when his government recalled him. It is said Clark knew the scheme would fail at the time he accepted his commission, but he put on the epaulets to gratify his Kentucky friends and at the same time show his contempt for the Spaniards.

In the prosecution of his campaign in the Northwest Territory Clark had spent his little all, and neither Virginia nor the United States made an effort to reimburse him. Virginia, it is true, gave him some land, but the quantity was not greater than a large-sized homestead tract and afforded him nothing more than a home. Both Virginia and the federal government repudiated the debts incurred by the impressment of goods at Vincennes, and the merchants who were made victims thereby brought suits in the territorial courts against Clark to recover damages, and obtained judgments, by virtue of which what little property he had was sold, leaving him poor indeed. For years he suffered excruciating pain from an attack of chronic rheumatism, contracted on one of his dreadful marches, which eventually developed into paralysis. The last affliction seized him when he

*J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 172.

was the sole occupant of the house, the attack occurring while he was standing in front of an old-fashioned fire place. He fell unconsciously to the hearth in such a position as to burn one of his legs, which restored him to consciousness, but he never recovered from the stroke. He lingered hopelessly on for a score of years after this occurrence. The burn was very painful and annoying, and finally produced erysipelas, which necessitated the amputation of the limb, an operation which the patient bore with unflinching bravery and wonderful fortitude. Wrecked by sickness and disease, humiliated by the ingratitude of a republic to which he had devoted his very life, penniless and neglected, he eked out a miserable existence in his log home at Clarksville, overlooking the falls of the Ohio, the starting point of his northwestern expedition, whose triumphant and ever-memorable climax gave to the United States a territory which is today the most priceless among all of the nation's valuable possessions. In 1814, when the ravages of disease had rendered him absolutely helpless, he was taken to the home of his sister, Mrs. William Croghan, at Locust Grove, near Louisville, where, on the morning of February 13, 1818, his earthly afflictions were ended by death, and his body consigned to earth in a country church yard. His remains were subsequently taken up and interred in Cave Hill cemetery, at Louisville, where for many years his grave bore evidences of neglect. And thus ended the career of one of the bravest of American patriots, and the greatest general of Revolutionary days, whose valuable services to his common country, while never fully appreciated, can scarcely be overestimated.

The Piankeshaws were great admirers of Clark and showed their admiration in substantial gifts, some of which he reluctantly accepted, but was not permitted to retain. Tobacco and Grand Cornette, big chiefs of the tribe, voluntarily conveyed by deed to him a tract of land, lying on the northwestern side of the Ohio opposite the Falls. Virginia refused to confirm this (alleged) purchase, for the reason that the articles engrafted in the constitution of that state, which was formed in May, 1776, set forth that no purchase of lands should be made of the Indians unless for the benefit of the general public, subject to authority of the general assembly. It was in January, 1781, that the Virginia assembly resolved that, on certain conditions, they would cede to congress for the benefit of the United States all of Virginia's title and claim to the territory lying northwest of the Ohio river, which generous offer was accepted in September, 1783, and acknowledged by a congressional act; and in December, 1783, the Virginia delegates in congress were authorized to convey to the United States the aforesaid lands. In October, 1783, the town of Clarksville, near the falls, was laid off as being in the county of Illinois. Under provisions of the act by which this measure was executed the site selected for the town was laid off in half-acre lots and sold to the highest bidder, with the understanding that each purchaser of a lot within three years from day of sale was required to build thereon "a dwelling house twenty feet by

eighteen, at least, with a brick or stone chimney." By an act of the Virginia assembly George R. Clark, William Fleming, John Edwards, John Campbell, Walker Daniel, Abraham Chaplin, John Montgomery, John Bayley, Robert Todd and William Clark were chosen as a board of trustees of the town of Clarksville.

The real deed of cession of Virginia to the United States of lands lying northwest of the Ohio river did not fully materialize until March, 1784, when Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee and James Monroe, who were representatives of Virginia in the National Congress, executed the instrument, which provided that the territory should be formed into states containing not less than fifty nor more than one hundred and fifty square miles. Provision was further made that the states so formed should be strictly republican and admitted as members of the federal union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as other states. Virginia was also to be reimbursed for any expense she may have incurred in subduing any British posts, or in the maintenance of any forts or garrisons, for defense, in the prescribed territory. The French and Canadian inhabitants of Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia and the adjacent settlements thereto, who made professions of citizenship of Virginia were to have their possessions and titles confirmed to them and be protected in the fullest enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and George Rogers Clark, and the officers and soldiers who marched with him against Kaskaskia and Vincennes, granted not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, to be laid off in one tract, the length not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio river as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the holders in accordance with the laws of Virginia.

During the same year of the acceptance of the deed of cession by Congress an ordinance, which did not become effective until after the year 1800, was passed by the honorable body, declaring that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crime, in any of the states to be formed out of the said territory. This ordinance was rejected; but a month later, in April, 1784, by a series of resolutions Congress provided for the maintenance of temporary government in the country which the United States had acquired northwest of the Ohio river.

George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, as authorized agents of the United States, in January, 1785, effected a treaty of peace with the Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa Indians.

An ordinance was passed by congress in May, 1785, for the purpose of ascertaining the mode of disposing of territorial lands. This act, however, had no reference to the Northwest Territory, its application affecting only the territory on the northern side of the Ohio river, in the vicinity of Beaver creek, and nine or ten miles below Pittsburg.

By act of Congress of March, 1785, a treaty was held at Vincennes, two months later with the Pottawatomie, Twightwee and Piankeshaw Indians and other western tribes for the purpose of deciding on the establishment of a boundary line between the possessions of the aforesaid nations and the United States, with a view to securing greater security to frontier settlements. United States commissioners were about the same time directed to obtain from the western tribes of Indians cessions of land "as extensive and liberal as possible."

All of the foregoing congressional acts pertaining to land concessions from the Indians wrought up the red people to the highest pitch, and aroused the jealous feelings of all western tribes, while it produced no small amount of excitement and uneasiness among the French settlers and the American adventurers at the Old Post. The French claimed, through grants made them by the Indians and concessions obtained through the commandants, about fifteen thousand square miles of territory northwest of the Ohio river. The Wabash Land Company's domains were even larger in extent, and neither the company, the Indians or the French inhabitants of Vincennes were inclined to relinquish to the United States any claim they might have on lands northwest of the Ohio. The Wabash Indians' opposition was all the more intense because they objected to the white race advancing their settlements. The British had Michilimackinac, Detroit, and their dependencies; the Spaniards claimed the Mississippi river, as well as its right and left banks, and declared that the western borders of the United States never did extend as far as the Father of Waters; and at Vincennes and Kaskaskia the inhabitants became distressed lest they might not be able to establish title to what they did have. January, 1786, the United States concluded at the mouth of the Great Miami river a treaty with the Shawnee Indians. Treaties did not always bring the desired results, and the adventurers who sought land grants through the French court at Vincennes during the years of 1785 and 1786 were regaled with accounts of, if they did not really experience, the hostilities of the savages. Each deed of cession issued by the court cost its applicant four dollars, and many who secured deeds were killed by the Indians before they had a chance to occupy the lands.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE ORGANIZATION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR APPOINTED FIRST GOVERNOR—PRECEDED TO THE TERRITORY BY GENERAL HARMAR AND MAJOR HAMTRAMCK—FIRST LAWS PROMULGATED—INDIAN HOSTILITIES ON THE FRONTIERS—KILLING OF TROOPS ON THE WABASH—JOEL TOUGARD SENDS INDIAN TO HAPPY HUNTING GROUNDS—TOUGARD'S FLATBOAT EXPERIENCES—COL. VIGO AND OTHER TRADERS ENCOUNTER BAND OF INDIAN PIRATES ON WABASH—ANTOINE GAMELIN HOLDS CONFERENCES WITH WARRIORS OF SEVERAL NATIONS—VIEWS OF WASHINGTON, KNOX, ST. CLAIR AND HAMTRAMCK ON THE INDIAN SITUATION—FAMINE-STRICKEN INHABITANTS—FATHER GIBAULT TO THE RESCUE—JUDGE HENRY VANDERBURG—EARLY CUSTOMS—TYPICAL FRENCH DWELLING—COUNT VOLNEY'S VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY—CAPT. TOUSSAINT DUBOIS—HIS TRAGIC DEATH—JOHN JACKSON AND JUDGE BOWMAN—BOWMAN'S SUICIDE—DR. CAPMAN AND HIS PUPILS—LEGEND OF DARK HOLLOW.

During the period between the spring and fall of 1787, the Wabash Indians, which included representatives of nearly all tribes belonging to the Miami confederation, excepting the Piankeshaws, became very treacherous and hostile, and made it especially hazardous for the subalterns who led their little bands of soldiers and settlers from one post to another. Notwithstanding these murderous savages were permitted to come and go from the town, and even allowed to loiter in and about the fort at Vincennes at their own sweet will, they did not hesitate to murder and plunder the soldiery that had kept the white man from intruding upon their domains; and, whether the troops passed back and forth by land or water, they were frequently murdered and robbed by the ungrateful savages, who were ambushed along the banks of the river or in the dense underbrush that hemmed the intricate wilderness passage ways. On two different occasions of the period with which we are dealing the Indians attacked small detachments of troops that were making their way in boats down the Wabash, opening fire on them from the river banks. In the first instance only one or two soldiers were killed out of a party of probably ten or twelve. The second attack, however, was more disastrous to the

troops, and occurred only about a week later. In this cowardly onslaught, out of a squad of thirty-eight or forty soldiers, ten were killed outright, eight were wounded, some mortally, and the supplies with which the expedition had been provided were confiscated. The surviving members of militia floated down the Wabash and the day following met with a party of mounted riflemen from the borders of Kentucky, who had crossed the Ohio on a retaliatory foray in quest of a band of thieving Indians who had stolen quite a number of horses. These daring frontiersmen were given the details of the tragedy of the preceding day, and, with renewed vigor and heightened spirits for vengeance, started toward the place of its enactment. Within a few miles of town they came upon the identical band of cowardly red skins who were the principal actors in its bloody scenes. The Indians were taken unawares, ten or twelve of their number were killed, and the remainder retreated in all directions, leaving twenty or thirty horses behind, which were promptly taken in charge by the avenging Kentuckians.

Joel Tougas (Tougaw) a powerful Frenchman, learning of these Indian outrages, left his cabin on the banks of the Wabash, at St. Francisville, and came to town, on horseback, to investigate. While conversing with some friends in front of the old church shortly after his arrival, the alarm was given that an Indian had killed a soldier at the fort. Tougas, observing the red assassin fleeing from that direction, and coming toward him, jerked the "rider" off a "worm" fence, and swung the rail, with full force, against the middle of the Indian's back, breaking his spinal column and killing him almost instantly, after which Tougas resumed the conversation at the point where it had been interrupted as though nothing out of the ordinary had transpired. Joel Tougas, or Tougard, was one of three brothers—the other two being Joseph and William—all of whom were over six feet tall, having the strength of giants and the courage of lions. Joel has been referred to as "the man who dwelt alone on a rock," while the fires of war were burning all around him. That is to say, he lived at St. Francisville while Indian hostilities and the conflicts between the French and English were at meridian height, undismayed and undisturbed. He was probably the first man to run a flat boat from this locality to New Orleans, and generally made two trips a year. He built his boats with his own hands, taking the timber from the forest and shaping its ends. He was captain, mate and crew of every vessel he built, and made his long voyages single-handed and alone. The only animate thing on board his "merchant-marine" craft, besides himself, was his faithful horse, which always carried him safely back overland and from the southern metropolis he had entered *via* the water route.

Colonel Vigo was a heavy loser by the Indian outrages which were being perpetrated about this time. While on a trading expedition up the Wabash, his boat and crew were attacked by a warring band of red skins, the lives of three of his men were taken, and he was forced to reverse his

course and drop down stream. Taking up with another boat, belonging to American traders, he made a second attempt to force his way up stream, but met with greater resistance and more hostile treatment. During the skirmish that ensued the Americans' boat got away, but Vigo was captured. The Indians, however, released the gallant colonel when he made his identity clear, stating that it was only Americans against whom they made war, notwithstanding they plundered his boat of all the cargo they could carry away.

The Indian outrages gradually spread to the borders of Kentucky and along the banks of the Ohio as well as the Wabash, and in the seven years following the close of the Revolution thousands of lives had been sacrificed and thousands of horses stolen in Kentucky alone. The emigrant routes between all the settlements in the Northwest Territory were traversed by the hostile red skins, and became the scenes of the bloodiest murders and the most heinous crimes, by which women and children were subjected to all manner of outrages. Despite the efforts to conclude treaties on the part of the general government, the Indians grew more hostile and brutal, and would listen to no terms of peace. The Federal authorities, realizing how futile it were to assume simply a defensive attitude towards such blood-thirsty foes, prepared to pacify the savages with shot and shell; and it was not long until the valleys of the Maumee and the Wabash reverberated with the thunders of war.

The Federal Congress on July 13, 1787, passed an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio; and, eight days later, on the 21st of July, 1787, a resolution was adopted by the same august body, the full text of which is as follows:

Resolved, That the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department and, in case he be unable to attend, then Colonel Josiah Harmar, immediately proceed to Post Vincennes, or some other place more convenient, in his opinion, for holding a treaty with the Wabash Indians, the Shawanees, and other hostile tribes: that he inform those Indians that Congress is sincerely disposed to promote peace and friendship between their citizens and the Indians: that to this end, he is sent to invite them, in a friendly manner, to a treaty with the United States to hear their complaints, to know the truth, and the causes of their quarrels with those frontier* settlers; and having invited those Indians to the treaty, he shall make strict enquiry into the causes of their uneasiness and hostile proceedings, and ask for a treaty of peace with them, if it can be done on terms consistent with the honor and dignity of the United States.

In October of the same year (1787) Congress, taking cognizance of the fact, by resolution, that the time for which the greater part of the troops engaged in service on the frontiers would expire in the course of the ensuing year, resolved "that the interests of the United States required that the frontiers should be furnished with seven hundred troops, to protect the settlers on the public lands from Indian depredations, and to

*"The French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskia, Saint Vincents and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia."—[*Ordinance of July 13, 1787.*]

facilitate the surveying and selling of said lands, in order to reduce the public debt, and to prevent all unwarrantable intrusions thereon."

It seems that Colonel Harmar, who had been meanwhile promoted by brevet to the rank of major general, had arrived at Vincennes before the resolution authorizing him to come had passed Congress.† His treaties with the Indians, which were carried on here and at Kaskaskia, were unavailing, and, after remaining about three months, he appointed Major John F. Hamtramck, U. S. A., commandant of Post Vincennes, and took his departure for the borders of the Ohio. Major Hamtramck was a man of commanding presence and fine military bearing, and thoroughly capable of handling the intricate and perplexing problems of civil and military life on the frontier.‡ Following the example of his predecessors, he rechristened the fort by changing the name of "Patrick Henry" to that of "Knox," out of consideration to General Knox, a compliment suggested by General Harmar. The first move he made towards bringing order out of chaos at the Post was the issuance of a proclamation prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to Indians. During the years 1787 and 1788 repeated attempts on the part of the commissioners to treat with Indians occupying land along the borders of the Ohio had proven failures, the Indians always maintaining that the river Ohio was the boundary line between their possessions and those of the United States. About this time General Harmar, who was a busier, if not a more useful, man than when at Vincennes, had erected fortifications at the mouth of the Muskingum river, strengthened the fort and garrison at the Falls of the Ohio, and sent out confidential agents to all parts of the country to treat with the Indians and to ascertain the sentiment of western settlers relative to the invasion of Spanish possessions. The strengthening of the forts had been suggested in a letter dated November 14, 1787, from the secretary of war to General Harmar, who was then the commanding officer of troops stationed on the borders of the Ohio, and whom the secretary had advised "to form your posts of such strength, if in your power, as will be able by force to prevent the passage of the party for the invasion of Spanish possessions. Previous to exerting actual force you will represent, on behalf of the United States, to the persons conducting the enterprise, the criminality of their conduct and the obligation of the sovereign authority to prevent at any hazard such an audacious proceeding."

The Northwest Territory, as a recognized province of the United States, had no executive official head until, by an act of Congress, passed October

† Harmar had arrived at Vincennes two days before the adoption of this resolution in obedience to orders previously given him to take possession of the place from Clark.—[Dunn's *Indiana*, p. 261.]

‡ Major Hamtramck remained for three years the autocrat of the Wabash—the sole legislative, executive and judicial authority. He had the good sense to assume all the power that he considered best for the public welfare, and to assert it with firmness.—[J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 262.]

5, 1787, Arthur St. Clair was elected its first governor. He, however, never received any instructions from Congress until 1788, and the federal laws, pertaining to the government of the Northwest Territory, which did not have its organization fully established until the year last named, were not extended to Vincennes and many of the French settlements until 1790. Quite a number of causes contributed to the delay in perfecting the complete organization of the Northwest Territory, not least of which was the hostility of the Indians, who bitterly opposed every advance made by white settlers north of the Ohio river, and whose blood-thirsty natures had been wrought to the highest tension by the conduct of riflemen from Kentucky, who were bent on a relentless and exterminating war against the savages. The stubbornness and contentions of the Indians were aggravated largely by the British who, contrary to the terms of existing treaties between England and America, were attempting to hold possessions that did not belong to Canada, and who sought to further establish themselves by urging the Indians to resist all attempts of the general government to claim lands north of the Ohio, to insist on their independence, and to recognize no power or potentate other than England and King George.

But, if the reader will permit, we would like to give a further introduction to Arthur St. Clair, and recount a few of his acts prior to his selection as the chief executive of the Northwest Territory. A Scotchman by birth, he was quite a young man when he left his native land in 1755 to seek his fortune in the British colonies of North America. He first came into notoriety as a member of the Royal American, or Sixteenth British Regiment, serving under General Amherst at the taking of Louisbourg, in 1758. When the gallant General Wolfe, with his valiant troops stormed and captured Quebec, in 1759, he was the bearer of the victorious standard. Shortly after the conclusion of the peace treaty of 1763, he wandered into the western part of the province of Pennsylvania, locating in Ligonier Valley, where he made his home until the beginning of the Revolutionary war, when, having received from Congress a commission of Colonel, he joined the American forces in command of a regiment of seven hundred and fifty men. Later he was promoted to the rank of Major General, and was tried by a court martial, in 1778, for evacuating Ticonderoga* and Mount Independence. His trial, however, resulted in his complete acquittal, and the further establishment of his honor, integrity and bravery; and, to the very close of the war, he continued to act in the capacity of an officer of the United States, with the rank of Major General, always considered among the bravest of American soldiers. Writ-

*On the evacuation of Ticonderoga, St. Clair said to Major James Wilkinson: "I know I could save my character by sacrificing the army; but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world could not restore, and which it can not take away—the approbation of my own conscience."—[Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, p. 85.]

ing to Hon. William B. Giles, of Virginia, St. Clair discloses in a private letter the following bit of personal history: "In the year 1786 I entered into public service in the civil life, and was a member of Congress and president of that body, when it was determined to erect a government in the country to the west, that had been ceded by Virginia to the United States; and in the year 1788, the office of governor was in a great measure forced on me. The losses I had sustained in the Revolutionary war, from the depreciation of the money and other causes, had been very great; and my friends saw in this new government means that might be in my power to compensate myself, and to provide handsomely for my numerous family. They did not know how little I was qualified to avail myself of these advantages, if they had existed. I had neither taste nor genius for speculation in land: neither did I think it very consistent with the office."

Among the first instructions St. Clair received from Congress, nearly a year following his selection as Governor of the Northwest Territory, were to examine carefully into the real temper of the Indians; to remove, if possible, all causes of controversy, so that peace and harmony might be established between the United States and the Indian tribes; to regulate trade among the Indians; to neglect no opportunity that might offer of extinguishing the Indian rights to lands westward as far as the Mississippi, and northward as far as the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude; to use every possible endeavor to ascertain the names of the real head men and warriors of the several tribes, and to attach these men to the United States by every possible means; to make every exertion to defeat all confederations and combinations among the tribes, and to conciliate the white people inhabiting the frontier towards the Indians.*

Arriving at the settlement, which is now the town of Marietta, Ohio, St. Clair, in conjunction with Samuel Holden Parsons, James Mitchell Varnum and John Cleves Symmes, who had previously qualified as members of the General Court of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, took the initiatory towards the establishment of government for the Territory by formulating, adopting and publishing the following laws within a period covered from December to August, 1788:

1. A law for regulating and establishing the militia in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio.
2. A law for establishing general Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace, (and therein of the powers of single justices) and for establishing county courts of common pleas (and therein of the power of single judges to hear and determine upon small debts and contracts) and also a law for establishing the office of sheriff, and for the appointment of sheriffs.
3. A law establishing a Court of Probate.
4. A law for fixing the terms of the General Court of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio, provides: "The General Court for the territory

*Dillon, *History of Indiana*, ed, 1859.

of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, shall hold pleas, civil and criminal, at four certain periods or terms in each and every year in such counties as the judges shall from time to time deem most conducive to the general good; they giving timely notice of the place of their sitting; that is to say, upon the first Monday of February, May, October and December. Provided, however, that but one term be holden in any one county in a year; and that all processes, civil and criminal, shall be returnable to said court wheresoever they may be in said territory. And as circumstances may so intervene to prevent a session of the court at the time and place fixed upon, it shall and may be lawful for the court to adjourn from time to time, by writ directed to the sheriff of the county; and to continue all process accordingly: And in case either of the judges shall attend at the time and place aforesaid, and no writ be received by the sheriff, it shall be his duty to adjourn the court from day to day during the first six days of the term; and then to the next term; to which all processes shall be continued as aforesaid. Provided, however, that all issues in fact shall be tried in the county where the cause of action shall have arisen."

5. A law respecting oaths of office.

6. A law respecting crimes and punishments made treason, murder and house-burning (in cases where death ensued from such burning) punishable by death. The crimes of burglary and robbery were each punishable by whipping, (not exceeding thirty-nine stripes) fine and imprisonment not exceeding forty years. For the crime of perjury the offender was amenable to a fine not exceeding sixty dollars, or whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, and disfranchisement, and standing in the pillory for a space of time not exceeding two hours. Larceny was punishable by a fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court. If the convict could not pay the fine of the court it was lawful for the sheriff, by the direction of the court, to bind such convict to labor for a term not exceeding seven years, to any suitable person who would pay such fine. Forgery was punishable by fine, disfranchisement, and standing in the pillory for a space of time not exceeding three hours. The statutes relating to crimes, and providing punishment therefor, contained also the following sections:

"If any children or servants shall, contrary to obedience due to their parents or masters, resist or refuse to obey their lawful commands, upon complaint thereof to a Justice of the Peace, it shall be lawful for such Justice to send him or them so offending, to the jail or house of correction, there to remain until he or they shall humble themselves to the said parent's or master's satisfaction. And, if any child or servant shall, contrary to his bounden duty, presume to strike his parent or master, upon complaint and conviction thereof, before two or more Justices of the Peace, the offender shall be whipped not exceeding ten stripes.

"If any person shall be convicted of drunkenness before one or more Justices of the Peace, the person so convicted shall be fined, for the first offense, in the sum of five dimes, and for every succeeding offense, and upon conviction, in the sum of one dollar; and in either case, upon the offender's neglecting or refusing to pay the fine, he shall set in the stocks for the space of one hour, provided, however, that complaint be made to the Justice or Justices within two days next after the offense shall have been committed.

"Whereas, idle, vain and obscene conversation, profane cursing and swearing, and more especially the irreverently mentioning, calling upon, or invoking the Sacred and Supreme Being, by any of the divine characters in which he has graciously condescended to reveal his infinitely beneficent purposes to mankind, are repugnant to every moral sentiment, subversive of every civil obligation, inconsistent with the ornaments of polished life, and abhorrent to the principles of the most benevolent religion. It is expected, therefore, if crimes of this kind should exist, they will not find encouragement or approbation in this territory. It is strictly enjoined upon all officers and ministers of justice, upon parents and others, heads of families, and upon others of every description, that they abstain from practices so vile and irrational;

and that by example and precept, to the utmost of their power they prevent the necessity of adopting and publishing laws with penalties upon this head. And it is hereby declared that government will consider as unworthy its confidence all those who may obstinately violate these injunctions.

"Whereas, mankind in every stage of informed society, have consecrated certain portions of time to the particular cultivation of the social virtues, and the public adoration and worship of the common parent of the universe; and whereas a practice so rational in itself and conformable to the divine precepts is greatly conducive to civilization as well as morality and piety and whereas for the advancement of such important and interesting purposes, most of the Christian world have set apart the first day of the week as a day of rest from common labors and pursuits; it is therefore enjoined that all servile labor, works of necessity and charity only excepted, be wholly abstained from on said day."

7. A law regulating marriages, among others, contained this provision in its third section: "Previously to persons being joined in marriage as aforesaid, the intention of the parties shall be made known by publishing the same for the space of fifteen days at least, either by the same being publicly and openly declared three several Sundays, holy days, or other days of public worship in the meeting in the towns where the parties respectively belong, or by publication in writing under the hand and seal of one of the judges before mentioned, or of a Justice of the Peace within the county, to be affixed in some public place in the town wherein the parties respectively dwell; or a license shall be obtained of the governor under his hand and seal, authorizing the marriage of the parties without publication, as is in this law before required."

8. A law in addition to a law entitled "A law for regulating and establishing the militia in the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio."

9. A law appointing Coroners.

10. A law limiting the times of commencing civil actions and instituting criminal prosecutions.

Having, with his associates, completed the compilation and publication of the foregoing laws, Governor St. Clair repaired to Fort Harmar, at the mouth of the Muskingum river, and, on the 9th day of January, 1789, concluded a treaty with the Six Nations, the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Sacs. The terms of the treaty, however, were repudiated by all the tribes named, (except the Six Nations) who subsequently denied having any authorized representatives at the meeting; and during the early spring of the following year the red demons again went on the war path and continued to murder and rob the inhabitants of defenseless white settlements on the western frontiers. Within less than six months after the alleged treaty, following which the Indians seemed to grow more savage, if possible, than before, General Knox, Secretary of War, in an official report to the President of the United States dated June 15th, 1789, sums up the Indian situation in the Northwest Territory, and gives expression to the following patriotic and humane sentiments:

"By information from Brigadier General Harmar, the commanding officer of the troops on the frontiers, it appears that several murders have been lately committed on the inhabitants by small parties of Indians probably from the Wabash country. Some of the said murders have been perpetrated on the south side of the Ohio, the inhabitants on the waters of that river are exceedingly alarmed, for the extent of six or seven hundred miles along the same. It is to be observed that the United

States have not formed any treaties with the Wabash Indians; on the contrary, since the conclusion of the war with Great Britain, hostilities have almost constantly existed between the people of Kentucky and the said Indians. The injuries and murders have been so reciprocal that it would be a point of critical investigation to know on which side they have been the greatest. Some of the inhabitants of Kentucky during the past year, roused by recent injuries, made an incursion into the Wabash country, and possessing an equal aversion to all bearing the name of Indians, they destroyed a number of peaceable Piankeshaws who prided themselves in their attachment to the United States. Things being thus circumstanced, it is greatly to be apprehended that hostilities may be so far extended as to involve the Indian tribes with whom the United States have recently made treaties. It is well known how strong the passion exists for war in the mind of a young savage, and how easily it may be inflamed, so as to disregard every precept of the older and wiser part of the tribes who may have a more just opinion of the force of a treaty. Hence, it results that unless some decisive measures are immediately adopted to terminate those mutual hostilities, they will probably become general among all the Indians northwest of the Ohio.

"In examining the question how the disturbances on the frontiers are to be quieted, two modes present themselves, by which the object might perhaps be effected: the first is by raising an army and extirpating the refractory tribes entirely; or, secondly, by forming treaties of peace with them, in which their rights and limits should be explicitly defined, and the treaties observed on the part of the United States with the most rigid justice, by punishing the whites who should violate the same.

"In considering the first mode, an enquiry would arise, *whether, under the existing circumstances of affairs, the United States have a clear right, consistently with the principles of justice and the laws of nature, to proceed to the destruction or expulsion of the savages on the Wabash, supposing the force for that object easily attainable.* It is presumable that a nation solicitous of establishing its character on the broad basis of justice, would not only hesitate at, but reject every proposition to benefit itself, by the injury of any neighboring community, however contemptible and weak it may be, either with respect to its manners or power. When it shall be considered that the Indians derive their subsistence chiefly by hunting, and that, according to fixed principles, their population is in proportion to the facility with which they procure their food, it would most probably be found that the expulsion or destruction of the Indian tribes have nearly the same effect; for, if they are removed from their usual hunting grounds, they must necessarily encroach on the hunting grounds of another tribe, who will not suffer the encroachment with impunity—hence they destroy each other. The Indians being the prior occupants, possess the right of the soil. It cannot be taken from them unless by their free consent, or by the right of conquest in case of a just war. To dispossess them on any other principle would be a gross violation of the fundamental laws of nature, and of that distributive justice which is the glory of a nation. But, if it should be decided, on an abstract view of the question to be just, to remove by force the Wabash Indians from the territory they occupy, the finances of the United States would not at present admit of the operation.

"By the best and latest information it appears that, on the Wabash and its communications, there are from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors. An expedition against them, with a view of extirpating them, or destroying their towns, could not be undertaken with a probability of success, with less than an army of two thousand, five hundred men. The United States troops on the frontiers are less than six hundred:* of that number not more than four hundred could be collected from the

*Detachments of regular troops were stationed at Fort Pitt, Fort Harmar, Fort Washington, Fort Steuben (at the Falls of the Ohio) and at Post Vincennes.—[Dillon, *History of Indiana*, Vol. i, p. 238.]

posts for the purpose of the expedition. To raise, pay, feed, arm and equip one thousand, nine hundred additional men, with the necessary officers, for six months, and to provide everything in the hospital and quartermaster's line, would require the sum of two hundred thousand dollars; a sum far exceeding the ability of the United States to advance, consistently with a due regard to other indispensable objects."

Colonel John Hardin, a regular United States army officer of Revolutionary fame, knowing the Kentuckians' aversion to the red man, in August, 1789, organized a volunteer company of mounted men at Fort Steuben, and marched from the Falls of the Ohio to the Wabash country to "sack" some Indian villages and exterminate their inhabitants. After devoting a month to the work of destroying corn, pillaging and burning Indian towns, and killing a quantity of savages, the scouting party returned to Kentucky, without having sustained the loss of a single man.

Meantime Governor St. Clair was wrestling hard with the Indian problem, and, in a letter written to President Washington, under date of September 14th, 1789, leaves the inference to be drawn that, probably, Hardin's expedition was without authority or sanction of his superior officers. The letter, of which only a portion is here given, contains the following comments: "The constant hostilities between the Indians who live upon the river Wabash and the people of Kentucky, must necessarily be attended with such embarrassing circumstances to the government of the Northwest Territory, that I am induced to request that you will be pleased to take the matter into consideration, and give me the orders you may think proper. It is not to be expected, sir, that the Kentucky people will or can submit patiently to the cruelties and depredations of those savages. They are in the habit of retaliation, perhaps *without attending precisely to the nations from which the injuries are received*. They will continue to retaliate, or they will apply to the Governor of the Northwest Territory (through which the Indians must pass to attack them) for redress. If he cannot redress them (and in the present circumstances he cannot) they also will march through that country to redress themselves, and the government will be laid prostrate. The United States, on the other hand, are at peace with several of the nations, and should the resentment of these people [the Kentuckians] fall upon any of them, which is likely enough to happen, very bad consequences may follow. For it must appear to them [the Indians] that the United States either pay no regard to their treaties, or that they are unwilling or unable to carry their engagements into effect. They will unite with the hostile nations, prudently preferring open war to a delusive and uncertain peace."

The alarm occasioned by Indian incursions and hostilities during the year 1789 was so great that the United States Congress in September of that year passed an act empowering the president to call out the militia of the respective states for the protection of frontier settlements; and, subsequently, the president addressed Governor St. Clair a communication announcing that "It is highly necessary that I should as soon as possible,

possess full information, whether the Wabash Indians are most inclined for war or peace. If for the former, it is proper that I should be informed of the means which will most probably induce them to peace. If a peace can be established with the said Indians on reasonable terms, the interests of the United States dictate that it should be effected as soon as possible. You will, therefore, inform the said Indians of the disposition of the General Government on this subject, and of their reasonable desire that there should be a cessation of hostilities as a prelude to a treaty."

It was made a part of the president's order that the militia at the different posts should act in conjunction with the regular troops. Washington further said, in his message to St. Clair: "I would have it observed forcibly, that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently with the security of the troops and the national dignity. In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States. But, if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the disposition of the General Government for the preservation of peace, and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity."

The concluding paragraph of the message contains these words, in which George Washington expressed anxiety for the well being of the citizens of the Old Post: "You will, also, proceed, as soon as you can, with safety, to execute the orders of the late Congress respecting the inhabitants at Post Vincennes, and at the Kaskaskias, and the other villages on the Mississippi. It is a circumstance of some importance, that the said inhabitants should, as soon as possible, possess the lands to which they are entitled, by some known and fixed principle."

The lands referred to above were acquired by the following named heads of families who settled at Vincennes on or before the year 1783, and who had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and comprised 400 acres in each individual tract, being situated in the Old Donation; and the instructions in the foregoing paragraph in relation thereto were based upon resolutions adopted by Congress in June and August, 1788, confirming titles thereto: Louis Alaire, Joseph Andrez, Francois Brouillet, Francois Boraye, Jr., John Baptiste Binette, Charles Boneau, Vital Bencher, Marie, widow of Louis Bayer, Amble Boulon, Charles Bugard, Mitchel Burdelow, Mitchel Brouillet, Francois Bosseron, Francois Boraye, Sr., Antoine Burdelow, Sr., Louis Brouillet, Louis Bayer, John Baptiste Cardinal, Francois Coder, Pierre Cornoyer, Joseph Chabot, Antoine Cary, Francois Compagniat, Jacques Cardinal, Joseph Chartier, Nicholas Chapard, Joseph Charpontier, Pierre Chartier, Sr., Moses Carter, Antone Dronette, John Baptiste Dubois, John Baptiste Duchene, Charles Delile, Charles Delisle, Pierre Daigneau, Antoine Dorrys, Louis De Clairier, John Baptiste Deloyier, Honore Dorrys, Charles Dudevoir, Amble Delisle, Jacques Denze,

Joseph Ducharme, Bonaventure Drogier, Nicholas Ditart, Francois Desauve, Louis Edeline, Joseph Flamelin, John Baptiste Javale, Paul Gamelin, Charles Gusille, Toussaint Goder, Antoine Gamelin, Paul Gamelin, Amble Gaurquie, Alexis A. Gallinois, Pierre Gilbert, John Baptist Harpin, Joseph Hunot, Sr., Etienne Jacques, Edward Johnson, Jacques Latrimoille, Francois Lognon, Joseph Lognon, Jacques La Croix, Pierre Laforest, Anthony Luneford, Charles Languedoc, Louis Lamere, John Baptiste Mangen, Pierre Sanglois, Joseph Leveron, Louis Laderoute, Francois Languedoc, Pierre Mallet, Antoine Mallet, Andre Montplesir, Louis Meteyer, Francois Winie, John Baptiste Mallet, Nicholas Mayat, Francois Mallet, Joseph Michael, Antoine Marier, Frederick Mahl, Joseph Mallett, John Baptiste Mayes, Michael Nean, John Baptiste Quillet, Joseph Perrdeau, Guillaume Payes, Pierre Perret, Amble Perron, Pierre Zuivez, Sr., John Baptiste Ste. Marie Racine, Joseph Sabelle, Pierre Regnez, John Baptist St. Aubin, Francois Racine, Pierre Andre Racine, Louis Ravellette, Louis Raupialt, Joseph Raux, Joseph St. Marie, Etienne St. Marie, Francois Turpin, Francois Tuidel, Joseph Tougas, Francis Vatchette, John Baptiste Vandray, Sr., John Baptiste Vandray, Jr., Francis Vigo, Alexander Vallez, Antoine Vandrez, John Baptiste Vilray, Angelique, widow of Etienne Phillibert, Mary Louisa, widow of Nicholas Perrot, Felicite, widow of Francois Peltier, Angelique, widow of Francois Basinet, Marie, widow of Nicholas Cardinal, Susanna, widow of Pierre Coder, Marianne, widow of Louis Denoyou, Marie, widow of Hyacinthe Denoyou, Veronique, widow of Guillaume Daperon, Francois, widow of Ambrose Dagenet, Genevive, widow of Pierre Gremore, Ann, widow of Moses Henry, Catharine, widow of John Baptiste Lafontaine, Madaline, widow of St. Jean Legarde, Veronique, widow of Gabriel La Grande, Maria Louise, widow of John Philip Marie Legras, Louise, widow of Antoine Lefevre, Catarine, widow of Amble Lardoise, Madeline, widow of Joseph Stone, Genevive, wife of Joseph Laboissier, the husband deserted, Renee Godene de Pannah, Agate, widow of Amble Rumay.

Governor St. Clair, accompanied by Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory, arrived in the Illinois country in 1790 for the purpose of organizing the government in this section, and to carry into effect the congressional resolutions referred to above relative to the lands and settlers in and about Vincennes and Kaskaskia. St. Clair, however, had previously sent Major Hamtramck, in command at Vincennes, certain despatches containing speeches which were addressed to the Indian tribes on the Wabash. Among the despatches was a letter, (dated at Fort Steuben, Jan. 23, 1790) in which the Governor expressed great pain at having heard of the scarcity of corn prevalent in the settlements about Vincennes and hoped that the reports had been exaggerated; "but it is represented to me," he continues in the letter, "that unless a supply of that article can be sent forward, the people must actually starve. Corn can be had here in any quantity; but can the people pay for it? I entreat you

to enquire into the matter, and if you find they can not do without it, write to the Contractor's Agent here, to whom I will give orders to send forward such quantity as you may find to be absolutely necessary. They must pay for what they can of it; but they must not be suffered to perish: and though I have no direct authority from the government for this purpose, I must take it upon myself."

There was much distress caused by the corn famine at Vincennes in the fore part of the year 1790 and many people were driven to sheer desperation. Major Hamtramck replied to the letter of Governor St. Clair in March, stating he had sent a boat as directed for the purpose of conveying eight hundred bushels of corn to the starving people. In the same connection he relates that on the 16th inst. a woman, a boy of about thirteen, and a girl about seven years were forced to the woods by hunger and there committed suicide by eating some nameless poisonous weeds.

It was early in the year 1790 that Governor St. Clair, while at Kaskaskia, named the territory in which that settlement was located St. Clair county. He appointed civil officers and issued a proclamation directing claimants to show their land titles in order that they might be approved and possessions to the land confirmed. While a large number of claims and title deeds were exhibited, and orders issued for a survey to be made of the lands to those holding them, "only a part of the surveys," says the Governor, were returned, because the people objected to paying the surveyor, and that it was "too true that they were ill able to pay." And in the same report, wherein the foregoing fact is stated, the Governor says:

"The Illinois country, as well as that upon the Wabash, has been involved in great distress ever since it fell under the American dominion. With great cheerfulness the people furnished the troops under General Clark and the Illinois regiment, with everything they could spare, and often much more than they could spare with any convenience to themselves. Most of the certificates of these supplies are still in their hands, unliquidated and unpaid; and, in many instances where application has been made for payment to the state of Virginia, under whose authority the certificates were granted, it has been refused. The Illinois regiment being disbanded, a set of men pretending the authority of Virginia, embodied themselves, and a scene of general depredation and plunder ensued. To this succeeded three successive and extraordinary inundations from the Mississippi, which either swept away their crops or prevented them from being planted. The loss of the greatest part of their trade with the Indians, which was a great resource, came upon them at this juncture, as well as the hostile incursion of some of the tribes which had ever before been in friendship with them: and to these was added the loss of their whole last crop of corn by an untimely frost. Extreme misery could not fail to be the consequence of such accumulated misfortunes."

Good Father Gibault, always ready and willing to lighten the burdens of suffering humanity, could not permit himself to remain silent when his parishoners at Kaskaskia and Cahokia were in the depths of misery and despair. Accordingly, he addressed a communication (containing eighty-seven signatures besides his own) to Governor St. Clair, which is under date

of "St. Clair county, June 9, 1790," and of which the following is an excerpt:

"The memorialists humbly sheweth that by an act of Congress of June 20, 1778, it was declared that the lands heretofore possessed by the said inhabitants should be surveyed at their expense; and that this clause appears to them neither necessary nor adapted to quiet the minds of the people. It does not appear necessary, because from the establishment of the colony to this day, they have enjoyed their property and possessions without disputes or law suits on the subject of their limits: that the surveys of them were made at the time they were obtained from their Ancient Kings, Lords and Commandants; and that each of them knew what belonged to him without attempting an encroachment on his neighbor, or fearing that his neighbor would encroach on him. It does not appear adapted to pacify them, because, instead of assuring to them the peaceable possession of their ancient inheritance, as they have enjoyed it till now, that clause obliges them to bear expenses which, in their present situation, they are absolutely incapable of paying, and for the failure of which they must be deprived of their lands.

"Your Excellency is an eye witness to which the inhabitants are reduced, and of the total want of provisions to subsist on. Not knowing where to find a morsel of bread to nourish their families, by what means can they support the expense of a survey, which has not been sought for on their parts, and for which, it is conceived by them, there is no necessity? Loaded with misery, and groaning under the weight of misfortunes, accumulated since the Virginia troops entered their country, the unhappy inhabitants throw themselves under the protection of your Excellency, and take the liberty to solicit you to lay their deplorable situation before Congress; and, as it may be interesting for the United States to know exactly the extent and limits of their ancient possessions in order to ascertain the lands which are yet at the disposal of Congress, it appears to them, in their humble opinion, that the expense of the survey ought more properly be borne by Congress, for whom alone it is useful, than by them who do not feel the necessity of it. Besides, this is no object for the United States, but it is great, too great, for a few unhappy beings who, your Excellency sees yourself, are scarcely able to support their pitiful existence."

Major Hamtramck conducted the expeditions against the savages in this locality, meeting with but little resistance; and, after applying the torch and reducing to ashes the bark huts and tepees of quite a number of villages, and destroying the crops and provisions of the inhabitants thereof, returned to Vincennes to enjoy the temporary quietude which came as the result of his incursions. For a period of two years, during which there were lucid intervals, the savages continued to kill, plunder and outrage the settlers and to frequently attack the frontier soldiers, their depredations growing fiercer and more numerous in the regions north of the Ohio river. Major Hamtramck ordered Antoine Gamelin to deliver the speeches which Governor St. Clair had addressed to the Wabash Indians, and on April 5th, 1790, Gamelin left Vincennes to execute the orders, visiting all the principal villages that were far or near the borders of the Wabash, and penetrating the country as far eastward as the Miami village of Ke-ki-ong-gay, which stood at the junction of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, the present site of Fort Wayne. Monsieur Gamelin kept a complete journal of all the events which transpired during his conferences with the Indians, to which he subsequently subscribed an oath

that all statements contained therein were true, making affidavit to that effect before Major Hamtramck on May 17, 1790. The following paragraphs, (excerpts from Gamelin's journal) not only show the faithfulness with which he discharged the trust confided in him, but display the attitude of the Indians at the time towards their white brethren, as well as the spirit in which the red skins regarded Governor St. Clair's overtures for peace:

"The first village I arrived at is called Kikaponguoi. The name of the chief of this village is called Les Jambes Croches. Him and his tribe have a good heart and accepted the speech. The second village is at the river du Vermillion, called Piankeshaws. The first chief, and all the warriors, were well pleased with the speeches concerning the peace: but they said they could not give presently a proper answer, before they consult the Miami nation, their eldest brethren. They desired me to proceed to the Miami town [Ke-ko-ong-gay] and, by coming back, to let them know what reception I got from them. The said head chief told me that he thought the nations of the lake had a bad heart, and were ill disposed for the Americans: that the speeches would not be received, particularly by the Shawanees in Miamitown. . . . The 11th of April I reached a tribe of Kickapoos. The head chief and all the warriors being assembled, I gave them two branches of white wampum, with the speeches of His Excellency Arthur St. Clair and those of Major Hamtramck. It must be observed that the speeches have been in another hand before me. The messenger could not proceed farther than the Vermilion, on account of some private wrangling between the interpreter and some chief men of the tribe. Moreover, something in the speech displeased them very much, which is included in the third article, which says '*I do now make you the offer of peace; accept it, or regret it, as you please.*' These words seemed to displease all the tribes to whom the first messenger was sent. They told me they were menacing; and finding that it might have a bad effect, I took upon myself to exclude them; and, after making some apology, they answered that he and his tribe were pleased with my speech, and that I could go up without danger, but they could not presently give me an answer, having some warriors absent, and without consulting the Ouiatenons, being the owners of their lands. They desired me to stop at Quitepiconnae [Tippecanoe] that they would have the chiefs and warriors of Quiatenons and those of their nation assembled there, and would receive a proper answer. They said they expected by me a draught of milk from the great chief, and the commanding officer of the post, for to put the old people in good humor; also some powder and ball for the young men for hunting, and to get some good broth for their women and children; that I should know a bearer of speeches should never be with empty hands. They promised me to keep their young men from stealing, and to send speeches to their nations in the prairies for to do the same.

"The 14th of April the Ouiatenons and the Kickapoos were assembled. After my speech one of the head chiefs got up and told me—'You, Gamelin, my friend and son-in-law, we are pleased to see in our village, and to hear by your mouth the good words of the great chief. We thought to receive a few words from the French people; but I see the contrary. None but the Big Knife is sending speeches to us. You know we can terminate nothing without the consent of our brethren, the Miamies. I invite you to proceed to their village and to speak to them. There is one thing in your speech I do not like: I will not tell of it: even was I drunk, I would perceive it; but our elder brethren will certainly take notice of it in your speech. You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British.' Another chief got up and said—'The Americans are very flattering in their speeches; many times our nation went to their rendezvous. I was once myself. Some of our chiefs died on the route; and we always came back all

naked; and you, Gamelin, you come with speech, with empty hands.' Another chief got up and said to his young men, 'If we are poor, and dressed in deer skins, it is our own fault. Our French traders are leaving us and our villages, because you plunder them every day; and it is time for us to have another conduct.' Another chief got up and said, 'Know ye that the village of Ouiatenon is the sepulchre of all our ancestors. The chief of America invites us to go to him if we are for peace. He has not his leg broke, having been able to go as far as the Illinois. He might come here himself; and we would be glad to see him at our village. We confess that we accepted the axe, but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations, which receive the axe first, calling us women; at the present time they invite our young men to war. As to the old people, they are wishing for peace. They could not give me an answer before they received advice from the Miamies.

"The 18th of April I arrived at the river a l'Autuille [Eel river]. The chief of the village,* and those of war were not present. I explained the speeches to some of the tribe. They said they were well pleased; but they could not give me an answer, their chief men being absent. They desired me to stop at their village coming back; and they sent with me one of their men for to hear the answer of their eldest brethren.

"The 23d April I arrived at the Miami town. The next day I got the Miami nation, the Shawanees and Delawares, all assembled. I gave to each nation two branches of wampum, and began the speeches, before the French and English traders, being invited by the chiefs to be present, having told them myself I would be glad to have them present, having nothing to say against anybody. After the speech, I showed them the treaty concluded at Muskingum [Fort Harmar] between his excellency Governor St. Clair and sundry nations, which displeased them. I told them that the purpose of this present time was not to submit them to any condition, but to offer them the peace, which made disappear their displeasure. The great chief told me that he was pleased with the speech; that he would soon give me an answer. In a private discourse with the great chief he told me not to mind what the Shawanees would tell me, having a bad heart, and being the perturbators of all the nations. He said the Miamies had a bad name, on account of mischief done on the river Ohio; but he told me it was not occasioned by his young men, but by the Shawanees, his young men going out only for to hunt.

"The 25th of April, Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawanees, invited me go to his house, and told me, 'My friend, by the name and consent of the Shawanees and Delawares, I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it; but, after consultation, we can not give an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit; and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum, and to send you to Detroit to see and hear the chief, or to stay here twenty nights for to receive his answer. From all quarters we receive speeches from the Americans, and not one is alike. We suppose that they intend to deceive us. Then take back your branches of wampum.'

"The 26th, five Pottawattamies arrived here with two negro men, which they sold to English traders. The next day I went to the great chief of the Miamies called Le Gris. His chief warrior was present. I told him how I had been served by the Shawanees. He answered me that he had heard of it; that the said nation behaved contrary to his intentions. He desired me not to mind those strangers, and that he would soon give me a positive answer.

*This village stood on the north side of Eel river, about 24 miles above the junction of that stream with the Wabash.—Dillon, *Historical Notes*, p. 247.

"The 28th April, the great chief desired me to call at the French trader's and receive his answer. 'Don't take bad,' said he, 'of what I am to tell you. You may go back when you please. We can not give you a positive answer. We must send your speeches to all our neighbors, and to the lake nations. We can not give a definite answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit.' And he desired me to render him the two branches of wampum refused by the Shawanees; also a copy of speeches in writing. He promised me that in thirty nights he would send an answer to Post Vincennes by a young man of each nation. He was well pleased with the speeches, and said to be worthy of attention, and should be communicated to all their confederates, having resolved among them not to do anything without a unanimous consent. I agreed to his requisitions, and rendered him the two branches of wampum and a copy of the speech. Afterward, he told me that the Five Nations, so-called, or Iroquois, were training something; that five of them and three Wyandots, were in this village with branches of wampum. He could not tell me presently their purpose, but he said I would know of it very soon.

"The same day Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanees, invited me to his house for supper; and before the other chiefs, told me that after another deliberation, they thought necessary that I should go myself to Detroit, for to see the commandant, who would get all of his children assembled for to hear my speech. I told them I would not answer them in the night, that I was not ashamed to speak before the sun.

"The 29th of April I got them assembled. I told them that I was not to go to Detroit; that the speeches were directed to the nations of the river Wabash, and the Miami; and that for to prove the sincerity of the speech, and the heart of Governor St. Clair, I have willingly given a copy of the speeches to be shown to the commandant of Detroit; and according to a letter wrote by the commandant of Detroit to the Miamies, Shawanees and Delawares, mentioning to you to be peaceable with the Americans, I would go to him very willingly, if it was in my directions, being sensible of his sentiments. I told them I had nothing to say to the commandant; neither him to me. You must immediately resolve, if you intend to take me to Detroit, or else I am to go back as soon as possible. Blue Jacket got up and told me, 'My friend, we are well pleased with what you say. Our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit; it is only a proposal, thinking it for the best. Our answer is the same as the Miamies. We will send, in thirty nights, a full and positive answer by a young man of each nation, by writing to Post Vincennes.' In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanees, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Shawanee nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, so-called, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fire, and sent away their young men, being a hunting, without a mouthful of meat; also had taken away their women; wherefore many of them would, with a great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover, that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away by degrees their lands; and would serve them as they did before. A certain proof that they intend to encroach on our lands is their new settlement in Ohio. If they don't keep this side [of the Ohio] clear, it will never be a proper reconciliation with the nations—Shawanees, Iroquois, Wyandots, and perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamies, asked me in a private discourse what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Muskingum [Fort Harmar]. I answered him that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago; but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty; they are only young men who, without authority and instructions from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to the meeting clandestinely and they intend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.

"The 2d of May I came back to the river a l'Anguille. One of the chief men of the tribe being witness of the council at Miami town, repeated the whole to them; and whereas the first chief was absent, they said they could not for the present time give answer, but they were willing to join their speech to those of their eldest brethren. 'To give you proof of an open heart, we let you know that one of our chiefs is gone to war on the Americans; but it was before we heard of you, for certain they would not have been gone thither. They also told me that a few days after I passed their village, seventy warriors, Chippewas and Ottawas from Michilimackinack, arrived there; some of them were Pottawattamies, who, meeting in their route the Chippewas and Ottawas, joined them. 'We told them what we heard by you, that your speech is fair and true. We could not stop them from going to war. The Pottawattamies told us that as the Chippewas and Ottawas were more numerous than they, they were forced to follow them.'

"The 3d of May I got to the Weas. They told me that they were waiting for an answer from their eldest brethren. 'We approve very much our brethren for not to give a definite answer without informing of it to all the lake nations; that Detroit was the place where their fire was lighted; then it ought first to be put out there; that the English commandant is their father, since he threw down our French father; they could do nothing without his approbation.'

"The 4th of May I arrived at the village of the Kickapoos. The chief, presenting me with two branches of wampum, black and white, said, 'My son, we can not stop our young men from going to war. Every day some set off clandestinely for that purpose. After such behavior from our young men, we are ashamed to say to the great chief at the Illinois and of the Post Vincennes that we are busy about some good affairs for the reconciliation; but be persuaded that we will speak to them continually concerning the peace; and that when our eldest brethren will have sent their answer, we will join ours to it.'

"The 5th of May I arrived at Vermillion. I found nobody but two chiefs; all the rest were gone a hunting. They told me they had nothing else to say but what I was told going up."

On May 22, 1790, Major Hamtramck, in a message written at Vincennes to Governor St. Clair, says: "I enclose the proceedings of Mr. Gamelin by which your Excellency can have no great hopes of bringing the Indians to peace with the United States. Gamelin arrived on the 8th of May, and on the 11th some merchants arrived and informed me that as soon as Gamelin had passed their village on his return, all the Indians had gone to war; that a large party of Indians from Michilimackinac and some Pottawattomies had gone to Kentucky and that three days after Gamelin had left the Miami village, Kekionga, an American, was brought there, scalped and burned at the stake." At a much later date, December 2, 1790, Hamtramck, writing to St. Clair, draws a lucid picture of the situation then existing, which is the product of an intelligent and observing mind, and reads as follows:

"I hope your excellency will excuse me if I take the liberty of writing on a subject so remote from the duty of a soldier. I do it because you have requested it of me in your letter of January 23, 1790, and if I have not communicated my sentiments before, it was from an apprehension that they might be contrary to the general opinion of Indian affairs. They are now presented to your excellency, with full expectation that it will not be ascribed to arrogance or ostentation on my part, it being the result of the purest intention. On those calculated expectations I will speak

freely, and give as my opinion that nothing can establish a peace with the Indians as long as the British keep possession of the upper forts; for they certainly are daily sowing the seed of discord betwixt the measures of our government and the Indians.

"Perhaps the Indians will call for a peace early this spring. If so, I can assure you that I am not mistaken if I prognosticate that it will be done to deceive us, and ought not to be granted before we have another expedition and have established respectable garrisons in the most important parts of their country; then we will be able to make peace on our conditions and not on theirs.

"The Indians can never be subdued by just going into their towns and burning their houses and corn, and returning the next day, for it is no hardship to an Indian to live without; they make themselves perfectly comfortable on meat alone; and as for houses, they can build them with as much facility as a bird does his nest.

"As for obtaining any advantage of them in action, there is, in my opinion, very little to be calculated on that head; for they will not fight without having a decided advantage over their enemies, and if they find they cannot meet them, they always have a sufficient country which affords them a secured situation.

"Should government be disposed to carry on an expedition in the spring without establishing garrisons in their country, I would then beg the permission to suggest an idea, which would be to surprise them in their towns, which can be done by having all the men mounted on good horses, and every man to be his own commissary; that is, he should furnish himself with provisions for so many days; by that means a large body of troops would be able to perform (with probability) such an expedition undiscovered, and with very great dispatch. This plan appears to me to be the most eligible one that can be adopted; for if the United States want to chastise the Indians, there is no other way to do it with success than by surprising them in their town or camp. Another observation which I beg to make that, admitting a treaty should take place this spring, the people of our frontier will certainly be the first to break it. The people of Kentucky will carry on private expeditions against the Indians and kill them whenever they meet them, and I do not believe that there is a jury in all Kentucky who would punish a man for it. These combined circumstances, sir, make me think that until we are securely intrenched in the Indian country, we never can be sure that peace is fully established; for as the thirst for war is the dearest inheritance an Indian receives from his parents, and vengeance that of the Kentuckians, hostility must then be the result on both sides."

To recount the Indian murders and depredations that reddened the soil and terrorized the inhabitants of the Northwest Territory during the period encompassing the years 1786 and 1790 would require volumes. Scenes of horrible suffering, of bravery, heroism and prowess, born of love, fear and hate, enacted in the light of the fierce flames of lonely cabins, were of nightly occurrence. Brave men and craven cowards, innocent women and children, were the victims of the blood-thirsty red demons, who gloated over the massacre of entire families, without having sustained the loss of a single brave. The fields and forests were strewn with the ashes of cabin homes and fertilized with the blood of women and children, besides whose mutilated corpses lay the dead bodies of their defenders, pierced with bullets, telling too plainly how desperate, but how hopeless, had been the struggle for the protection of loved ones. Along the banks of rivers and creeks the plumed and painted red fiends lay in wait for the *voyageurs*, and, from ambush on either side of the streams, opened fire upon the primitive crafts of the daring occupants, whose lifeless bodies

frequently went down to watery graves. An exchange of shots from the boatmen, which was inevitable, precipitated a rain of lead, during which the river ran red with the blood of the dead and wounded. No pen can portray the courage and bravery displayed by the pioneers who were the chief actors in these tragedies; no words can convey the depth of filial devotion, the endearing ties of tenderness and love that bound families together, and made the log cabins in which they dwelt, amid scenes of desolation and death, abodes of virtue and fidelity and even happiness. And, it is doubtful, whether the men or women were the more courageous. Both were nevertheless experts in handling the rifle, had acquired the art of marksmanship, and were as learned in woodcraft and cunning as the red-handed marauders who sought their lives by day and night.

Acting upon the advices furnished by Hamtramck, Governor St. Clair, who was at Kaskaskia, abandoned all hope of making peace treaties with the Miamis and their confederacies, and proceeded at once by water to red skins. He took his departure from Kaskaskia on the 11th of June, Fort Washington, the headquarters of General Harmar, to consult with him as to the better plan for carrying out an expedition against the hostile but before leaving the place entrusted to Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Territory, the duties of Governor, with instructions to execute the provisions of the Congressional resolutions relative to the lands and settlers on the Wabash river, and to proceed to Vincennes, lay out a county at that point, establish the militia and appoint the requisite number of military and civil officers for the Old Post. Besides finding the terrible tangle in land matters (already referred to in a preceding chapter) he discovered that in July, 1800, there were one hundred and twenty-three heads of families living at Post Vincennes who were residents of the place in 1783; and while busily engaged in looking into measures to confirm these ancient inhabitants in their possessions, rights and titles to real estate given them by the general government, a deputation of eighty Americans waited on him, praying for the confirmation of various land grants which the celebrated court had made between the years 1779 and 1787. Quite a number of the French inhabitants importuned him on the same subject, which led him to call on the court to explain their transactions in the premises and to say some uncomplimentary things about Mr. Le Grand, the clerk, whom he charged with falsifying vouchers and records, and being guilty of "such gross fraud and forgery as to invalidate all evidence and information which might otherwise have been acquired from the papers."

Secretary Sargent and Major Hamtramck were very popular with the inhabitants of the Old Post, who gave assurances of their high regard for both officers in a nicely-worded communication addressed to Mr. Sargent on July 23, 1790. The names of some of the judges of land-grant fame are among the signatures to the document, indicating, it would seem, that Sargent's chastisement of them for alleged judicial misconduct was

mild, and that the citizens regarded it proper to put them forward on state occasions. The communication reads:

"To the Honorable Winthrop Sargent, Esq., secretary of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, and now vested with all the powers of governor and commander-in-chief thereof:

"The citizens of the town of Vincennes approach you, sir, to express as well their personal respect for your honor, as their full approbation of the measures you have been pleased to pursue in regard to their government and the adjustment of their claims, as inhabitants of the territory over which you at present preside. While we deem it a singular blessing to behold the principles of free government unfolding among us, we cherish the pleasing reflection that our posterity will also have cause to rejoice at the political change now originating. A free and efficient government, wisely administered, and fostered under the protecting wings of an august union of states, cannot fail to render the citizens of this wide extended territory securely happy in the possession of every public blessing.

"We cannot take leave, sir, without offering to your notice a tribute of gratitude and esteem which every citizen feels he owes to the merits of an officer [Major Hamtramck] who has long commanded at this post. The unsettled situation of things for a series of years previous to this gentleman's arrival tended in many instances to derange, and in others to suspend, the operation of those municipal customs by which the citizens of this town were used to be governed. They were in the habit of submitting the superintendence of their civil regulations to the officer who happened to command the troops posted among them. Hence, in the course of the late war, and from the frequent change of masters, they labored under heavy and various grievances. But the judicious and humane attention paid by Major Hamtramck, during his whole command, to the rights and feelings of every individual craving his interposition demands, and will always receive, our warmest acknowledgments.

"We beg you, sir, to assure the supreme authority of the United States of our fidelity and attachment; and that our greatest ambition is to deserve its fostering care, by acting the part of good citizens.

"By order and on behalf of the citizens of Vincennes.

"ANTOINE GAMELIN, Magistrate.

"PIERRE GAMELIN, Magistrate.

PAUL ~~READ~~ GAMELIN, Magistrate.

"JAMES JOHNSON, Magistrate.

"LOUIS EDELINE, Magistrate.

"LUKE DECKER, Magistrate.

"FRANCIS BOSSERON, Magistrate.

"FRANCIS VIGO, Major Commandant of Militia.

"HENRY VANDERBURGH, Major of Militia."

Mr. Sargent two days later made graceful acknowledgment to the communication, in a written statement, in which he said: "Next to that happiness which I derive from a consciousness of endeavoring to merit the approbation of the sovereign authority of the United States by a faithful discharge of the important trusts committed to me, is the grateful plaudit of the respectable citizens of this territory: and be assured, gentlemen, that I received it from the town of Vincennes upon this occasion with singular satisfaction. In an event so interesting and important to every individual

as is the organization of civil government, I regret exceedingly that you have been deprived of the wisdom of our worthy Governor. His extensive abilities and long experience in the honorable walks of public life might have more perfectly established that system which promises to you and posterity such political blessings. It is certain, gentlemen, that the government of the United States is most congenial to the dignity of human nature, and the best possible palladium for the lives and property of mankind. The services of Major Hamtramck to the public, and his humane attention to the citizens while in command here, have been highly meritorious; and it is with great pleasure that I have officially expressed to him my full approbation thereof. Your dutiful sentiments of fidelity and attachment to the general government of the United States shall be faithfully transmitted to their august President. With the warmest wishes for the welfare and prosperity of Vincennes, I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servant."

Numerous small Indian parties waged irregular war in the spring and summer of 1790 against emigrants and settlers, the localities along the borders of the Ohio river from its mouth to the neighborhood of Pittsburg being the scenes of hostilities. Kentucky suffered much from these forays, which General Harmar, in the summer of 1790, was endeavoring to check with a hundred regular troops and two hundred and fifty Kentucky volunteers.

After consultation with Harmar at Fort Washington, General St. Clair, who had gone from Kaskaskia for that purpose, determined to send a strong expedition against the Indian towns on the Wabash. The President of the United States, having clothed St. Clair with authority to call for one thousand Virginia militiamen and five hundred from Pennsylvania, he sent in July, 1790, circulars to county lieutenants of the western counties of those states, and obtained the requisite number of troops, securing from Kentucky, which was then a part of Virginia, three hundred men; from Virginia seven hundred, and from Pennsylvania five hundred. Orders have been given for three hundred of the Virginia militia to rendezvous at Fort Steuben and to march with the regular garrison of that fort to Vincennes and join Major Hamtramck, who had instructions to call to his aid the Vincennes militia, and to proceed up the Wabash and attack any of the Indian villages on the river with which he felt able to cope. The remaining twelve hundred militiamen were ordered to assemble at Fort Washington and unite with the regular troops under General Harmar's command. Harmar engaged the Miamis in battle near the head waters of the Maumee in October. Some of the militiamen acted very cowardly, and, in making their retreat, threw away their guns without firing a shot. In the struggle Harmar lost one hundred and eighty-three killed and thirty-one wounded. Among the dead were Major Wyllys and Lieut. Ebenezer Frothingham of the regular troops and Major Fontaine, Captains Thorp, McMurtrey and Scott, and Lieutenants Clark and Rogers.

and Ensigns Bridges, Sweet, Higgins and Thielkeld of the militia. The Indians, who sustained a loss about equal to that of the whites, doffed their feathers and war paint and for a long time were very peaceably inclined. Hamtramck's experience was altogether different from that Hammar underwent. He marched with his troops up the Wabash as far as the mouth of the Vermilion river, destroying the Indian villages at Quiatenon and along the route, and returned to the Old Post, without losing a man or meeting with much opposition. The number of regular soldiers* at Vincennes (Ft. Knox) under command of Major Hamtramck at this time was eighty-three, being a portion of the First United States regiment. The entire regiment only consisted of two hundred and ninety-nine commissioned officers and privates; and in July, 1791, under orders from Governor St. Clair, mobilized at Fort Washington, preparatory to entering upon the expedition against the Miamis, where they were subsequently joined by fourteen hundred militiamen and volunteers. In the memorable battle, which occurred on November 4, 1791, the Indians, whose greater leaders were Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Buck-ong-a-he-las and the notorious Simon Girty, and other renegades of his ilk, gave the whites a terrible drubbing. St. Clair lost thirty-nine officers, killed, and five hundred and ninety-three men killed and missing. The defeat with which the expedition met sorely disappointed the United States government and was the means of stopping the tide of emigration for the time being from the eastern and middle states into the Northwest Territory. Subsequently St. Clair resigned the office of Major General and was succeeded by Anthony Wayne, whose successful campaigns against the red monarchs of the forest were terrible in their effects and eventually brought peace and tranquillity. In March, 1792, Major Hamtramck concluded treaties of peace at Vincennes with representatives of the Wea and Eel river tribes. During the same year, in September, 1792, Rufus Putnam, who was one of the Judges of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, and Brigadier-General in the army, came to Vincennes in company with John Heckewelder, and concluded treaties of peace and friendship with a small band of Indians from the Wabash and Illinois tribes.

The fact that many of the nations signed treaties did not deter some of their tribesmen from forming foray parties and invading settlements,

*Pierre Gamelin was captain of a company of militia at Vincennes, composed of the following named members: Christopher Wyant, ensign; Peter Thorn, Frederick Mehl, Jeremiah Mays, sergeants; Richard Johnson, Joseph Cloud, Daniel Pea, John Loc, Godfrey Paters, John Murphy, John Laferty, Frederick Barger, George Barger, Peter Barger, Frederick Midler, Benjamin Beckes, Robert Day, Edward Shoenbrook, John Westfall, Edward Johnson, Joshua Harbin, John Robbins, John Martin, Abraham Westfall, James Watts, Thomas Jordon, William Smith, Daniel Smith, James Johnson, Ezekiel Holiday, Michael Thorne, Solomon Thorne, Daniel Thorne, Charles Thorne, Christian Barkman, John Rice Jones, Patrick Simpson, John Wilmore, Frederick Lindsay, Matthew Dibbons, Hugh Demsey, John Culbert, Robert Garavert, Isaac Carpenter.

murdering and pillaging the settlers, and robbing and tomahawking travelers and emigrants who followed the lonely trails through the wildernesses or wild prairie lands. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, however, for a protracted period, there was a decided lull in Indian hostilities in the Wabash country. In March, 1796, the United States and Spain adjusted the question as to the boundaries of their respective domains by the ratification of a treaty, which also settled further controversies relative to the navigation of the Mississippi river; and before the close of the month of July of the same year, under the provision of a treaty negotiated by John Jay in London, in 1794, the British withdrew from all the posts in the Northwest Territory their soldiers, arms and stores. The Indians, learning of this condition of affairs, realized that with the withdrawal of the British troops from the country the strongest prop on which they had to lean had been removed, and in August, 1795, submitted with great reluctance to almost any terms Mad Anthony Wayne saw fit to dictate. It was necessary that the United States should become possessed of Indian lands for the purpose of reducing the national debt and to provide for the maintenance of the government, and that, because of its conquest of the country at the time the savages were allied with Great Britain to aid her to maintain supremacy, left the Indians no other recourse than to submit to whatever terms the conqueror saw fit to offer. While Congress' instructions to St. Clair were to pursue pacificatory policies in dealing with the Indians, they also advised him "to neglect no opportunity that might offer of extinguishing the Indian rights to lands westward as far as the river Mississippi and northward as far as the completion of the forty-first degree of north latitude." The Wabash Indians were more contentious than any of the other tribes and for a while refused to make any concessions, which led other nations, who had assented, to change their minds and repudiate some of their treaties. "The treaty of Fort Harmar," says *Dunn, "on January 9, 1789, was little more than a farce, and hastened rather than retarded war. The Indians claimed that the few who joined in the treaty were not chiefs, had no authority, and were intimidated by the whites. The war opened in the following summer and raged for five years, the Indians having rather the better of their enemies until they were overwhelmed by Wayne at the rapids of the Maumee in August, 1794. In September, Wayne's army moved to Kekionga, and there established a fort which was garrisoned by a strong force of infantry and artillery under Colonel Hamtramck, the former commander of Fort Knox.† The new post was called Fort Wayne, and the place has been so called ever since."

*J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, American Commonwealth Series*, p. 265.

†"The fort built at Vincennes in 1788," says Mr. Dunn in a footnote, giving as authority St. Clair papers vol. II, p. 92, "was named Fort Knox at the request of General Harmar." Both the date of erection and location of the fort have provoked discussions among historians, who are greatly at variance on the subject, especially

In September, 1796, Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory, went to Detroit, erected the county of Wayne and extended the civil authority of the United States over that section of country. By terms of a treaty which was concluded at St. Ildefonso in October, 1800, Spain agreed to retrocede the province of Louisiana to France; and in April, 1803, France sold and ceded in its entirety Louisiana to the United States in consideration of about fifteen millions of dollars. The Mississippi Territory was established in April, 1798, by an act of Congress, and Winthrop Sargent was appointed to the office of Governor of that territory, and in June of the same year William Henry Harrison was chosen as Secretary of the territory northwest of the river Ohio.

Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation in October, 1798, directing the qualified voters of the Northwest Territory to hold elections in their respective counties on the third Monday in December, to elect representatives to a General Assembly, which he ordered to convene at Cincinnati in January, 1799. Heretofore the governor and judges of the territory had constituted the civil, military, executive and legislative departments. The representatives, as directed, met at Cincinnati; and, guided by the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, nominated ten persons, whose names were forwarded to the president of the United States. September 16, 1799, was then set by Governor St. Clair for the meeting of the representatives. On March 2, 1779, President Adams selected from the list of the ten nominees the names of Henry Vanderburg, Robert Oliver, Jacob Burnet, James Findlay and David Vance and nominated these gentlemen to sit in the legislative council of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, which nominations were confirmed by the senate. On September 16, 1799, several members of the territorial legislature representing countries that had been previously carved out of the territory, met at Cincinnati, but no organization in either of the houses was perfected until the following September, when Henry Vanderburg was elected president of the legislative council; William C. Schenk was chosen secretary; George Howard, doorkeeper, and Abner Cary, sergeant-at-arms. The counties represented, with the names of their respective representatives were: Hamilton—William Goforth, William McMillan, John Smith, John Ludlow, Robert Benham, Aaron Caldwell, Isaac Martin; Ross—Thomas Worthington, Samuel Finley, Elias Langham, Edward Tiffin; Wayne—Solomon Sibley, Charles F. Chobert de Joncaire, Jacob Visger; Adams—Joseph Darlington, Nathaniel Massie; Knox—Shadrach Bond; Jefferson—James Pritchard; Washington—Jonathan Meigs.

as to location, of which there seems to be no record. Some claim the fort was none other than the one Clark took from Hamilton; others that it stood on the river bank near the foot of Broadway, while still others contend it was four miles above town.

Henry Vanderburg, first president of the territorial legislature, came to Vincennes with the first influx of Americans, and his name added luster to the old town and gave dignity to the judiciary of the Indiana territory, which he entered at the close of the Revolutionary war, honored and distinguished in the service of his country. Descended of a prominent Dutch pioneer family of New Amsterdam, Judge Henry Vanderburg was born in Troy, N. Y., in 1760, and when a mere lad shouldered a musket and went to the front to fight for American liberty and independence. His public services have been ably noted in an old sketch written many years ago by Judge Law, who obtained the facts of Mrs. Vanderburg, and are of sufficient importance to admit of reproduction in this publication. It is stated in the sketch that Judge Vanderburg was appointed a lieutenant in the Fifth New York regiment to rank as such from the 21st day of November, 1776, his commission being signed by John Jay. He was re-appointed on the 20th day of June 1779, and a year later was made captain of the Continental troops, serving with honor until peace was declared. Independence being secured, immigration began to flow westward and, young Vanderburg following the tide came to Indiana and established himself at Vincennes. Here he married Miss Frances Cornoyer, daughter of Pierre Cornoyer, a member of one of the pioneer families of the town. His judicial career soon became marked. He was appointed justice of the peace and judge of probate for the then new county of Knox, in 1791. As previously announced, in 1799 he was elected president of the legislative council of the Northwest Territory holding sessions in Cincinnati; and the following year was appointed judge of the Indian territory by President Adams, his jurisdiction extending over the vast area which now embraces the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Though filling an exalted position of honor and trust, his official duties imposed upon him many hardships and necessitated pilgrimages that were lonely and hazardous. Judge Law says "he actually held court the same year in Vincennes, Indiana, Kaskaskia, Illinois, and Detroit, Michigan, journeying on horseback, unaccompanied save by his body servant, carrying their own provisions, through a wilderness occupied solely by the Indian and wild beast of the forest," thus displaying a fearless and ruggedness that characterized the ideal pioneers of the northwest. Scholarly, refined, a man of fine presence, polished and courtly in manners, he was an honored and distinguished member of the Order of Cincinnati, an organization composed exclusively of officers who had been participants in the war of the Revolution. His commission as an army officer of that period, now in possession of his grandson, Henry Vanderburg Some, Sr., of Vincennes, is signed by George Washington, president, and Henry Knox, secretary. At his beautiful country villa Bellevue (the present site of Burnet Heights, just beyond the eastern corporate line of the city) Judge Vanderburg frequently entertained in royal style his aristocratic and plebian friends, dispensing the genial and generous hospitality of territorial days.

There he reared a large family of children, three sons and six daughters, and there he died, on April 12, 1812. His remains were consigned to a grave on his own estate with military honors and the impressive services of the Masonic ritual. Four years after his death, Indiana was made a state and admitted into the Union, and two years after entering into statehood she sub-divided the county of Warrick and took unto herself a new county. It was christened "Vanderburg," in honor of the subject of this sketch.

There were no descendants of the three sons. The eldest, Henry, who graduated in 1832 from West Point, became one of the managers of the American Fur Company, and while acting in that capacity on one of his missions to the extensive hunting and trapping preserves of the company in the northwest was betrayed by Blackfoot Indians and foully murdered. His tragic death is related by Washington Irving, in *Bonneville*, wherein the author concludes the description of the event in these words: "Such was the fate of Major Henry Vanderburg, one of the best and worthiest traders of the American Fur Company, who by his manly bearing and dauntless courage is said to have made himself universally popular among the bold-hearted rovers of the wilderness." So ended the earthly career of a man who had largely inherited the excellent and brilliant qualities of his distinguished father.

Of the six daughters a number of descendants remain in Illinois, Iowa, Colorado, Minnesota, New York and Indiana. Julia, the eldest, married J. B. McCall, one of the three men in whose honor the name "Lamasco"† originated. Cora LeRoy, the daughter of Elizabeth married Hon. W. W. Belknap, formerly Secretary of War under President Grant. Their only son, Hon. Hugh Belknap, was a member of congress from the Chicago district. Another granddaughter Cornelia Sullivan, married Hon. W. A. Richardson, for many years a member of congress and United States Senator from Illinois, colleague with Stephen A. Douglas.*

The branch remaining in Indiana are the families of the two sons of Frances Sidney Vanderburg, who married Dr. Joseph Some, a young physician of Northamptonshire, England, who came to America early in the eighteenth century and for nearly fifty years was a practicing physician at Vincennes. Henry Vanderburg Some, their eldest son, was formerly mayor of Vincennes, and married Mary Elizabeth Bayard in 1864, since which event they have been residents of this city. Four sons and one daughter blessed this union, all of whom, with the exception of Bayard, who lives at Evansville, reside in Vincennes. The other children are Dr. Joseph V., Harry V., Jr., John F., and Mrs. W. F. Calverly. James Ellis, second son, married Mary Oliver, of Hopkinsville, Ky., and with their only child, a daughter, reside at Terre Haute.

†An appellation that was applied to Evansville a decade ago.

*Evansville Pocket, edition, 1897.

In the division, by partition, of the Vanderburg estate Mrs. LeRoy became the owner of Bellevue which she subsequently sold to William *Patterson, a nephew of Mrs. Jerome Bonaparte of Baltimore, Maryland. In disposing of the land it was the fervent wish of the family to have the remains of Judge Vanderburg exhumed and removed to the city cemetery, but all trace of the grave had disappeared, and, notwithstanding persistent and vigorous search was made, it was never found. In the touching words of the Evansville Pocket: "Nothing is left to mark even the last of all that is mortal of Judge Henry Vanderburg, but in striking contrast to the mutability of human life is the still surviving grace of his moral force exemplified in the honor which a state still bears him."

In October, 1779, the territorial legislature selected William Henry Harrison a delegate to congress from the Northwest Territory. His opponent in the race for that office was Arthur St. Clair, Jr., son of Governor St. Clair, who received ten votes, while Harrison got eleven.

The president of the United States in May, 1800, placed the seal of approval on an act of congress entitled "an act to divide the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio into two separate governments." The said act provided that "from and after the 4th day of July next all that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada shall, for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate territory and be called the Indiana Territory."

At this stage in the existence of Old Vincennes her historic glory, advantageous location, the beauty of the landscape by which she was surrounded, the fertile prairies and exhaustless woodlands, as well as being a seat of government, attracted emigrants from the east and south, and among the newcomers were men who subsequently became noted in the affairs of state and nation. General Harmar, who came to Vincennes in 1787, about a dozen years earlier than the period of which we write says "the town contains near four hundred houses—log and bark—out-houses, barns, etc.; the number of inhabitants about nine hundred souls, French; and about four hundred souls, Americans." Joseph Buell, an orderly sergeant in Harmar's regiment, who was, says Mr. Dunn, "a man of excellent character and withal a typical New Englander of the period in his religious and political notions," in his description of the place is as uncomplimentary as Mr. Volney, and there must have been something in his composition deeper than New England prejudice that led him to talk thus about us:

*Patterson was a very eccentric man in many respects. One of his greatest eccentricities, however, was his love for dogs. He continually surrounded himself with a large pack of canines of the bull terrier species, which earned for him the sobriquet of "Bull Dog Patterson."

"Post Vincent is a beautiful place was it settled with respectable people; but they are a mixture of all nations. The principal inhabitants are French, and pay little regard to religion or law. They are under guidance of an old Roman Catholic friar, who keeps them in ignorance as much as he can and fills them full of superstition. The people give themselves up to all kinds of vice, and are as indolent and idle a community as ever composed one town. They might live in affluence if they were industrious. The town has been settled longer than Philadelphia, and one-half of their dwelling houses are yet covered with bark like Indian wigwams. The inhabitants are quite numerous, and people from all parts of the United States are emigrating to this place." "The scheming friar," says Mr. Dunn, "to whom this Puritan soldier refers is none other than our good friend Father Gibault, and the superstition with which he filled his parishoners does not appear to have been anything worse than Catholicism."

Count Volney, who was in Vincennes in 1796 has written rather voluminously about the place; and, in rather an interesting vein, says of his mental observations: "The eye is at first presented with an irregular savannah eight miles in length and three in breadth, skirted by eternal forests and sprinkled by a few trees and an abundance of umbelliferous plants three or four feet high. Maize, tobacco, barley, wheat, squashes and some fruits grow in the fields around the village which contains about fifty houses, whose cheerful white relieves the eye after gazing upon the constant dark and green of the woods. The houses are placed along the left bank of the Wabash, which is about two hundred feet wide, and falling so low as to be but a few feet wide below the 'scite' of the town. The bank is sloping towards the savannah which is a few feet lower. Each house, as is customary in Canada, stands alone and is surrounded by a court and garden fenced with poles. I was delighted with sight of peach trees loaded with fruit, but was sorry to see thorn apples, which are to be seen in all cultivated places from Gallipolis. Adjoining the village is a space enclosed by a ditch eight feet wide and sharpened stakes six feet high. This is called the fort and is a sufficient protection against the Indians. I had a letter of introduction to a principal man of the place, a Dutchman by birth, who spoke good French. I was accommodated at his home in the kindest and most hospitable manner for ten days.

"The day after my arrival a court was held to which I repaired to make my remarks on the scene. On entering I was surprised to observe the difference in the races of men. The first has a ruddy complexion, round face and plump body, which indicates health and ease. This set was forcibly contrasted in strength with the emaciated form and meager and tawny visage of the other. I soon discovered that the former were settlers from the neighboring states, whose lands had been reclaimed for five or six years' standing in the district. The latter, with a few exceptions, knew nothing of English, while the former were almost as ignorant of the French. I had acquired in this country a sufficient knowledge of the

English to converse with them, and was thus enabled to hear the tale of both. The French, in a querulous tone, recounted the losses and hardships they had suffered, especially since the Indian war in 1788. Before the peace of 1763, by which England obtained control of this territory and Spain, Louisiana, they enjoyed tranquility and happiness under the protection of Spain, in the heart of the wilderness, unmolested, sequestered, fifty leagues from the nearest post on the Mississippi, without taxes, and in friendship with the Indians, they passed their lives in hunting and fishing, bartering in furs, and raising a little corn and a few esculents for their families. They probably numbered three hundred persons, and were free from all taxes till they were visited in 1788 by a detachment, which killed or drove away the greater part of their cattle, their chief source of wealth. They trade their land grants, four hundred acres to each family, for thirty cents an acre, when it is worth two dollars, and this in goods at an exorbitant rate. They have nothing to live on except fruit, maize, and now and then a little game. They complain that they are cheated and robbed in the courts, in which there are five judges, who know little of the law, and three of them know nothing of the language. Their education was entirely neglected till the arrival of Abb. R., (Father Rive) a patriotic, well educated and liberal-minded man who was exiled by the French Revolution. Out of nine of the French, six only could read or write, while the English could do both. To my surprise they speak pretty good French, intermixed with some foreign phrases, mostly learned from the soldiers.

"Notwithstanding I was at considerable trouble I could not fix the settlement earlier than 1757, but by talk with old settlers it may have been as early as 1735. We must allow that they are a kind and hospitable set, but for idleness and ignorance they beat the Indians themselves. They know nothing at all of the arts or domestic affairs; the women neither sew nor spin, nor make butter, but pass their time in gossip and tattle, while at home all is dirt and disorder. The men do nothing but hunt, fish, wander about the woods or lie in the sun. They do not lay up stores for a rainy day as we do. They can not cure pork or venison, or make sauer kraut, or spruce beer, or distil spirits from apples or rye, all necessary arts to the farmer. When they trade they try by extortion to make much out of little, and what they get they fool away in beads and baubles upon Indian girls, and spend their time in relating stories of insignificant personal adventures."

The French inhabitants at the Old Post were puzzles to the American emigrants. Their habits and social customs were so different from anything ever experienced by the newcomers, who were particularly amused by the names applied by the natives to streams and places which, they subsequently learned from the translation, were given to recall some simple incident. A paragraph appearing in Spark's *Expansion of the American People*, p. 229, will serve as an illustration: "Vide Poche (empty pocket)

might signify either an inlet of water or it might commemorate the adventure of some impecunious wayfarer. Prairie du Chien (prairie of dogs) recalled the 'dog' tribe of Fox Indians. Some French names were transformed or translated by the incoming Americans. La Rivière au Vase was rendered into Muddy River; Port des Marts became Death's Door; Roche Jaune was turned into Yellowstone; Bois Brûle (burnt wood) grew into Bob Ruby; au Post to O'Post; Bonne Passe (good crossing) to Bonpas, or Bumpas; Wabash to Way-bosh; Terre Haute (high land) into Tar Holt." The primitive methods of agriculture were also a revelation to the new settlers, who had never before seen farmers working oxen to a plow where a wooden stick tied across the horns of the beast was made to answer for a yoke, and where dumb animals pushed instead of hauled their burdens. Rawhide harness and wooden bits for horses, which were generally driven tandem, was another feature of the work about the farm and streets that came under the observation of the new arrivals for the first time; and the *calache* was a vehicle the likes of which they had never heard. It was constructed with so much originality and ingenuity that it had no counterpart anywhere in the country, and hence instantly became a great novelty. The vulgar term for the *calache* was a French-cart—a two-wheeled arrangement into the construction of which not a single piece of iron entered. It answered the purpose of a family carriage as well as a vehicle for transporting wood and other products of the farm to market. The French-cart as late as the middle of the nineteenth century was a familiar sight on the streets and until after the establishment of the Indiana territory it was the only kind of conveyance used by the farmers. There are quite a few residents of Vincennes now living who can recall to mind the picture of these primitive vehicles, laden with wood, and the honest farmers, standing beside them, as they were drawn in line around the old market house. The top layers of wood were piled in the cart solid and even, but the sticks on the bottom of the bed were generally placed in such a manner as to give the load the appearance of possessing a quantity which in reality it did not have. The deception along this line got to be a legitimate stock in the wood trade, practiced by all dealers, and the buyer who failed to have delivered to him a smaller load than he bargained for felt disappointed.

The *calache* was a product of necessity and was always a home-made affair. Every man who owned a cart was the manufacturer of it. While the body of the cart was not roomy—being about the size of a large dry-goods box and very similar in shape—it always seemed to have sufficient capacity to accommodate the entire family; and on Sundays and fast days around the primitive church "might be seen the patriarch of his flock, with blanket *capot*, a blue cotton handkerchief around his head, with pipe in his mouth, and with his family seated in chairs, in his untired cart, which, had never known the use of iron, drawn by a Canadian pony, and conveying his generation, as his fathers before him had done theirs, to the wor-

ship of the same God, and in the same manner, and after the same creed as their ancestors for centuries before had worshipped in La Belle France, from whose shores they had been transplanted to those of the St. Lawrence."*

The French habitants of Vincennes in every relation of life were swayed by honest, upright and honorable motives. Their hospitality was unbounded, and they accorded to a stranger within their gates the most cordial and generous treatment, inviting him to their homes to partake of the best the larder afforded, and bidding him remain under the shelter and protection of their thatched roofs as long as he wished. While not strictly in accord with the Puritanical ideas of religion, nor in keeping with the orthodox views of any other religion, the practices they indulged in on the Sabbath after mass were acts of indiscretion merely, more mischievous than malicious.

The same social customs prevalent in the settlements of Louisiana back of the Mississippi during Creole supremacy were in vogue at Vincennes during territorial days. But with the passing of the second generation of descendants of the French pioneer settlers the old customs have entirely disappeared—naught remains of the early social customs among the people but a natural inclination to be hospitable. The Creole fiddler is now only a being which tradition points out and the music of his inspired instrument is heard no more.

The French Creoles were certainly a fun-loving people, and seemed to get more real enjoyment out of life than any other class. The charivari was purely of French origin, and was practiced early in the eighteenth century. It was an invention originally intended by the French to show disapproval of the mismating of married people. When the Americans came on the scene, they borrowed the idea, but "charivariated" just for the sake of teasing, or annoying, the newly wedded pair. The French accepted the corruption placed on it by the Americans, and now, while the practice is frequently indulged in today by all classes, it does not follow that the parties who are made the victims of the charivari are looked on with disfavor by those participating. The wedding feast was always an occasion for pranks and jollity, not alone with the French, but with the pioneers of all nationalities, and in the majority of marriages of territorial days there was no distinction of rank and very little of fortune, and for this reason "love at first sight" marriages were more frequent than any other kind. After the ceremony, after the feast, which was always held at the home of the bride, the order was given "on with the dance," which began immediately at the conclusion of the wedding meal, whether breakfast, dinner or supper, and continued until the following morning. About nine or ten o'clock on the evening of the eventful day, while the dance was in full swing, a deputation of young ladies would steal away the bride and put her to bed, a performance that necessitated the use of a ladder, in order to

*Law's *Colonial History of Vincennes*, pp. 139-140.

gain the cock-loft. The upper floor was laid loosely and was generally immediately above the kitchen. Here, in this pioneer bridal chamber the unsophisticated, sweet-tempered and simple-hearted girl was put to bed by her admiring and enthusiastic friends. This feat having been accomplished, a deputation of young men escorted the groom to the same apartment and tenderly laid him by the side of his bride. The dance has not been interrupted while these interesting incidents are transpiring, and the boys and girls who enacted them—except two—have joined the merry revelers again. If the assemblage has grown so large there are not sufficient seats for all, the gentlemen who are not dancing occupy the chairs and offer the ladies who are not dancing to sit on their laps, the invitation always being accepted. Fermented spirits were always in evidence on these festive occasions and freely used, but not often to excess.

The favorite dance with the French natives was the King ball, which at first was only an annual occurrence, given on New Year's night, but in later years such affairs took place frequently, during the fortnightly season immediately preceding Lent. At these functions a king and queen were selected, to whom the guests paid pronounced deference, who led the march and with whom it was esteemed a great honor to dance.

On New Year's eve, as well as the day following, every household laid in a goodly supply of edibles and drinkables for visitors, who were wont to come to the cabin door and sing French songs of gladness and cheer for the edification of the inmates, who never allowed the singers to depart without furnishing them with plenty of refreshments and bestowing mementos of some character. The custom of making New Year's calls was quite general among the French Canadians.

Another feature of New Year's regulations was masquerading parties, which generally made night calls, at the various houses, where they were cordially received and royally entertained. The custom is followed to some extent to this day. But, the "antideluvians," who many years ago turned out in grotesque costumes, and rode like mad through the streets on horseback, had their origin in the eighteenth century and ended their existence towards the close of the nineteenth.

Easter Sunday was another occasion when the Creoles made special visits among neighbors and acquaintances and made presents of colored eggs and other articles; and on Christmas, did they not make a general bestowal of gifts and an exchange of presents with relatives, friends and acquaintances, they would deem themselves almost guilty of sacrilege.

But, with all these evidences of a more refined nature, they could not resist the temptation to gamble, sport and carouse, and the cock-pit, race track and card table held out to them fascinations they could not resist. Yet, with all these weaknesses, they frequently displayed a true nobility of heart. Ignorant of wrong doing, they dwelt in peace and contentment, in a house in architectual design like the accompanying illustration. The dwelling in reality was a log cabin, made more modern looking by an



A TYPICAL FRENCH DWELLING



addition of weatherboarding. The photograph from which this cut is made is after the "last survivor" of these ancient domiciles, which is frequently pointed out as the home of "Alice of Old Vincennes."

A TYPICAL FRENCH DWELLING

Mr. Volney's reference to the nine citizens he met at court is not a sufficient number from which to get a gauge to measure the worth of the average citizen. There were quite a number of respectable French gentlemen having an abiding place in Vincennes at the time the blasé traveler paid his visit, and of one of these it is now the writer's pleasure to speak.

Another distinguished citizen of Vincennes, who came prominently into notice with the establishment of the Indiana territory, was Toussaint Dubois, in honor of whom Dubois county was named. Like quite a number of the French settlers of the Old Post, he was of noble birth, but left his native country at an early age to seek his fortune in the new world. His objective point was Canada, but shortly after his arrival in the dominion he saw brighter prospects beyond, and it was not long until he had invaded the wild regions of the Wabash, locating at Vincennes. Possessed of considerable wealth, and having acquired large tracts of land before he was here a great while, he began to enlarge the volume of his worldly goods by trading with the Indians, into whose good graces he had a wonderful faculty of ingratiating himself. The fur trade was to his liking, and he soon familiarized himself with every branch of the business, becoming an adept in drying, compressing, packing and preparing peltries for shipment. Large fortunes were made at that time in the fur trade conducted along the banks of the Wabash, and the shrewdest of traders were engaged in the traffic, resulting in the liveliest competition. Mr. Dubois, who had thoroughly acquainted himself with the Indian character by learning their tastes and habits, as well as their business acumen, generally outclassed his competitors in driving bargains with the dusky denizens of the forest, diplomatically managing to get the pick and choice of the furs and peltries, for which blankets, guns, pistols, powder, bullets and fire-water, especially the latter, were exchanged. Detroit was the receiving depot for furs and peltries, and the quantity of these articles shipped from this locality was something enormous. Boats for the purpose were built of sufficient capacity to carry forty or fifty bales of skins after they had been cured and prepared for shipment, and it required from four to five men to man a boat; the route adopted being up the Big Wabash, thence to Little Wabash, to the portage, near Fort Wayne, where the boats and cargo were toted overland to the head waters of the Maumee, thence by that stream to Detroit. Mr. Dubois had frequently made the trip over this route, and, because of his familiarity with the country between Vincennes and Detroit, General Harrison considered him a valuable man to aid him in his contemplated attack on the Indians, who were terrorizing the settlements on the Upper Wabash. As

a matter of fact, Mr. Dubois volunteered to assist in solving the vexatious Indian problems, and his services subsequently proved of inestimable worth. Later General Harrison appointed him captain of the spies and guides of the Indiana militia, an organization made imperative by the impending battle of Tippecanoe, a commission which he held subsequent to that memorable event, wherein he had distinguished himself as a brave and gallant soldier. Upon that field among the men of his brigade who stood shoulder to shoulder with him were Silas McCulloch, R. G. Sullivan, William Bruce, William Polk, Pierre Andre, Ephriam Jordan, William Hogue, David Wilkins, John Hollingsworth, Thomas Learens, Joseph Arpin, Abraham Decker, Samuel James, David Mills, Stewart Cunningham, Bocker Childers, Thomas Jordon.

The military record of Thomas Dubois is a lengthy and honorable one; and his successful treaties with the Indians, by which large tracts of land were secured for the government and friendly relations between tribes and the United States maintained, are among the noteworthy features of Harrison's administration as governor of Indiana territory. "Capt. Dubois was the last white man to visit the headstrong prophet" says Mr. Wilson, in his excellent history of Dubois county, "before the tocsin of war sounded the alarm," and the information secured by strategy from the prophet by the captain, relating to war preparations of the Indians preceding the battle of Tippecanoe, no doubt resulted in lessening the loss to the militia in that conflict, if it did not prove the means of gaining a brighter record for Harrison as an Indian fighter than he would have otherwise achieved.*

It has been stated that Toussaint Dubois was disinherited by his father for having left the parental roof to make his adventuresome journey to America in company with General Lafayette, which statement is denied in toto by a descendant of the Dubois, (Mrs. Arthur Huntington) a bright and intelligent woman of Springfield, Ill., who has devoted considerable time in collecting data pertaining to the Dubois family, and who certainly knows whereof she speaks. She says Mr. Dubois never came to this country until after Lafayette's arrival. However, Mr. Dubois proved to be a most valuable citizen to Vincennes, and his exemplary life, his patriotism, his loyalty to his friends and adopted town are worthy the emulation of every good citizen who has at heart the welfare of the community in which he lives. Through his untiring energy Mr. Dubois, as a merchant in Vincennes, and as a fur trader whose operations extended all over the Wabash country, through honest and square dealing, amassed quite a fortune in his day, and his landed estates were among the most extensive, as well as the most picturesque, held by any individual in the community at that time. For many years he was the proud possessor of Robeson's Hills—(then called "Dubois Hills")—those miniature mountains on the west

*Wilson's *History of Dubois County*, p. 68.

bank of the Wabash, the outlines of which are reflected in the mirrored depths of the river. For a time the Dubois homestead nestled at the foot of these hills, where Jesse K., the infant son, was kidnaped by a band of roving Indians, who held him for quite a while as hostage. Jesse K. Dubois later fell heir to this lovely country seat, and became quite prominent in Illinois politics, having been chosen by the voters to represent Lawrence county for several terms in the Illinois legislature. He was a man of commanding presence, tall and portly, with a Grecian cast of countenance, and frequently visited Vincennes. He lived well, and always had a retinue of servants, having inherited from his father a couple of black slaves, man and wife, who at one time lived in a house built high above the ground among the branches of an immense cotton-wood tree, located on the premises. This estate subsequently passed into the hands of a Mr. Shuler, and, latterly, to Judge Joseph Bowman, one of the ablest lawyers in the state, and an eminent jurist. He disposed of the property to John Jackson and removed to this city, taking up his residence in a large frame house, yet standing on a lot at the northwest corner of Second and Seminary streets. He was afflicted with chronic rheumatism, which caused him intense suffering; and, unable to withstand the tortures to which the disease subjected him, ended his misery by driving a large butcher knife to the hilt into his bosom, accomplishing the deed by placing the butt of the handle to the wall and pressing the full weight of his emaciated body against the blade, the act being committed while he was abed.

Mr. Jackson was a Hoosier by birth, and came here from Richmond at the outbreak of the civil war, taking possession of the "hills" immediately upon his arrival. In politics he was a democrat, with such strong party predilections that the more radical republicans classed him with the southern "fire eaters." He was a giant in stature and intellect, of jovial manner, and rapidly made friends with a prominent class of people, coming across the river every morning to exchange courtesies with acquaintances and incidentally talk politics. In 1864 he married Miss Nannie Chapman, eldest daughter of Dr. Chapman,* president of the university from 1855 to 1866;

*Dr. Chapman was an ordained Episcopal minister, as well as an educator, and for a number of years officiated as rector of St. James' church. As a teacher, he was practical and progressive, a stern disciplinarian, and imparted instruction to his pupils in such a way that they absorbed and retained that which they were taught. He was ably assisted in his educational work by Prof. McKenney, a very eccentric man, whose knowledge of chemistry and mathematics was profound. The fact that none of Dr. Chapman's pupils, who applied for admission to the military and naval academies, respectively, at West Point and Annapolis, ever failed to pass the exacting and rigid examinations of these institutions, speaks volumes in favor of the university as an educational institution, and Dr. Chapman as an educator. Among the students of the university—pupils of Chapman and McKenney—who became prominent in professional, commercial and military life, are Noble Judah, Chicago, well known barrister; John Judah, lawyer, Indianapolis, and Samuel Judah, this city; J. P. L. Weems, Richard J. Greenhow, Charles G. McCord, Vincennes; William C. Niblack, president

and two or three years after her death, which occurred the same year as her wedding, he married the younger daughter, Miss Lillian Chapman. Both weddings were notable social events, and the elegant Jackson home, which became famed for the generous and unaffected hospitality of its host and hostess, was graced with the presence of the *creme de la creme* of Vincennes society. Among the more notable guests at the last wedding feast, was Lord Cavendish, an English nobleman, and "crony" of the Prince of Wales. Two years later, on a second visit to Vincennes, Lord Cavendish, who had married the celebrated American actress, Emily Thorne, brought his bride with him, and the couple remained for a protracted season as guests of the Jacksons. Cavendish was an ardent sportsman, and during his stay devoted considerable time in hunting big game in this section of country, principally deer and wild turkeys, which were quite plentiful hereabouts in those days. Mr. Jackson, who had become a widower for the second time, retained an interest in a piano factory at Richmond, and moved there in 1875, where he died several years later, his wife having preceded him to the grave eight years before. During his occupancy of them, and until Messrs. Robeson came into possession of the hills, early in the eighties, they were called "Jackson's Hills," when the name was changed to "Robeson's Hills," by which appellation they are known today, and are the property of Messrs. Robert and William Robeson. There is also a legend connected with these hills, a weird, gruesome story—founded upon the facts of an actual occurrence—in which quite a few people formerly placed great credence. Between two of the most prominent of these miniature mountains is a deep, dark ravine, which the rays of the sun never penetrate. It has a luxuriant growth of vegetation, the verdure of which, ferns in endless variety intensify, and on the sultriest days of summer there issues from its mouth, which opens in full view of the river road, a delightfully cooling breeze, laden with a sweet and refreshing fragrance. The locality is known as Dark Hollow, and, on beholding it one can not fail to note the appropriateness of the name. Many years ago a lone traveler, who was making his way on horse back through the howling wilderness, was set upon in the night time, by a band of migrating Twightwee Indians, led a captive into the hollow, and decapitated. Singularly, the Indians never scalped the prisoner nor

Chicago Trust Co., Richard K. Dawes, cashier First National Bank, Evansville; the late C. M. Allen, Jr., and Frank M. Ross, scions of illustrious sires, both of whom graduated with high honors from West Point, were students of the university under Dr. Chapman's tutelage. Commander Nathaniel P. Usher, U. S. N., and Commodore Francis L. Denny, U. S. N., who have rendered distinguished services to their country, received instruction at this time-honored institution. Albert G. Caldwell, Indianapolis, retired, and Francis E. Greene, deceased, both of whom attained high official rank in the United States navy, having entered the naval academy when mere boys, took preparatory instructions from Dr. Chapman.

did they take his horse, the animal being discovered by a party of hunters, two weeks later, grazing near the headless body of his master. Of course, the hunting party took the horse in charge leaving the mutilated and badly decomposed corpse of the man to remain as a feast for the buzzards. And, so the legend goes, on every Thursday the nocturnal spectacle of a headless rider, on a fractious steed, is the phantom picture which the cavernous depths of Dark Hollow reveal. Whether in jest, or because their overwrought imaginations made such a vision as this possible, some people have solemnly declared that they have been confronted with such an apparition.

Beautiful Fort Knox was also among the landed estates of Toussaint Dubois who, it appears, had a preference for altitudinal ground. It seems in acquiring these tracts, however, that Mr. D. made the beauty of the scenery the primary object of possession. At any rate, this locality can not boast of two spots that are more lovely, picturesque or romantic than Fort Knox and Robeson's Hills. They are studies in nature, inviting the thought of an artist's mind and invoking the magic touch of an artist's brush. While living remote from the more advanced centers of civilization, the commercial relations of Toussaint Dubois, with the merchants of St. Louis and Philadelphia, frequently took him on long journeys to the west and east—when travel was both hazardous and uncomfortable—where he came in contact with progressive men and measures, and always brought back ideas beneficial to his neighbors. He was a component part of the social and commercial as well as the religious and educational life of the Old Post. He was an active member of the Catholic church and gave liberally of his funds for the maintenance of that institution. With Governor Harrison he served as a member of the board of trustees of the Vincennes university as early as 1806, and was of the committee who erected the first building of its character to be dedicated to educational purposes west of the Alleghany mountains. The dignitaries of the church held Mr. Dubois in high esteem as is attested by the provision in the will of the late Father Rivet, who named him as one of the executors. Father Rivet was pastor of St. Francis Xavier's cathedral and was a man of extraordinary talents and attainments, having filled a chair in the justly famous college at Limoges, France. There was a strong friendship existing between them, and the priest was a frequent visitor at the Dubois home, which, by the way, was said to contain the most elegant furniture, of massive pattern, and solid mahogany. The tableware of the Duboises, the silver, cut glass, and costly bric-a-bac, were the envy of all who were fortunate enough to be guests within the walls of their hospitable dwelling. Mr. Dubois was twice married, his first wife being a lovely French girl, of aristocratic parentage, with plenty of money, having a vivacious disposition, a pure, noble and generous heart. Her maiden name was Jeannette Bonneau, a native of Vincennes. Her death occurred on the 15th of November, 1800, and her remains were interred in the burial grounds of St. Francis Xavier's cathedral. Her last

resting place is covered with a massive stone, on the surface of which is inscribed—

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
JANNE BONNEAU
THE WIFE OF TOUSSIAINT DUBOIS
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
THE 15th NOVEMBER, 1800,
Aged 28 Years.

Five children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Dubois, viz: Toussaint, Jr., Henry, Charles, Emanuel L. and Susanne. Mr. George R. Wilson, in a beautifully-written publication, styled "Wilson's History of Dubois County," devotes many pages of his valuable book in tracing the genealogy of the Dubois family, and therefrom the following paragraph is taken:

"The daughter, Susanne, married William Jones, Esq., and of this union were born Edward, Elizabeth Ann, Susanna O., Mary Jane and Maria C. . . . The daughter, Susanne O. Jones, mentioned above, married Robert Smyth, Esq., of Vincennes, in 1833. Mrs. Smyth died in 1888, aged seventy-five. Their son, Samuel Smyth, lived at Crawfordsville, Ind. The son, Edward, died in early manhood. The daughter, Elizabeth Ann, became the wife of William Binford, Esq., also of Crawfordsville. She died September 19, 1897, aged eighty-five. Maria C. became the wife of Dr. W. P. Dunn, a son of Judge Williamson Dunn, a remarkable man in the early history of Indiana. Mrs. Maria C. Dunn resided at Frankfort, Clinton county, Ind. As the reader will observe, she is the granddaughter of Toussaint Dubois by his first wife. These children of Susanne Dubois Jones were baptized in the Catholic church at Vincennes. Their parents died young, and the orphans were reared by the relatives on the Jones' side of the family, who were Protestants. These children became Episcopalians. For his second wife, Captain Dubois took Miss Jane Baird from near Bloomington, Ind. Miss Baird was a Protestant. By this marriage three sons were born: Thomas, James and Jesse Kilgore Dubois. The latter was the youngest child, and as he grew up to manhood's years, became a warm personal friend of Abraham Lincoln. His son, Senator Fred Dubois, is perhaps the most widely known descendant of Captain Dubois. Senator Dubois was born in Crawford county, Ill., not far from Vincennes, in 1857. He was graduated from Yale in 1872, and became secretary of the board of railway and warehouse commissioners of Illinois in 1875. In 1880 he went to Idaho and engaged in business. He was United States marshal of Idaho for four years. He represented his district in the fiftieth and fifty-sixth congresses. He was United States senator from Idaho. His home is at Blackfoot, Idaho. . . . At his death, Jesse K. Dubois, youngest son of Captain Dubois, left a large mansion on sixty acres of ground, now within the limits of Springfield, Ill. This estate remained intact for many years. Finally the mansion and thirty acres were sold by the heirs of Jesse K. Dubois, to Catholic sisters, who now occupy the property as a convent. . . . Senator Dubois is the youngest son of Captain Dubois, by the second marriage, as the reader will notice."

Mrs. McCarthy, wife of Peter R. McCarthy, this city, who was formerly Miss Ophelia Dubois, is a great-granddaughter of Capt. Dubois, by his first marriage. Relative to the tragic end of Capt. Dubois, Mr. Wilson, the author from which we quote above, says: "In the early days Capt. Dubois often had business to transact away from home. While returning from one

of these trips, in March 11, 1816, Capt. Dubois met a tragic death. He was riding along the old 'Buffalo Trace,' accompanied by his colored servant. They attempted to swim their horses across the Little Wabash river, a small stream in Clay county, Ill., not far from Vincennes. Heavy rains had caused the streams to be greatly swollen. Capt. Dubois had with him a pair of saddle-bags, which contained a large amount of gold and silver money, and the weight of the money was the direct cause of the man and his horse being drawn down to rise no more." And, in commenting on the lamentable occurrence, the Western Sun of Saturday, March 16, 1816, says:

"On Monday last in attempting to cross the Little Wabash river, was drowned Major Toussaint Dubois. In him the poor have lost a benefactor, his country a friend. He was a kind husband, an indulgent father and an honest man."*

It is presumed the slave met with a similar fate. The body of Mr. Dubois was never recovered. At least, there is no record of it ever having been. And thus closed the earthly career of one of the pioneer citizens of Vincennes, whose bravery and patriotism, whose nobility of character, and whose true devotion to his country, his church and his friends, failed to receive even slight mention in historical annals until Mr. Wilson had written the history of Dubois county.

*The brevity displayed in noting the untimely death of a man of such prominence cannot fail to impress the average newspaper reader of today as peculiar. But it was not the custom in the early days for newspaper writers to be either verbose or sensational. Brief as this obituary notice is, there are volumes expressed in the few words penned by Mr. Stout, the editor, in taking cognizance of the departure from earthly scenes of one of his best and truest friends. What more could be said, in paying a meed of praise to the virtues of a worthy man, whose spirit had winged its flight to the great beyond than that he was a benefactor to the poor, loved well his country and friends, and was "a kind husband and indulgent father?" The author is indebted to Mr. Demarcus Brown, the efficient and affable librarian of the Indiana State Library, for a verbatim copy of the obituary notice as it appeared in the paper. The Western Sun editions, printed while Mr. Stout was editor, were recently purchased for one thousand dollars per volume, and form an interesting collection in the Indiana State Library.

CHAPTER XIX.

OLD VINCENNES BECOMES FIRST CAPITAL OF TERRITORY OF INDIANA.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON APPOINTED FIRST GOVERNOR—OFFICERS, LAWS AND POPULATION OF TERRITORY—THE SENTIMENT ON SLAVERY—FIRST GENERAL ASSEMBLY—OLD LEGISLATIVE BUILDING—BENJAMIN PARKE—HARRISON TREATS WITH INDIANS—VALUE OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS IN 1810—ARRIVAL OF HARRISON AT VINCENNES—THE HARRISON MANSION—EFFORTS TO PRESERVE IT—INDIAN COMPLAINTS NOT WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION—THE PROPHET AND TECUMSEH—TECUMSEH AND HARRISON IN COUNCIL—THE CELEBRATED POW-WOW—HARRISON ADDRESSES A SPEECH TO THE PROPHET AND TECUMSEH—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT CHANGED TO CORYDON—GOVERNOR POSEY ARRIVES—THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE—NAMES OF VINCENNES MEN WHO TOOK PART IN IT—GENERAL HARRISON BULLET PROOF—PEN PICTURE OF TECUMSEH—THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES—DEATH OF TECUMSEH—HARRISON ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—HIS INAUGURATION AND SAD DEATH—HIS TOMB AT NORTH BEND.

According to the first entry in the executive journal, the government of Indiana Territory commenced July 4, 1800. The congressional act, approved by the President of the United States May 7, 1800, dividing the territory northwest of the Ohio river into two separate governments, accorded the inhabitants of Indiana Territory the same rights, privileges and advantages secured to the people of the Northwest Territory under the provisions of the ordinance of 1787.¹ Old Vincennes became the seat of gov-

¹ No attempt was made to reenact the laws of the Northwest Territory in Indiana Territory at any time, though the laws of the former, passed prior to the division, were always treated as in force in the latter. The theory adopted was that the division of the old Territory was merely for administrative purposes; that the laws were as much in force in one division as in the other; and that there was no use in reenacting them in either. [This is perhaps the only instance of such a construction in any country where the common law obtained.] It was carried much farther by the territorial court in 1803, in a curious question concerning the law regulating prison bounds; for it was then held that a law passed in Northwest Territory after 1800 was still in force in Wayne county, which was added to Indiana Territory in 1802, notwithstanding that an entirely different law was in force in the remainder of Indiana. This construction was of vital importance to the infant Territory, for, having dropped back to the first



GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON



GEN. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

ernment, William Henry Harrison was appointed governor, John Gibson secretary, Henry Vanderburg, William Clark and John Griffin, territorial judges.

In July, 1800, Secretary Gibson, who had preceded Governor Harrison to Vincennes, proceeded to make further appointments of territorial officers, and to provide for the administration of the laws. January 10, 1801, Governor Harrison, who had arrived in the meantime, issued a proclamation requiring the attendance of the judges at the seat of government, who accordingly convened at Vincennes on Monday, January 12, 1801, and continued in session until January 26th, when they adjourned, having adopted and published seven laws and three resolutions, relating mainly to the judiciary and county offices. The first session of the general court of the territory was held at Vincennes, beginning March 3, 1801.

The first grand jury to convene in Indiana territory was composed of the following named gentlemen: Luke Decker, Antoine Marchal, Joseph Baird, Patrick Simpson, Antoine Petit, Andre Montplaiseur, John Ochiltree, Jonathan Marney, Jacob Tevebaugh, Alexander Varley, Francois Turpin, F. Compagnoitte, Charles Languedoc, Louis Severe, F. Languedoc, George Catt, John Bt. Barois, Abraham Decker and Philip Catt.

The population of the territory at this time was given as four thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five souls, who were living in scattered settlements separated by great distances.² At Mackinaw, the extreme northern settlement, were two hundred and fifty-one citizens. The fur traders, plying their vocations along the borders of the lakes, numbered about three hundred. The Green Bay settlement had fifty people. At Prairie du Chien, on the upper Mississippi, were sixty-five. Farther down the Mississippi the settlements were more extensive. In and about Cahokia were seven hundred and ninety people. Just below in Belle Fontaine township, were two hundred and eighty-six. In L'Aigle, the southernmost township of St. Clair county, were two hundred and fifty. At and about Kaskaskia were four hundred and sixty-seven. At and about Prairie du Rocher were two hundred and twelve. In Mitchell township were three hundred and thirty-four. Around on the Ohio were ninety souls at Fort Massac. Farther up, in Clark's grant, were nine hundred and twenty-nine. In the interior was nothing that could be called a settlement, except Vincennes, which had seven hundred and fourteen inhabitants, while in its immediate vicinity were eight hundred and nineteen more. There were, however, fifty-five fur traders

stage, under the Ordinance, it could adopt only laws of the original states, which, as had been demonstrated in Northwest Territory, were inadequate to the needs of the people; whereas, the laws of Northwest Territory as revised and extended by the last legislature were very satisfactory.—J. P. Dunn, *Indiana, Commonwealth's Series*, pp. 294-295.

² J. P. Dunn, *Indiana*, pp. 295-296-297-298-299-300.

scattered along the Wabash, and about one hundred at "Opee."³ In what is now Indiana, the population was 2,500; the exact number, says Dunn, cannot be given, because a part of those reported as in the neighborhood of Vincennes were west of the Wabash. Continuing, Mr. Dunn says, that in what is now Illinois were a little more than 2,500, nearly all of them in the region about Kaskaskia and Cahokia, which was commonly called the Illinois country. Of the total population, one hundred and sixty-three were reported free negroes, and one hundred and thirty-five slaves. "But this is erroneous," says Mr. Dunn, "as forty-two negroes and no slaves were reported from Cahokia, where there were certainly a number of slaves. The number reported from that place in 1810 was forty, and there must have been near that number ten years earlier; hence we may estimate the slaves in Indiana territory in 1800 at one hundred and seventy-five, and the free negroes at one hundred and twenty-three. Of the slaves reported, twenty-eight were about Vincennes and on the Wabash, and the remainder were in Randolph County.

"The only pure American settlement was in Clark's grant, though there were Americans scattered all through the French settlements, and a large number of them at Vincennes. The French were largely in the majority in the territory, and most of the American politicians conformed to their ideas for evident reasons. These people were nearly all federalistic in their sympathies. Monarchical institutions had no terrors for them, and political denunciations of a tendency of the government toward such institutions fell lightly on their ears. Their leaders had been favored by the federal executives, both national and territorial, to such an extent that they held nearly all the offices; and the mere holding of an office added much to the dignity and influence of a man among the French settlers. But American politicians had little weight with them as compared with their local welfare, and the one thing which they considered essential to their welfare was the introduction of slaves. Their views were natural. Emigrants who objected to slavery usually stopped in Ohio; those who wanted slavery, went to Kentucky, or the Spanish possessions beyond the Mississippi. Their neighbors who had crossed the river for fear of losing their slaves could not return, and all on account of this absurd American law. The French settlers and their American allies wanted this law changed, and, inasmuch as a majority of the inhabitants of the territory were of that mind, they were in hopes that congress would relent. Before the organization of the territory was completed, the Illinois people prepared a memorial to congress making known their wants and supplicating relief. The ingenuity of that portion of it which refers to the question of slavery will best be seen in the following extract: 'The mode your petitioners wish and pray you to adopt is

³ Peoria, *i. e.*, *au Peorias*. This is an example of that compound of French abbreviation with American orthography from which such results as Okas for Kaskaskia, Cahos, Cos, or Okos for Cahokia, and Opost for Post Vincennes were obtained.—Dunn.

to permit of the introduction into the territory of any of those who are slaves in any of the United States, who, when admitted, shall continue in a state of servitude during their natural lives, but that all their children born in the territory shall serve, the males until thirty-one and the females until twenty-eight, at which time they are to be absolutely free. To the adoption of such a modification of slavery, your petitioners cannot conceive any well-founded objections will be made. It cannot but meet with the support of those who are friends to a gradual abolition of slavery, and your petitioners cannot entertain the idea that any will be found to oppose a measure which in the course of a very few years will in all human probability rescue from the vilest state of bondage a number, and without doubt a considerable number of souls yet unborn. Your petitioners do not want to increase the number of slaves in the United States by the introduction of any from foreign dominions; their wishes, on the contrary, tend considerably to diminish the number by emancipating those who, whether born in the states where their parents reside, or removed into the Spanish dominions, would otherwise be born slaves.'

"In addition to this modification of the sixth article of the compact, the petitioners asked the extinction of the Indian title to the greater part of southern Illinois, which was held by the little remnant of the Kaskaskia tribe; the granting of tracts of land to persons who would open roads through the unsettled parts of the country and maintain taverns along the same; and the establishment of one or two garrisons of troops—all these being in anticipation of rapid settlement of the country when the slavery restriction should be removed. This petition had two hundred and seventy signatures, chiefly French. Among the more prominent English and American signers were John Edgar, John Rice Jones, William Morrison, Robert Morrison and Shadrach Bond. It does not appear to have been circulated at Vincennes.* It was forwarded to congress, but did not receive the consideration which its philanthropic professions might seem to demand. It was not presented to the house, though addressed to both house and senate; at least there is no mention of it in the house records, and no copy of it on the house files. It was presented to the senate on January 23, 1801, and at once laid on the table, whence it was not removed.

"The Illinois people soon learned that their petition would avail nothing, but they were not at all disheartened. The first result of the failure was a determination to have a representative in congress to urge their wishes. This they could not do without advancing to the second grade of territorial government; but as the law establishing the territory had fixed on a minimum of population for this advance, there was no reason why it could not be made at once if Governor Harrison was willing. On April 11, 1801, John Edgar wrote to Governor St. Clair: 'During a few weeks past we have put into circulation petitions addressed to Governor Harrison, for

* John Rice Jones, however, one of the petitioners, was a resident of Vincennes.

a general assembly, and we have had the satisfaction to find that about nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the counties of St. Clair and Randolph approve of the measure, a great proportion of whom have already put their signatures to the petition. I have written to Judge Clark of Clark County, to Mr. Buntin and Mr. Small of Post Vincennes, urging them to be active in the business. I have no doubt but that the undertaking will meet with early success so as to admit of the house of representatives meeting early in the fall.'

"It is possible that Mr. Edgar's confidence was based on a belief that the governor was, like himself, a federalist, for Mr. Harrison had made no parade of his republicanism since coming to Indiana. He afterwards declared that his appointment as governor by Mr. Adams was not a favor from a political friend; that 'it was necessary to get me out of the way' in Ohio to secure a federal state there; and that he refused the appointment until convinced by his friends that 'there was no doubt of Mr. Jefferson's election in the ensuing November, and that I would be continued governor of Indiana, and some republican would succeed Governor St. Clair in the northwest territory.'† In the same letter, however, he says: 'I therefore accepted the appointment with a determination, as Indiana had no voice in the choice of a president, that I would take no part in the contest.' The closeness of his adherence to this resolve produced in 1805 the charge: 'No sooner was Mr. Jefferson elevated to the presidency than you began to apprehend danger. . . . From the firmest federalist, you wheeled about like the cock on a steeple, and declared yourself a republican.* On the other hand, while Edgar may have counted on Harrison's federalism, it is possible that he counted on the governor's not daring to put himself in opposition to the known wishes of the people, or even that he supposed the governor to have no discretion in the matter, for the division act provided that the second grade 'shall be in force and operate in the Indiana territory whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the governor thereof that such is the wish of a majority of the freeholders.'

"Whatever may have been their theories, Edgar, Morrison, and their friends secured and submitted the requisite petitions and left the governor confronted by a serious political problem. A republican himself, and anticipating a continued ascendancy of his party in the nation, he still knew that the people of Indiana were mostly federalists; and he had before him the task of winning their favor and political friendship. If a legislature were established, the members would exercise an influence which would weaken his own; would pass acts for political purposes; would probably be enabled to maintain their political ascendancy in the territory. True, he would still have an absolute veto, but he knew from St. Clair's experience that a resort to the veto would speedily make him an object of popular

† Harrison to Lyons, June 1, 1840.

* *Letters of Decius*, p. 25.

odium. His only safe course was to prevent the advance to the second grade. He accordingly prepared a 'letter to a friend' which at once found its way into print. Its effect is thus stated by one of his bitterest enemies: 'Previous to this famous letter of the governor against the second grade of government, the people, whether right or wrong, had generally petitioned the governor to adopt the measure. A declaration of his own opinion, accompanied with an exaggerated calculation of the expenses incident to this form of government, alarmed the people by a representation of heavy taxes; and they immediately changed their opinions for no other reason than those stated by the governor.' "†

There was no legislature in the Indiana territory till after the separation of Michigan, which occurred June 30, 1805, pursuant to an act of congress approved on the 11th of January preceding. On September 11, 1804, a vote had been taken and a majority of one hundred and thirty-eight freeholders of the territory had voted in favor of organizing a general assembly; whereupon Governor Harrison issued a proclamation calling for an election of members of a house of representatives, to be held on Thursday, January 3, 1805, and citing the members elect to meet at Vincennes on the 1st of February, to take measures for the organization of a territorial council. In compliance with this order the members convened on the day and date set, and on February 7, 1805, proceeded to select by ballot the names of ten residents of the territory, to be forwarded to the President of the United States, five of whom the President was authorized by congress to appoint and commission as members of the legislative council of Indiana territory. The names of the ten persons sent to the President were: John Rice Jones and Jacob Kuykendall, of Knox County; Samuel Gwathney and Marston Green Clark, of Clark County; Benjamin Chambers of Dearborn County; Jean Francois Perrey and John Hay, of St. Clair County; Pierre Menard, of Randolph County; James May and James Henry, of Detroit, Wayne County—the latter being in Indiana territory at the time of the election, but being set off to Michigan prior to the meeting of the legislature, on the 29th of July following.

President Jefferson refused to make a selection of five from the ten names forwarded to him as members of the legislative council for the reason that the men were all strangers to him; but forwarded to Governor Harrison a blank for him to fill with the names most suitable, rejecting "land-jobbers, dishonest men, and those who, though honest, might suffer themselves to be warped by party prejudices."

The first general assembly of Indiana territory convened at Vincennes, July 29, 1805, pursuant to a proclamation issued by General Harrison June 7th. The members of the house of representatives were: Benjamin Parke and John Johnson, of Knox County; Jesse B. Thomas, of Dearborn County; David Floyd, of Clark County; Shadrach Bond and William Biggs, of St.

† *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Clair County; George Fisher of Randolph County. On July 30th Governor Harrison delivered his message. Several days later the council and house of representatives, by joint ballot, elected Benjamin Parke the first delegate to congress from Indiana territory.

The building in which the first general assembly convened and which was headquarters for the governmental officials, was located on the southeast side of Main street about midway between Second and Third streets. More than a half century ago the house was removed to the southeast side of Third street, about a half block below Harrison park. It is standing today in a very good state of preservation, as will be seen by a glance at the accompanying illustration.

Benjamin Parke was a native of New Jersey, and was born in the year 1777. He and his accomplished wife came to Vincennes in 1801 and took up their residence. Several years after his arrival, he built a handsome residence on First street, near the river, on a wooded plat of ground, occupying a whole block between Shelby and Scott streets. It was subsequently purchased and occupied as a homestead by the late John Wise, and always bore the name of Parke place, until a few years ago, when the house was relegated to the rear of the lot and the remainder of the premises, originally supplied with stately shade trees and ornamented with flower gardens, cleared to make room for a lumber yard and green-house. In 1808 President Jefferson appointed Mr. Parke a territorial judge, which office he faithfully filled until Indiana became a state. He was a member of the convention that met at Corydon on the 10th day of June, 1816, to form a state constitution, and took a leading part in its deliberations. After the admission of Indiana to the union, President Madison appointed him a United States district judge, which position he held until his death, which occurred at Salem, Ind., July 12, 1835. Always a wise legislator and just and honorable judge, Benjamin Parke achieved distinction and won the hearts of the people by the display of honor, bravery and skill in the discharge of other duties that devolved on him. When the hostile redskins had organized for a raid on the white settlers, Judge Parke raised a company of dragoons and went to their rescue. He was an active participant in the bloody battle of Tippecanoe, where he distinguished himself for bravery and valor; and when that gallant soldier, Major Daviess, fell he was promoted to the majority and assumed command of the cavalry. Of his military conduct, General Harrison thus speaks: "He was in every respect equal to any cavalry officer I have ever seen. As in everything else which he undertook, he made himself acquainted with the tactics of that arm, and succeeded in bringing his troops, both as regards field maneuvering and the use of the saber, to as great perfection as I have ever known." While the territorial government was operative, Judge Parke for several years acted in the capacity of Indian agent. His knowledge of the Indian, by



TERRITORIAL LEGISLATIVE HALL

actual contact with the savage in his forest home, his patience and bravery, made him a very desirable man in that position, and he affected many honorable and advantageous treaties with the savages.

Judge Parke's wife's maiden name was Eliza Barton. They were married in Lexington, where the judge formed the acquaintance of Henry Clay and became one of the staunchest friends of the Kentucky statesman. Two children were born to Judge and Mrs. Parke—a son and daughter. The daughter became the wife of Abraham Hite, a prominent Louisville merchant. She died young, leaving a son whom the grandmother claimed, and took to her Salem home. The son's name was Barton. He was a delicate child, but talented, and had made fine progress in his college course when, in 1833, at Salem, one-twentieth of the population were stricken with cholera and died. Both Barton and his sister's little boy were carried away by the pestilence, rendering Benjamin and Eliza Parke childless.*

While living at Vincennes Judge Parke was one of the instigators of a plan for the formation of a public library, which he aided with his means. The institution prospered, and in the early part of the nineteenth century contained more than 1,500 choice books, embracing standard works in many branches of science and departments of literature. He was a member of the first board of trustees of the Vincennes University, and consequently assisted in the establishment of the institution. He was the author of the movement by which the law library at Indianapolis was established and subsequently became a noted institution throughout the country; and he also took the initiatory for the formation of the Indiana Historical Society, an organization which has recently taken a new lease on life.

On assuming the office of governor of Indiana territory, General Harrison was invested by the government of the United States with authority to make further treaties with the Indians, with a view to the extinguishment of the titles of the red men lying within the boundaries of the territory; and, in the exercise of such authority, he made treaties in the following order:

At Vincennes, September 17, 1802, certain chiefs and head men of the Pottawattomie, Eel River, Piankeshaw, Wea, Kaskaskia and Kickapoo tribes, nominated and appointed the Miami chiefs Little Turtle and Richardville, and the Pottawattomie chiefs, Winamac and Topinepik, to settle the terms of treaty for the extinguishment of Indian claims to certain lands on the borders of the Wabash in the vicinity of Vincennes.

At Fort Wayne, June 7, 1803, certain chiefs and head men of the Delaware, Shawnee, Pottawattomie, Eel River, Kickapoo, Piankeshaw and Kaskaskia tribes ceded to the United States about 1,600,000 acres of land.

By the provisions of a treaty concluded at Vincennes, August 13, 1803, certain chiefs and warriors of the Kaskaskia tribe ceded to the United States

* Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, p. 389.

about 8,600,000 acres of land lying on the borders of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers.

At Vincennes, August 18, 1804, the chiefs and head men of the Delaware tribe ceded to the United States their claims to the tract of land lying between the Wabash and Ohio rivers and south of the road which extended from Vincennes to the falls of the Ohio. The Piankeshaws relinquished their claims to the same territory by a treaty concluded at Vincennes, August 27, 1804.

By a treaty made at St. Louis, November 3, 1804, several chiefs of the Sac and Fox tribes ceded to the United States a vast extent of territory lying principally on the east side of the Mississippi, between the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers. The dispute over these lands, including the Sac villages, near Rock Island, brought on the Black Hawk war in 1832.

At a treaty concluded at Grouseland near Vincennes August 21, 1805, certain chiefs and warriors of the Delaware, Pottawattomie, Miami, Eel River and Wea tribes ceded to the United States their territory lying southeast of the line running northeasterly from a point about fifty-seven miles due east from Vincennes, so as to strike the general boundary line (running from a point opposite the Kentucky river to Fort Recovery) at a distance of fifty miles from the commencement on the Ohio.

At a treaty concluded at Vincennes, December 30, 1805, the chiefs and head men of the Piankeshaw tribe ceded about 2,000,000 acres lying west of the Wabash river.

At Fort Wayne, September 30, 1809, the chiefs of the Delaware, Eel River, Pottawattomie and Miami tribes ceded to the United States about 2,000,000 acres of land lying principally on the southeastern side of the Wabash, below the mouth of Raccoon creek. The chiefs and leading men of the Wea tribe met Governor Harrison at Vincennes on October 26, 1809, and acknowledged the validity of the above treaty of Fort Wayne. The same treaty was also confirmed by the sachems and war chiefs of the Kickapoos December 9, 1809, and the Kickapoos ceded to the United States about 113,000 acres of land.

Up to the date last named Harrison had procured for the United States, through treaties, land equal in extent to 29,719,530 acres.

As has already been stated in a preceding chapter, by an act of congress approved March 26, 1804, a land office was established at Vincennes for the sale of these lands. About the same time a similar office was installed at Detroit and another at Kaskaskia. A fourth one was established at Jeffersonville by an act of congress approved March 3, 1807. At this period Jeffersonville was a town five years old, it having been laid out in 1802 in conformity with a plan proposed by Thomas Jefferson, then president of the United States.

The white population of Indiana territory in 1808 was about 28,000 souls, of whom about 11,000 lived west of the Wabash. This was the same year that Benjamin Parke was appointed to a seat on the supreme bench

of the territory, and when the legislature elected Jesse B. Thomas speaker of the house, to succeed Parke as a delegate in congress.

In 1809 congress passed an act declaring that "all that part of Indiana territory lying west of the Wabash river and a direct line drawn from said Wabash river and Post Vincennes, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, should constitute a separate territory and be called Illinois." By this division, the only counties remaining in Indiana territory having organization were Knox, Harrison, Clark and Dearborn; and in the election for delegate to congress, on the 22d of May, 911 votes were polled, of which Jonathan Jennings received 428, Thomas Randolph 402 and John Johnson 81. The year following (1810) a census was taken, showing the population of Indiana territory to be 24,520. There were in the territory thirty-three gristmills, fourteen sawmills, three horse mills, eighteen tanneries, twenty-eight distilleries, three powder mills, 1,256 looms and 1,350 spinning wheels. The valuation placed on manufactured products was as follows: Woolen, cotton, hempen and flaxen cloths, and mixtures, \$159,052; cotton and wool spun in mills, \$150; nails (20,000 lbs.), \$4,000; leather, tanned, \$9,300; products of distilleries (35,950 gallons), \$16,230; gunpowder (3,600 lbs.), \$1,800; wine from grapes (96 bbls.), \$6,000; maple sugar, (50,000 lbs.), value not given.

When General William Henry Harrison first came to Vincennes as the governor of Indiana territory, he accepted the hospitality of Colonel Vigo, and occupied the parlor of the Colonel's elegant home as a temporary residence. How long he made this pretentious dwelling an abode is not stated. However, in 1804, the governor was ensconced in a mansion of his own—the first brick house to be erected in the city, if not in the territory. The original cost of the building is said to have been \$20,000, which does not seem to be excessive, even for territorial times, when one considers the nice material and superior workmanship entering into its construction, traces of which the ravages of time and the hand of the vandal have left intact. The old house is truly one of the few remaining land-marks of the Old Post, possessing historic interest of an unusual character. It has for many years furnished themes for the rankest romancers, whose fictitious recitals about an underground passage leading from the house to the river, intended as an avenue of escape when the inmates were threatened by a visitation from hostile savages, powder magazines, etc., have been given so often that they fail to attract even the attention of lovers of the mythical. Here in this old homestead Governor Harrison has received many distinguished visitors. The old house has been the scene of many important gatherings at which weighty affairs of state have been discussed. Its spacious chambers have gathered within their walls the wealth, youth and beauty of colonial days, whose functions were always notably brilliant affairs. It was almost under the eaves of this grand old mansion that the wonderfully dramatic controversy between Harrison and Tecumseh occurred. For more than a hundred years this ancient dwelling, which retains its lines of architectural

symmetry, has stood at the corner of Park and Scott streets.* The main building is two stories with an attic and basement. Its walls on three sides are square, the one on the west side facing the river being oval. The house is about two hundred yards inland from the stream, and rests on elevated ground, which recedes gently toward the river. The basement walls are twenty-four inches thick, while their width above is eighteen inches. The bricks used in the construction of the house were manufactured by Samuel Thompson, grandfather of Samuel Thompson of Vincennes, who, with a brother, operated a brick yard several miles east of the city. It is said that Governor Harrison gave the Thompsons two half sections of land for making the brick, to order. The doors, sash, mantels and stairs were made either at Pittsburg, Pa., or Chillicothe, Ohio, it never having been fully established which place produced them. However, they were manufactured from the best of material, and evidence that they were fashioned by the hands of skilled mechanics whose workmanship especially in the carving and matrixing, approaches the artistic. The glass in the windows was imported from England, and it is stated did not arrive in this country until two years after the order for shipment had been given. The joist and studding are double the width and thickness of timbers used in the construction of modern and costly houses of today and are hand-whipped sawed. The space between the floors and ceilings of each room is filled with mud and clay, mixed with straw, for the purpose of deadening sounds. The basement is provided with a dining room and kitchen, each supplied with an old-fashioned fireplace, the one in the kitchen being equipped with a crane, very similar to that to be seen in General Washington's old home at Mt. Vernon. The basement also contains apartments for servants, consisting of four living rooms; but its most interesting feature is a dungeon—a windowless cell or detention room—which was probably designed for the punishment of disobedient slaves and recalcitrant soldiers. There is a secret shaft, a mysterious sort of an elevator, running between the inner and outer side of the wall, from the first floor to the attic, but closed at the lower end, the only opening being from the attic, the uses of which have never been determined. On the first floor a roomy hallway with high ceiling communicates with rooms on either side thereof, and from this a broad stairway, to ascend which creates a pleasing sensation, makes a three-quarter turn and

* The lands on which the Harrison residence was built comprised lots Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Upper Prairie Survey, which embraced all of the river front, from Hickman to Hart street, running back to the Highland foothills, and contained 280 acres. The ground on which the house stands, and that constituting originally the yard, garden and outlots, embraced all of that which is bounded by the river on the west, Scott street on the south, by Park on the east and by what is now called Harrison street on the north, this latter street being known originally as Perry. In September, 1815, the plat of Harrison's addition was made and legalized by an act of the legislature on January 3, 1817. This plat embraced that portion of the land reaching from the river to Seventh street, then called Troiter street. The remaining portion of this land is embraced in Cochran's, Malott's and Shepard's addition to the city of Vincennes.—H. M. Smith.



HOME OF GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

reaches a hallway above. The main stairway has no outside supports, yet is solid as a rock. Its construction is considered a wonderful piece of mechanical skill by architects who have viewed it. It is made of black walnut, finely polished, and very much resembles mahogany. Under one of the staircases on the first floor is a room that until recently had not been opened in seventy years. It is called the secret record room where, tradition says, money and records belonging to the government were kept. It is built between the walls in such a manner that the casual observer would not detect its presence. On the first floor to the left of the main hall near the entrance is a room of large dimensions which was used during the governor's day as a parlor, reception room and, no doubt, for the purpose of allowing the graceful dames and their gallants to participate in the measured figures of the minuet. A room about thirty-five feet in length and twenty-five in width at the rear end of the hallway, supposed to have been used as a council chamber, was no doubt frequently used as a ball room. The main building is 60x75, and all of the rooms are spacious, with ceilings of extraordinary height. The woodwork is hand-finished, and what few nails are used in it are hand-forged. The greater quantity of wood employed for the interior furnishings is black walnut, even the inside and outside blinds being wrought of that material. The mantels are all hand-carved, the work combining good taste with mechanical skill. There are twenty-one rooms in the house, exclusive of those in the attic. The main entrances to the building—on the southwest and east side—are approached by steps which lead to the landings of covered verandas. Under the southwest entrance in the basement the powder magazine (which no doubt is a creation of fiction) was supposed to be located. Every stranger within the city's gates makes the Harrison mansion an objective point, and in the course of a year thousands of people from abroad visit the old homestead.

In 1811 the governor's military duties made it necessary for him to give up the house as a place of residence, and on leaving he installed his son John Cleves Symmes Harrison therein. The junior Harrison was a courteous and talented young fellow, and had gained a popularity almost equal to that of his illustrious father. He had just married General Pike's young daughter and only child, who was a vivacious and cultured woman and, like her devoted husband, loved the social whirl; and the old mansion during John Cleves Harrison's occupancy witnessed quite as many brilliant society events as when William Henry Harrison presided as its master. During the time the house was in charge of Cleves Harrison, the town library was kept there, which enabled many cultured and refined people to mingle with the charming host and hostess. When the junior Mr. Harrison took his departure for North Bend to establish himself on his father's estate, the citizens of the town tendered him a banquet and farewell reception, on which occasion the exchange of greetings between the guests of honor and those who had arranged the event was marked by cordiality and tokens of esteem. Not long after his withdrawal from Vincennes, young Mr. Harri-

son sickened of typhoid fever and died at the home of his father at North Bend.

General James P. Drake, who was located here as receiver of public monies, became an occupant of the house on the departure of Cleves Harrison, and resided there until his election as treasurer of state, when he removed to Indianapolis, where he died in 1850.

When Drake went out from under the roof of the old mansion, it was subjected to unkind treatment, especially at the hands of his immediate successor, General John Myers, a grain dealer, who used it for storing wheat. After the old O. & M. Railroad was completed to St. Louis, James Gatton used it for hotel purposes. For a number of years it was occupied as a residence by the late W. F. Pidgeon, who kept it in very good repair. After Mr. Pidgeon's death the property fell into the hands of his son Flavius, who sold it to Edward Sheperd. Mr. Sheperd spent considerable money in an effort to restore the old home to its former condition, and occupied it for ten or twelve years. In 1909, he sold it, with the real estate belonging, to the Vincennes Water Supply Company. In 1907, while Mr. Sheperd was still its owner, he offered to sell the property for nearly four times the amount he paid for it. A bill was introduced in the senate of the general assembly of Indiana providing for the purchase of the Harrison homestead by the state. The bill passed the senate, but was defeated in the house. In 1909 a similar bill was introduced in the house and defeated, on the ground that the price at which the owner held the property was too high.

The house, until the present tenant moved in, had no occupant for more than a year, during which time relic hunters played havoc with the interior arrangements, carrying away tiling, hardware, and even pieces of mantels and grates. The board of public works (Messrs. Watson, Zuber and Borrowman) had planned to have the building removed to Harrison park,* and restored to its original state, and had about closed the contract for that purpose with a house-moving concern of St. Louis for \$3,500, when their official terms expired. The board's successors repudiated this action, and thus averted a move to soften the tread of time and stay the hand of vandalism against the ancient pile.

*The upper prairie survey, now in part occupied by Harrison Park, was covered over on the river front by many handsome brick residences. These remained as late as 1844, but have since entirely disappeared. The brick in these buildings were used in the construction of buildings in various parts of the city, and may be said to be the beginning of the erection of brick buildings in the city. The survey upon which these buildings stood on the failure of the Steam Mill Company was mortgaged to the United States for \$100,000, and the title subject to the mortgage passed to Hall Neilson of Washington City. The United States was subjected to a long litigation to establish its claim, which was not finally settled until 1880, when the government claim was finally quitted. The government then had the survey sub-divided into lots and sold all the lots except that portion fronting on the river, which was donated to the city for a public park, and is now known as Harrison Park.—H. S. Cauthorn.

The present owners of the old house, the Vincennes Water Supply Company, have been asked to protect it against further decay and destruction. This appeal was made by the Daughters of the American Revolution, who are engaged in the laudable enterprise of raising funds for the purchase of the old historic mansion, with a view of preserving to the city one of the landmarks of territorial days and at the same time perpetuating the memory of one of the great national characters in the history of that period.

On a lawn, studded with trees, directly in front of the southwest entrance to the old mansion, Governor Harrison and the greatest of all Indian chiefs, Tecumseh, held their thrilling and ever-memorable pow-wow. But before relating that particular event, it is pertinent to briefly cite the incidents which led up to it.

During the period between 1805 and 1810 the Indians were profuse as well as bitter in their complaints of the white man encroaching on the domains of the red man, invading their favorite hunting grounds and killing without justification many of their race. An old chieftain, who came to lay the troubles of his people before Governor Harrison, thus spake: "You call us your children; why do you not make us as happy as our fathers, the French, did? They never took from us our land; indeed, they were in common between us. They planted where they pleased; and they cut wood where they pleased; and so did we. But now, if a poor Indian happens to take a little bark from a tree to cover him from the rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own."

Complaints of this character were generally based on facts; and in more instances than one the Indians seemed to be amply justified in going on the warpath. In 1805 the Shawnee warrior, Tecumseh, and his brother, La-le-was-i-kaw (Loud Voice), resided at one of the Delaware villages on the borders of the west fork of White river, within the present boundaries of Delaware County. Some time during that year La-le-was-i-kaw took upon himself the character of a prophet and reformer, assuming the name of Pems-quat-a-wah, which in the Shawnee's dialect signifies Open Door. Among the many evils he declaimed against as the sins of his time and his people, the chief prominence was given to witchcraft, the use of intoxicating liquors by the Indians, the custom of Indian women intermarrying with white men, and the practice of selling Indian lands to the United States. He saw that the Indian tribes were rapidly deteriorating by contact and association with the whites, and in departing from their ancient spirit and customs, and fast being swept away by the white race; and his purpose was to bring about a reform; to unite them, and by infusing into them their ancient courage, virtue and endurance, make them equal to the task of resisting the encroachments of Americans upon their territory. Following out this trend of thought, he commenced exhorting his people, urging reformation as to their personal behavior; and at the same time advocated a sort of a state policy, which he declared would make them a greater confederacy or nation. He avowed that the Great Spirit had inspired him and given

him the power to cure all sorts of diseases, to confuse and confound his enemies, and to prevent the hand of death from striking his people on the field of battle. He was a good orator, and in presenting his doctrines and referring to the wonderful powers which had been bestowed on him, thrilled the savages with his eloquence. The Shawnees readily gathered about him as disciples and defenders, and with his loyal band he moved into the vicinity of Greenville, Ohio, toward the close of the year, where he remained, augmenting the number of his followers and causing consternation among the settlers, till the spring of 1808, when he settled on the banks of the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe river, and established Prophet-town, a place which subsequently became widely known. At this time the prophet counted on one hundred and forty braves, of whom forty were Shawnees. As soon as the prophet's followers had gotten fairly settled in their new village, Governor Harrison sent John Conner, a pioneer settler of the Old Post, having wonderful power over the Indians, to the Shawnees with a message. It contained the following paragraph, probably not intended for the prophet's ears, but which he nevertheless heard: "My children, this business must be stopped. I will no longer suffer it. You have called a number of men from the most distant tribes to listen to a fool, who speaks not the words of the Great Spirit, but those of the devil and the British agents. My children, your conduct has much alarmed the white settlers. They desire that you will send away these people; and if they wish to have the imposter with them, they can carry him. Let him go to the lakes; he can hear the British more distinctly."

Tecumseh meanwhile, who was a great organizer, was exerting himself in an effort to form all the tribes into one vast confederacy, and had repeatedly called councils at which he openly and eloquently declared that the treaties made with the United States by the Indians for the cession of their lands were unfair and unjust to the latter and carried with them neither obligation nor binding force.

The cunning prophet attempted to throw Harrison off his guard by sending a deputation of Indians to Vincennes in the latter part of June, 1808, bearing a message of friendly greeting, in which he assured the governor that his followers had no other intention than to live in peace and harmony with the white people. Two months later he came in person, and in the course of an interview with the governor addressed him thus: "Father, it is three years since I first began with the system of religion which I practice. The white people and some of the Indians were against me; but I had no other intention than to introduce among the Indians those good principles of religion which the white people profess. The Great Spirit told me to tell the Indians that he had made them and made the world; that he had placed them on it to do good, and not evil. I told all the red-skins that the way they were in was not good, and that they ought to abandon it; and that it is the cause of all the mischief the Indians suffer; that we must always follow the directions of the Great Spirit, determined to listen

to nothing that is bad. Do not take up the tomahawk should it be offered by the British or by the Long Knives. Do not meddle with anything that does not belong to you, but mind your own business and cultivate the ground, that your women and children may have enough to live on. My Father, I have informed you what we mean to do, and I call the Great Spirit to witness the truth of my declaration."

The prophet and his followers were so profuse in their professions of good faith that the governor inclined to look on them with favor for a time and to consider their declarations for the maintenance of pacific relations to be sincere. This opinion, however, only lasted until the return of the prophet and his followers to Prophet town, from whence he frequently received reports that were convincing proof of his late visitors' hypocrisy and led him to conclude that the prophet and Tecumseh were both dangerous characters to the peace and quiet of the country and to the security and happiness of the settlers.

Henceforth the governor kept a closer watch on the movements of the inhabitants of Prophet town, which was near the present boundaries of Lafayette, and frequently dispatched thereto, and to all the Indian villages throughout the territory, confidential messengers with assurances to villagers of the friendship and protection of the United States and warning them of the gravity of the offense and the great danger of encouraging the false prophet in any of his pretensions or claims. The tried and trusted missionaries whom the governor generally sent out to the Indian settlements with messages of a pacificatory character were no lesser personages than Colonel Francis Vigo, Captain Toussaint Dubois, Joseph Barron, Pierre LaPlante, John Conner, M. Brouillet and William Prince.

It was in the spring of 1910 that an incident occurred at Prophet town, which showed clearly that the prophet's professions of a desire for peace were not sincere, and which exasperated the governor not a little. Some boatmen who had gone to the village to deliver to the Indians their annuity of salt were received with such terms as "American dogs," "American robbers," etc. As a further display of bad temper, the Indians refused to receive the salt. Soon after the occurrence, Governor Harrison sent the prophet a letter, reproving him for his conduct on this occasion, stating that it was the sheerest folly for him to attempt to make war upon the United States, all of which seemed to have made but little impression on him. Mr. Barron, who was the bearer of the letter, was ushered into the august presence of the prophet, who was seated, surrounded by a group of his followers, and left standing at a distance of eight or ten feet from the great oracle of wisdom and power. The prophet for several minutes kept his eyes centered on Mr. Barron without saying a word or giving any sign of recognition. Unable to longer contain himself he finally broke the silence by demanding of the messenger, "For what purpose do you come here? Brouillet was here; he was a spy; Dubois was here; he was a spy; now you have come; you, too, are a spy. There is your grave; look

on it"—pointing with his bony finger to the ground where Barron was standing. His face wore a look of injured pride and terror; but he was acting, and put on such a front for the purpose of terrorizing Barron, who was ill at ease to say the least. At the moment he was nerving himself in a final effort to look undisturbed, Tecumseh stepped out from one of the lodges and assured him that his life would not be taken, but that it would be necessary for him to explain the object of his visit. Barron explained his presence in a satisfactory manner to the big chief, who informed him that within a few days he would visit Vincennes in person to talk over the situation with the governor.

According to promise, Tecumseh put in an appearance at the Old Post on August 12th, accompanied by seventy-five of his most attractive warriors as a bodyguard, and from that date until August 22d, the governor spent much of his time in conference with the haughty chieftain. In one of these meetings, the chief, addressing the executive, said: "Brother: Since the treaty of Greenville you have killed some of the Shawnees, Winnebagoes, Delewares and Miamis, and you have taken our lands from us; and I do not see how we can remain at peace with you if you continue to do so. You try to force the red people to do some injury. It is you that are pushing them on to do mischief. You endeavor to make distinctions. You wish to prevent the Indians from doing as we wish them—to unite and let them consider their lands as the common property of the whole. You take tribes aside and advise them not to come into this measure; and until our design is accomplished, we do not wish to accept of your invitation to go and see the President. . . . If the land is not restored to us, you will see when we return to our homes how it is settled. We shall have a great council at which all the tribes shall be present, when we shall show to those who sold that they had no right to the claim they set up; and we shall see what will be done to those chiefs who did sell the land to you. I am not alone in this determination. It is the determination of all the warriors and red people who listen to me."

Preceding the foregoing speech, which was delivered on August 20, 1810, Governor Harrison, who was seated with his officers beneath the spreading branches of a giant maple tree which cast their inviting shades over the beautiful lawn, in front of his house, invited Tecumseh to take a seat on the bench beside him, supplementing the invitation with the remark that it was the desire of the Great Father that he should do so. Tecumseh, with folded arms, cast a glance at the soldiers, who were drawn up in line, and then fixing his gaze intently on Harrison for a moment, he lifted his expressive eyes toward the skies, and, pointing his finger heavenward, in a voice full of dramatic force, exclaimed: "*My Father!* The sun is *my* father; the earth is *my* mother, and on her bosom I will recline!" And, suiting his actions to his words, he flung his magnificent form upon nature's grassy carpet, where he was joined by all his braves.

During the delivery of his speech Tecumseh allowed himself to become wrought up to a pitch of intense excitement; and when Governor Harrison began his reply, and had reached a stage in the course of his remarks where he bitterly assailed the mighty Shawnee for charging the United States with acting in bad faith respecting the treatment of the Indians, and denouncing the statement of the big chief as false, there were several moments of profound silence. The governor declared that he had always been the friend of the red man, and in his treatment toward him his honor had never been hitherto questioned. The governor's remarks thus far had been translated to the Shawnees by Joseph Barron, the interpreter, who was just in the act of interpreting the same to the Miamis and Pottawatomies, who formed a part of the delegation, when Tecumseh sprang to his feet—his warriors following the example, brandishing their war clubs and tomahawks—and calling loudly, said to Barron, "Tell him he lies!" Barron, having a profound respect for his superior, as well as a reverence for the government he was serving, began a diplomatic interpretation of the language to which the enraged chief had given expression, and was apparently laboring to shore the term used of its harshness when Tecumseh, who had but limited knowledge of English, perceived, from the embarrassment and hesitancy of the interpreter, he was not giving a literal translation of the words, again interrupted Barron with: "No; tell him he lies!" With dark scowls on their faces, the Indians bowed their heads and gave guttural grunts, expressive of their approval of the term employed and the sentiment contained in the language to which their chief had given utterance.

Secretary Gibson, who had acquired a fair knowledge of the Shawnee language, was by no means a listless spectator of the exciting scenes and incidents of this impromptu drama. He had been notified during the progress of the play to be ready with a guard of twelve men, under command of Lieutenant Jesse Jennings, and the guard was brought forth instantaneously. For a time a fight between the troops and Indians seemed imminent, but it did not occur.

After a literal interpretation of Tecumseh's entire speech had been given by Barron to the governor, the latter directed the interpreter to say to him that the interview was at an end; that the council fires would be extinguished, and that no further communications would be held with the Indians. Harrison, however, later consented to hold another interview with Tecumseh provided he would make reparation for his misconduct and apologize for his outrageous language of the preceding day. And, accordingly, on the 21st of August, the council fires were rekindled, Tecumseh appeared promptly, suffering seemingly from humiliation for his actions, and departed himself in the most respectful and dignified manner. At this conference when Tecumseh was asked to state plainly whether or not the surveyors who might be sent to survey the lands ceded by the treaty of Fort Wayne would be molested by the Indians, and whether or not the Kickapoos would receive their annuities, he replied: "Brother, when you

“speak of annuities to me I look at the land and pity the women and children. I am authorized to say that they will not receive them. Brother, we want to save that piece of land. We do not want you to take it. It is small enough for our purpose. If you do take it, you must blame yourself as the cause of the trouble between us and the tribes who sold it to you. I want the present boundary line to continue. Should you cross it, I assure you it will be productive of bad consequences.” When Governor Harrison informed him that neither his “claims or pretensions would be recognized by the President of the United States,” Tecumseh reflectively responded: “Well, as the great chief is to determine the matter, I hope the Great Spirit will put sense enough into his head to induce him to direct you to give up the land. It is true, he is so far off he will not be injured by the war. He may sit still in his own town and drink his wine while you and I will have to fight it out.”

A survey was made in the fall of the year of 1810 of the boundary line made necessary by the land acquired through the Fort Wayne treaty, by a Mr. McDonald, whom Governor Harrison had detailed for the work. Its establishment heightened the discontent of the Indians growing out of the original cession of the land, which both Tecumseh and the prophet held was neither regular or obligatory.*

The British agent of Indian affairs in Canada, believing that a war between Great Britain and the United States was imminent, in the early part of the year 1811 inaugurated a policy by which he hoped to secure for Great Britain the sympathy and friendship of all the northwestern tribes of Indians. The President of the United States in the meantime had instructed Governor Harrison to persist in his efforts to conciliate and pacify the Indians. The governor had determined on breaking up the confederacy at the prophet's town, which was daily becoming more powerful and menacing, and began plans for the construction of forts in different parts of the territory to check any hostile advances (which had been threatened) of the savages on the white settlements. During the summer of this year Indian outrages became both frequent and hostile, and foray parties became com-

* In the year 1811 a law suit in which Governor Harrison was plaintiff and a certain William McIntosh was defendant was determined in the supreme court of the territory at Vincennes. The jury in the case found a verdict in favor of the plaintiff and assessed his damages at the sum of four thousand dollars. The defendant, Mr. McIntosh, was a wealthy resident of Vincennes, a native of Scotland, well educated, and a man of considerable influence among those who were opposed to the treaty-making policy which had distinguished the administration of Governor Harrison. The suit at law was instituted against McIntosh for asserting “that Governor Harrison had cheated the Indians out of their lands; and that, by his conduct in so doing, he had made them enemies of the United States.” To satisfy the verdict of the jury in this case a large quantity of land owned by the defendant was sold, in the absence of Governor Harrison. The Governor some time afterward caused about two-thirds of the property to be restored to Mr. McIntosh, and the remainder was given to some orphan children.—Goodrich & Tuttle, *Illustrated History of Indiana*, p. 154.

mon, committing depredations of every character. The surveyors were driven out of the country, and others were killed in their tracks. While boats from Vincennes were conveying "annuity salt" to the Indian villages up the Wabash, a party of redskins at the prophet's town seized the boats, confiscated the salt and appropriated it to their own use. The prophet attempted to justify this act by sending back word to the governor by one of the boatmen, requesting his excellency "not to be angry at his seizing the salt, as he had got none last year and had more than two thousand men to feed."

Harrison's treatment toward the Indians was always considerate, humane and honorable, and, whenever it were possible to avert it, he never shed savage blood nor seized property of the savages. On June 24, 1811, he detailed Capt. Walter Wilson to go to the prophet's town and carry a speech addressed to the prophet and Tecumseh, which read as follows:

"Brothers: Listen to me. I speak to you about matters of importance, both to the white people and to yourselves. Open your ears, therefore, and attend to what I shall say. Brothers, this is the third year that all the white people in this country have been alarmed at your proceedings. You threaten us with war; you invite all the tribes to the north and west of you to join against us. Brothers, your warriors who have lately been here deny this; but I have received the information from every direction. The tribes on the Mississippi have sent me word that you intended to murder me, and then to commence a war upon our people. I have also received the speech you sent to the Pottawattomies, and others, to join you for that purpose; but if I had no other evidence of your hostility to us, your seizing the salt I lately sent up the Wabash is sufficient. Brothers, our citizens are alarmed, and our warriors are preparing themselves, not to strike you, but to defend themselves and their women and children. You shall not surprise us as you expect to do. You are about to undertake a very rash act. As a friend, I advise you to consider well of it; a little reflection may save us a great deal of trouble, and prevent much mischief; it is not yet too late. Brothers, what can be the inducement for you to undertake an enterprise when there is so little probability of success? Do you really think that the handful of men you have about you are able to contend with the Seventeen fires?—or, even that the whole of the tribes united could contend against the Kentucky fire alone? Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife fire. As soon as they hear my voice you will see them pouring forth their swarm of hunting-shirt men as numerous as mosquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings. Brothers, it is not our wish to hurt you. If we did, we certainly have power to do it. Look to the number of our warriors to the east of you, above and below the Great Miami; to the south, on both sides of the Ohio, and below you also. You are brave men, but what could you do against such a multitude? But we wish you to live in peace and happiness. Brothers, the citizens of this country are alarmed. They must be satisfied that you have no design to do them mischief, or they will not lay aside their arms. You have also insulted the government of the United States by seizing the salt that was intended by other tribes. Satisfaction must be given for that also. Brothers, you talk of coming to see me, attended by all of your young men. This, however, must not be so. If your intentions are good you have no need to bring but a few of your young men with you. I must be plain with you. I will not suffer you to come into our settlements with such a force. Brothers, if you wish to satisfy us that your intentions are good, follow the advice I have given you before—that is, that one or both of you should visit the President of the United States, and lay your grievances before him. He will treat you well, will listen to what you have to say and, if you can show him that you have been injured, you will

receive justice. If you will follow my advice in this respect it will convince the citizens of this country, and myself, that you have no design to attack them. Brothers, with respect to the lands that were purchased last fall I can enter into no negotiations with you on that subject. The affair is in the hands of the President. If you wish to go and see him I will supply you with the means. Brothers, the person who delivers this is one of my war officers. He is a man in whom I have entire confidence. Whatever he says to you, although it may not be contained in this paper, you may believe comes from me. My friend Tecumseh, the bearer is a good man and a brave warrior. I hope you will treat him well. You are yourself a warrior, and all such should have esteem for each other."

The governor's messenger was very courteously received by Tecumseh, who took upon himself the responsibility of doing the honors which properly devolved on the prophet, and when the messenger started on the return trip to Vincennes Tecumseh gave him a letter to the governor wherein he announced, among other things, that within a few days he would again visit Vincennes. Accordingly, on the 27th of July, he marched into Vincennes at the head of about three hundred warriors, accompanied by twenty or thirty women and children, whose presence greatly excited as well as alarmed the inhabitants. The militia, however, were on hand to avert an uprising, having been augmented by troops from Kentucky, which swelled their ranks to probably seven hundred and fifty, exclusive of two companies of regulars and a detachment of dragoons which the governor had taken the precaution to place around the borders of the town. There is no doubt but what the large number of soldiers had a disquieting effect upon the mind of the irrepressible chieftain. At any rate, he made haste in declaring that it was not his intention to make war against the United States. That he was not sincere in this declaration was shown in his subsequent maneuvers, for no sooner had the conference been brought to a close than he made preparations to proceed down the Mississippi with twenty or thirty of his trusty lieutenants, for the purpose of inducing the Chickasaw, Creek and Choctaw tribes of the southland to join his powerful confederacy.

And thus ended the last earthly conference between two great representatives of two great races of people—one who swayed as if with a magic wand the mighty hosts of a tribal confederation—the other, whose military genius, ripe statesmanship and pure patriotism made him conspicuous among the long line of illustrious men who have been placed at the head of the government of the greatest nation on earth.

Military duties necessitating the absence of General Harrison from Vincennes, John Gibson, secretary of the territory, in 1812 assumed gubernatorial authority. At the first session of the legislature over which he presided, February, 1813, the seat of government was declared to be at Corydon, and in December, 1813, the honorable body convened at the new capital. This was the year when the territory, owing to the absence of troops, offered poor defense against the savage hostiles. There were, however, no general outbreaks on the part of the Indians, notwithstanding their outrages in the settlements and along the trails were of frequent occurrence.

The few militiamen who were pressed into service went about armed with long knives as well as rifles, while many of the rangers provided themselves with tomahawks.

Thomas Posey was appointed in 1813 to succeed William Henry Harrison as governor of Indiana territory. At the time of his appointment he was a United States senator from Tennessee and had been an officer in the Revolution. He arrived in Vincennes in May and immediately began preparations for a series of expeditions against the Indian settlements, after which he went to Corydon to preside at the December session of the general assembly. In his first message to the legislature he gloomily remarked that "the present crisis is awful, and big with great events. Our land and nation is involved in the calamity of war. But we are under the protecting care of the beneficent Being who has, on a former occasion, brought us through an arduous struggle and placed us on a foundation of independence, freedom and happiness. He will not suffer to be taken from us what He, in His great wisdom has thought proper to confer and bless us with, if we make a wise and virtuous use of His good gifts. . . . Although our affairs at the commencement of the war wore a gloomy aspect, they have brightened and promised a certainty of success, if properly directed and conducted, of which I have no doubt; as the president and heads of departments of the general government are men of undoubted patriotism, talents and experience, and who have grown old in the service of their country. . . . It must be obvious to every thinking man that we were forced into the war. Every measure consistent with honor, both before and since the declaration of war, has tried to be on amicable terms with our enemy. . . . You who reside in various parts of the territory have it in your power to understand what will tend to its local and general advantage. The judiciary system would require a revisal and amendment. The military law is very defective and requires your immediate attention." The remainder of the message was devoted to the advocacy of good roads in all directions; to the importance of education, and a recommendation for the establishment of public schools, which had been made possible by an appropriation of public lands by congress.

With the advent of Governor Posey, the territory, from an impetus given by Harrison, began to improve, and there was quite an influx of people from Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee, which was increased during the following year. The Indians had become more submissive, and Harrison's power over them after the battle of Tippecanoe was as great as that of Clark's when he first came into the Northwest Territory. Harrison's military and executive ability, not only won him fame, but it produced lasting results for good in all of the frontier settlements, bringing order out of chaos. People in the east soon learned of the desirable change, and made their way in considerable numbers into the territory. The Indians, it seems, at this period had decided to do better. They realized even before this that Tecumseh and the prophet had erroneous ideas regarding the government's

right to treat for their lands, and concluded many treaties. The poor Miamis, however, were in a sorrowful plight, and the winter of 1814 found nearly a thousand of them in sheer destitution at Fort Wayne, where they had assembled to throw themselves on the mercy of charity to prevent starvation. The goodly villagers harkened to the plea, and relieved the distress of the dejected savages, whom hunger had made gentle. The response for help was generous and concerted, evoking expressions of gratitude from the recipients and winning their lasting friendship.

The act of congress, passed in 1809, empowering the people of Indiana territory to elect members of the legislative council by popular vote, and which was designated as the property qualification of voters, was supplanted by a subsequent act in 1811, which eliminated the qualification clause, and extended the right of voting for members of the general assembly and for territorial delegate to congress to every free white male person who had attained the age of twenty-one years, and who, having paid a county or territorial tax, was a resident of the territory and had resided in it for the period of one year. By an act of congress passed in 1814, the right of suffrage in Indiana territory was extended "to every white male person having a freehold in the territory and being a resident of the same." During this same year, by a congressional act, the house of representatives of Indiana territory was authorized to lay off the territory in five districts, in each of which the qualified voters were empowered to elect a member of the legislative council; and, in compliance with said act, the members of the house convened at Corydon in June, 1814, and divided the territory into districts. By this division the counties of Knox and Washington were made to constitute one district. Gibson and Warrick another; the counties of Harrison and Clark one district; Jefferson and Dearborn counties one district, and the counties of Franklin and Wayne one district.*

The general assembly, in session at Corydon, August 14, 1814, passed an act dividing Indiana territory into three judicial districts, and making provision for holding terms of the courts therein, defining the jurisdiction of such courts, and investing the governor with power to appoint a presiding judge in each circuit, and two associate judges of the circuit court in each county, and the salaries of the judges were fixed at seven hundred dollars each per annum.

This was the same year that charters were granted by the general assembly to the Bank of Vincennes and to the Mechanics' bank at Madison. The former institution was authorized to raise a capital stock of seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It was duly organized, with Nathaniel Ewing at the head of the organization, and flourished until the state government was established, when it merged into the State Bank and its branches. The Madison bank, the capital stock of which was five hundred

* Dillon, *History of Indiana Territory*.

thousand dollars, also became a branch of the State Bank about the same time.

The last regular session of the territorial legislature was held at Corydon in December, 1815, at which a memorial was adopted praying for authority to adopt a constitution and state government, which document was laid before congress by Mr. Jennings, territorial delegate, on December 28, 1815. On April, 1816, the president approved the bill, enabling the people of Indiana territory to form a constitution and state government, and providing for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states. At an election held in the several counties for the selection of members to a convention to form a state constitution, John Johnson, John Badollet, William Polk, Benjamin Polk and John Benefiel, residents of Vincennes, were sent from Knox County. The convention was held at Corydon June, 1816, and after remaining in session for thirteen days, completed the important work assigned it. The first state election occurred on the first Monday in August, 1816, and resulted in the selection of Jonathan Jennings, as governor, Christopher Harrison, lieutenant governor, and William Hendricks was elected to represent the new state in the house of representatives of the United States. The first general assembly elected under authority of the state constitution commenced its session at Corydon, November 4, 1816. Knox County's population at this time was 8,068, of which 1,391 were white males of twenty-one years of age and over.

It would not be proper to close this chapter of incidents, which bear such close relationship to Vincennes, without a reference to one of the most important events which took place during the existence of Indiana territory, and in which many citizens of the Old Post were active participants—the battle of Tippecanoe.

Immediately following General Harrison's last conference with Tecumseh at Vincennes, in July, 1811, and when the American people, lashed into a frenzy by the repeated outrages of the British, were eager to administer another chastisement to the mother country, he applied to President Madison for authority to prepare the frontiers for the approaching contest, setting forth the attitude of Tecumseh, who was in league with the English, and the direful consequences that would follow were his designs permitted to mature. The president at once supplied him with armed forces from Ohio, Kentucky and Indiana, with instructions, however, "to abstain from hostilities of any kind whatever, and to any degree not indispensably required." This certainly made his position at once disadvantageous and trying. Before his very eyes he saw the enemy preparing for battle; * behind him lay a defenceless population, from which all the able-bodied men had been drafted, or had volunteered to form the army; on the right and

* Extract from *Life of William Henry Harrison*, published by Grigg, Elliott & Collins, Philadelphia, 1840.

left stretched the forest, which it was impossible to guard, and through which the foe could, at any moment, fall back upon the unprotected settlers in the rear, and carry the torch and knife to the home and throats of every family. General Harrison had not the authority to attack until blood had stained the tomahawk, or the victim had writhed beneath the torture, he could not even unsheath his sword. Every advantage was conferred upon the enemy. In the defile of the mountain, on the plain, by night or by day, in detachments, or *en masse*, he might come on, when, where, and as he chose. But a brief period elapsed before the grossest outrages upon the settlers afforded abundant cause to strike. The genius of Harrison—"the man who never lost a battle," who has never yielded to his country's foes, was equal to the crisis; and by a master stroke of policy he conquered every disadvantage, and moved down with an army of eight hundred men upon the prophet's town, where all the hostile Indians were assembled and before Tecumseh had returned to his visit to the southern tribes.

When it was made known in Kentucky that Harrison was preparing to march against the Indians, many Kentuckians were desirous of joining his expedition. Among the number were prominent citizens who had attained an eminence at home in civil and military life, and won distinction in the field of letters. Those who applied and enlisted were Samuel Wells, a major general in former Indian wars; Joseph H. Daviess, an eminent lawyer of great military ambition; Col. Owen, a veteran in the Indian war; Col. Kreiger, and Messrs. Croghan, O'Fallon, Thipp, Chum and Edwards, who afterwards gained enviable notoriety as officers in the United States army.

In September, 1811, General Harrison left Vincennes with a force of about eight hundred well-drilled soldiers, proceeding on the march up the Wabash. The expedition halted at Terre Haute, where a fort was built and named Fort Harrison. After remaining for several days the army proceeded northward, reaching the mouth of Vermilion creek on October 31st, where a block-house was built for the storing of supplies. Conforming to orders which the president had issued, General Harrison halted in his advance towards the Tippecanoe village while he was within the boundaries of United States territory, and, by the intervention of the Miami and Delaware tribes, endeavored to induce the prophet to deliver the murderers of his band and the large number of horses they had stolen from the white settlers. The prophet and his followers were very insolent towards the messengers and disdainfully rejected the demand. In order to shatter all hopes of accommodation, the prophet detached a small war party to open hostilities, with the result that American sentinels were fired on, and one of them was severely wounded. The Delaware chiefs notified the governor that in his dealings with the prophet and his subjects a resort to force was the only means by which satisfaction for injuries committed or security for the future could be obtained. From the same source he learned that the strength of the prophet's forces was increasing daily, and that he had gathered about him a force of about one thousand braves, mostly young men. The march which

the chivalrous Harrison and his gallant army were making was one fraught with many hardships, perils and dangers, requiring the fording of streams, filled with floating ice, and long stretches across prairie lands, where the howling winds chilled to the marrow. The snow-covered earth was the only couch available, on which the men lay with their clothes and accoutrements on, or sat with their backs against trees, courting sleep, the reins of the bridle clenched in their hands, momentarily expecting an attack from the treacherous enemy.

On the night of November 6th, five miles in advance of him, Harrison discovered the outlines of the prophet's town. Capt. Toussaint Dubois, accompanied by an interpreter, was despatched with a flag to the Indians, to ascertain from the prophet whether he still refused to comply with the terms so often proposed to him. The army was made to advance slowly toward the town, in order of battle. Ere long from Captain Dubois came a messenger informing the governor that the Indians in great numbers were within hailing distance, but that they would return no reply to the interpreter, and as he advanced they attempted to cut him off from the army. On being thus informed Governor Harrison resolved to make no further attempts at pacification, but to treat the Indians henceforth as common enemies. He promptly recalled Capt. Dubois and immediately determined on moving forward for an attack. He had only proceeded a short distance, however, when he was accosted by three Indians, one of whom was the prophet's chief advisor. They demanded to know why the army was advancing upon the village, stating they had been sent forth for the purpose of ascertaining. The trio further declared to the governor that the prophet was desirous of avoiding hostilities; that he had placed in the hands of a Miami and Pottawattomie chief, who had called at the request of the governor, a message telling the latter he was for peace; that the messengers had gone down on the shore of the Wabash opposite from the one over which the governor and his men traveled. This interview averted hostilities, and resulted further in an agreement for holding of a council the next day between the general and the chiefs at which terms of peace were to be discussed. The governor then voluntarily gave the information that he would withdraw to the Wabash and go into camp for the night.

When the Indians had departed the governor called his officers and told them he was quite certain, from their language, as well as their peculiar actions, they were planning for an attack on him before morning. Having been thus unintentionally forewarned, he concluded it prudent to be forearmed, and accordingly ordered his men to go into camp that night arrayed for battle; to lie down with their clothes on, and to sleep on their arms.

Marching a short distance, still in the direction of the town, it was ascertained that the ground below the town was ill-adapted to an encampment, and the army pushed forward, thinking perhaps beyond the village a more suitable camping place might be found. Suddenly a halt was called, and some officers detailed to go forth and make an examination of a creek that ran

near the town and of the river which flowed above it. In about half an hour Brigadier Major Clark and Major Taylor returned, having found an ideal spot on the creek, to which the army repaired. The location was hard-by the mouth of the Tippecanoe, from which the name of the subsequent battle was derived. The spot was on an elevated piece of ground, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank, being about eighty yards wide, was covered by Capt. Spencer's company consisting of eighty men. Major Wells, with two companies of mounted riflemen, occupied the left flank. Major Floyd's battalion of United States infantry occupied the front, and was flanked on the right by two companies of militia infantry, and on the left by one company of the same troops. Capt. Baen, who commanded as major, with a battalion of United States infantry, and Col. Decker, with four companies of militia infantry, occupied the rear. The cavalry, under Daviess, were encamped in the rear of the front line. The distance from camp to the town was less than a mile.

General Harrison's knowledge of the Indian mode of warfare had led him to anticipate a night attack, and he had therefore given the order for "each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards until relieved." The dragoons were directed, in such an event, to parade dismounted, swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to await orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captains' commands of forty-two men and four non-commissioned officers each; and two subalterns' guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers, the whole under command of the field officer of the day.

When the shades of night had fallen the men, fatigued by the march and the work incident to fortifying the camp, retired to take a much-needed rest, and soon no sound disturbed the tranquility of the dark and rainy night save the footsteps of the sentinel keeping his lonely vigil.

*At a quarter before four on the morning of the 7th General Harrison was up, seated before his fire, conversing with gentlemen of his mess, who reclined on blankets awaiting the order of a general turn out of the troops. The orderly drummer was prepared to sound the reveille. Shortly after four o'clock General Harrison was joined by General Wells, Colonel Owen and Colonel Daviess. The troops had been called before daylight and when the first gray glint of dawn appeared it found them in arms. One of the sentries observed an Indian creeping towards him in the grass, and fired. The report of the shot was immediately greeted by the war cry, followed by an attack on the left flank. The first onset was received by Capt. Burton's company of regulars and Capt. Keiger's company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line. The assault was fierce, but the troops, who had lain on their arms, made a gallant resistance. Excessive firing and the fierceness of the attack were features calculated to carry terror to the

* Descriptive account in McAfee's *History of Last War*, published in 1816.

hearts of the bravest; yet, as soon as the troops recovered from the shock, and were formed and posted they stood their ground heroically, notwithstanding many of them had never before heard the thunders of war. The camp fires, which afforded the Indians an advantageous light in the darkness of morn, were hurriedly extinguished.

Harrison, astride of his horse, rushed towards the point of attack, where the line had been weakened, and ordered two companies from the centre of the rear line to march up and form across the angle in the rear of Barton's and Keiger's companies. Harrison, in the thickest of the fight, was now giving orders. General Wells at once proceeded to the right of his command; and Col. Owen, mounted, was dashing towards the direct point of attack, when a cruel bullet struck him as he was nearing the lines and he fell from his horse among the first victims of Indian perfidy. A perfect fusillade was now on, extending along the left flank, upon the whole of the front and right flank and on a part of the rear line.

Harrison, in order to gain the left of the front line passed through camp, where Col. Daviess and his dragoons were stationed. The Colonel gained his permission to dislodge some Indians who, under the covert of trees near the line, were making it unpleasant for the troops in that quarter. Daviess called to his aid the first division of the cavalry, who failed to hear the order and but few of his men charged with him. When the charge was made two fine young fellows who had accompanied him from Kentucky were at his side, Messrs. Mead and Sanders, who subsequently served with distinction in the United States army. They had only left the lines a short distance when Daviess fell mortally wounded, with three bullet wounds in his breast; and his lifeless body was carried back to camp by his youthful comrades.

Now, from the right a dreadful attack on Spencer's and Warwick's companies was made, in which Spencer and his lieutenants were killed almost instantly, and Warwick received a mortal wound. Capt. Robb's army, which had fallen back towards camp without orders, was sent by General Harrison to where Spencer fell, where they put up a brave fight, but lost seventeen men in the struggle. Capt. Prescott and a company of United States infantry closed up the gap occasioned when Robb fell back to camp, prior to taking the position where Spencer met his fate. Snelling finished the work Daviess started to do, and succeeded in dislodging the same Indians after mowing down a goodly number. The battle raged from all sides with unabated fury. The Indians fought desperately and enthusiastically, and entered into the fray with the fixed determination to win or perish in the attempt. Their advances and retreats were made to the accompaniment of a peculiar noise made by striking deer hoofs together.

When daylight came Capt. Snelling's company, Capt. Posey's, in charge of Lieut. Albright and Capt. Scott's, were drawn from the front line, and Wilson's from the rear, and formed on the left flank. Cook's and Baen's companies went to the right. General Wells took command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, mounted, and com-

manded by Capt. Park, charged on the enemy in that direction, driving them into an adjacent swamp through which the cavalry could not pursue them. Cook's and Laribie's companies, with the aid of riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged on the Indians, and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle.

While the battle raged the prophet held himself aloof, and from an adjacent hillside sang war songs to the accompaniment of whistling bullets. His previous assurance to his followers, that the Great Spirit had decreed that none of them should die in battles fought against Americans, had at last brought anguish to their souls, and they began to look on him as the vilest impostor.

The whole number of Harrison's troops killed in this conflict, including those who subsequently died of their wounds, was fifty or more—the wounded being double that number. The Indians left thirty-eight warriors dead on the field, and buried several others in the town. The loss of the Indians, of whom a great many were wounded, was as heavy as that of the Americans. On the day before the battle Harrison's troops numbered more than eight hundred. After the battle the Indians estimated the number of their troops to have been eight hundred.

Old Vincennes' contribution to American arms on this memorable field was large and effective. The troops she furnished had been carefully drilled in military tactics, and impressively told of the horrors of war, by General Harrison himself, and they made a gallant fight. The names of the officers and men with the casualties that befell them are as follows: Luke Decker was the lieutenant colonel commanding; Noah Purcell, major; Daniel Sullivan, lieutenant, acting adjutant; William Reed, sergeant-major; James Smith, quartermaster; Edward Scull, surgeon. In Wilson's company, the officers were Walter Wilson, captain; Benj. V. Beckes, lieutenant; Jasper Malcomb, ensign; John Decker, Isaac Minor, Thomas White and James S. Withers, sergeants—(the two last named being seriously wounded); Daniel Risley, William Smuck and Peter Prenton, corporals; the privates being Baptiste Sharalae, Asa Thorn, Thomas Chambers, John Chambers, Joseph Harbin, Andrew Harris, Joseph Jordon, Joshua Anthis, James Walke, Nathan Baker, John Barger, Louis Friderick, Louis Reel, Robt. Guentrer, Samuel Clutter, Jacob Anthis, Peter Barger, S. Almy, Moses Decker (badly wounded), Joseph Boodry, Wolsey Pride, Robert Brenton (deserted during siege) Jonathan Walker, David Knight and John Purcell. In Parke's company of light dragoons, the officers were Benjamin Parke, captain; Thomas Emerson, first lieutenant; George Wallace, second lieutenant; J. Balthis, bugler; Christopher Graeter, William Harper, Henry Ruble, John McClure, sergeants; William Donica, Charles Allen (wounded), R. Sullinger, Levi Elliott, corporals; John Braden, saddler. The privates were Charles Smith, Peter Jones, Joel Bond, Parmer Becker (deserted), Jesse Slawson, Tous-saint Dubois, Theodore Randolph (killed), John McDonald (wounded), Miles Dolahan, Thomas Dolahan, John Elliott, Matthias Rose, Jr., Henry

Dubois, Jesse Lucas, William Berry, William Purcell, John Crasby, Leonard Crasby, William Mehan (killed), Samuel Drake, Samuel Emison, Nathaniel Emison, Nathaniel Harness, Daniel Decker, Hanson Seaton, John D. Hay, Hiram Decker, Ebenezer Welton, John T. Neeley, John McBain, Pierre LaPlante, James Steen, Andrew Purcell, John Pea, Albert Bodollet, Josiah S. Holmes, W. W. Holmes, Thomas Coulter, Charles McClure, Jacques André, Thomas McClure, Thomas Palmer, Geo. W. Johnson, Wm. A. McClure, Archy McClure, James Neal, John Wyant, Charles Scott, James S. Petty, Isaac White (killed), William McClure, Henry J. Mills, James Neal, George Croghan (aid-de-camp), Albert Hines, Ben Louders, James Nabb, John O'Fallon (wounded), William Luckett, Landon Carter, Robt. Buntin, Jr., John Smith, Robert Sturges and James Harper. Captain Toussaint Dubois commanded a company of Spencer's guards, composed of the following members: Silas McCulloch, G. R. C. Sullivan, William Brown, William Polke, Pierre André, Ephriam Jordon, William Shaw, (wounded), William Hogue, David Welkins, John Hollingsworth, Thomas Sevins, Joe Harbin, Abe Decker, Samuel Jones, David Mills, Stewart Cunningham, B. Childress and Thomas Jordon. Scott's company was commanded by Luke Decker. The other officers and privates were John Purcell, first lieutenant; John Scott, ensign; John Welton, first sergeant; Francis Mallett, second sergeant; S. Johnson, third sergeant; Samuel Rignet, fourth sergeant; John Moore, Abe Westfall, A. C. Duschene, Charles Bono, corporals; Jesse Wells, James McDonald, J. Hornback, William Denny, William Young, William Jones, John Collins, Jr., William Bailey, Charles Mehl, Richard Westhorp, Thomas McClain, Joe Risley, Harry O'Neal, Joe Alton, Boples Topar, Antoine Jerome (wounded), Michel Richardville, Charles Dudevan, John B. Bono, J. Bouchie, H. Marceau, Angel Lature, Louis Abner, Charles Loudnett, Ambrose Dashney, Francis Beabo, Francois Bono (killed), Samuel Boulonger, Louis Loneau, Medal Cardinal, Antoine Chenniette, Francis Arpah, Joe Sansusee, Nicholas Velmare, Eustace Leveron, Joseph Rene, I. Denneau, Joe Obie, John B. Cardinal, Antoine Ravellette, Antoine Comia, D. Page, Louis Boyeau, Joseph Beeson, Pierre Delourea, Sr., Pierre Delourea, Jr., John Momimee, Francois Boyeau, Louis Lovelet, Thomas McCoy (killed), Zebulon Haynes, Andrew Westfall, Wm. A. Clarke, William Welton (wounded), Walter Neal, Henry Lane, Abram Wood (killed), John Cullins, Sr., William Williams, Samuel Risley, William Cullins (wounded), Charles Fisher, Robert Johnson and H. A. Thorn.

Included in the above roster will be found many names, familiar to the present generation, of soldiers who did active military duty in subsequent years in the settlements, and at the Old Post, up to the time of their death. Many of the men mentioned have lineal descendants living in all parts of Knox County who are proud of the fact that their ancestors were participants in the famous battle of Tippecanoe. Towards the beginning of the second war with Great Britain, the Wabash Indians, who had ceased momentarily their depredations, were incited by the British to renew their hos-

tilities in the settlements. As a means of affording the settlements greater protection against the forays of the savages,* in the earlier part of the year 1812 Capt. Russell raised a company of fifty men, and subsequently Capts. Perry and Modrell each raised a company in the vicinity of the old town. About the same time Capt. Beckes commanded a small company of rangers, or scouts. Fifty years ago there was a census taken of the surviving soldiers of Vincennes who had done military service in the Wabash country under Perry, Modrell and Beckes, and the 'muster roll' of 1861 contained only the following names: Piere Brouillette, J. B. Bono, D. Page, Jacob Pea, George Catt, W. N. Cowper, John Vankirk, William Raper, M. Richardville, John Moore, Thomas Johnson, R. G. McClure, H. Decker, Francois Bouchie, John Palley, J. Maney, Henry Fox, Capt. J. Steffen, Ben Robinson, David Ritchie, Pierre Cabassie, Laurient Bouchie, Amabel Bouchie and Anthony Carey.

The battle of Tippecanoe was a remarkable conflict in more ways than one. It was undoubtedly the fiercest and, at the same time, one of the best conducted actions recounted in all the annals of Indian warfare. In this contest, contrary to their usual custom, the Indians made a standing fight, meeting the enemy face to face, and hand to hand. The equality in numbers and the similarity of the weapons of the contending forces rendered the engagement both interesting and peculiar. The Indians fought with desperate valor, and handled their arms with as much dexterity and as effectively as their white brethren. Every man's life hung in the same balance, and why more were not killed is a mystery. General Harrison constantly subjected himself to the greatest personal danger, riding up and down the lines issuing orders; and how it were possible—after one bullet passed through the rim of his hat, another struck his saddle, and glancing, hit his thigh, while a third severely wounded the horse on which he rode—for him to have come off the field uninjured has forced the conclusion in the minds of many that he was controlled by a supernatural power.

Had the victory of Tippecanoe been reversed it would have certainly resulted disastrously to the country at large. It would have made it possible for Tecumseh, with his powerful confederacy of Indian nations, to have come into full possession for awhile at least of a vast scope of country extending from the lakes to the gulf. Had General Harrison delayed his attack on Prophet town, Tecumseh would have shortly made himself an invincible foe to the United States, and retarded the growth of the country for many years. The result of the battle of Tippecanoe proved to be the downfall of Tecumseh and the prophet, and came as a divine blessing to all the settlements northwest of the Ohio river as well as the country generally. The various tribes over whom he had wrought a magic spell had nothing but denunciation for Tecumseh, and disclaimed all connection with him. Shortly after the clouds of battle had disappeared, when a deputation from

* Goodspeed, *History of Knox and Davies Counties*, p. 210.

all the tribes waited on Governor Harrison to treat for peace on terms of actual submission, they promised as soon as it were possible for them to lay hands on the prophet they would deliver him into the custody of the United States; and having made these declarations, they left the presence of his excellency resolved "not to commit hostilities again, until a favorable opportunity offered." Tecumseh, in the winter of 1811-12 put in an appearance at Fort Wayne, and demanded ammunition of the commandant at that post. He was refused, whereupon he announced he would go to his "British father" for it, when, of course, it would have been forthcoming for the asking. After staying around several months, in sullen and gloomy silence, he uttered a savage war whoop and went forth to become lost in the shades of the forests. Without doubt Tecumseh was one of the greatest Indian characters that ever lived. While he had every trait that belongs to his race, he was endowed with a lofty intelligence and possessed talents far above any of his tribesmen. Having all the cunning, treacherous and hostile instincts belonging to the savage nature, his bearing was generally heroic, chivalrous and honorable. His courage was sublime, and his skill and tact, as a warrior were superb in one of his race. His language, full of poetic expression, oftentimes appeared to be that of a scholar instead of the utterances of an untutored savage. As an orator he was forceful, pleasing and dramatic, thrilling his listeners with his matchless eloquence. Judge Law, who had ample opportunity to obtain his information direct from persons who were present on that occasion, in describing the celebrated "pow-wow" at Vincennes in which Harrison and Tecumseh were the central figures, draws a fine pen picture of the great warrior: "Tall, athletic and manly, dignified, but graceful, he seemed the beau ideal of Indian chieftain. In a voice, at first low, but with all its indistinctness, musical, he commenced his reply (to Harrison). As he warmed with his subject his clear notes might be heard, as if 'trumpet-tongued,' to the utmost limits of the assembled crowd who gathered around him. The most perfect silence prevailed, except when the warriors who surrounded him gave their guttural assent to some eloquent recital of the red man's wrong, and the white man's injustice. Well instructed in the traditions of his tribe, fully acquainted with their history, the councils treaties and battles of the two races for half a century, he recapitulated the wrongs of the red man from the massacre of the Moravian Indians, during the Revolutionary war, down to the period he had met the governor in council. He told him 'he did not know how he could ever again be the friend of the white man.' In reference to the public domain he asserted that 'the great spirit had given all the country from the Miami to the Mississippi, from the lakes to the Ohio as common property to all the tribes that dwelt within those borders, and that the land could not, and should not be sold without the consent of all. That all the tribes on the continent formed but one nation; that if the United States would not give up the lands they bought from the Miamis, the Delewares, the Pottawat-tomies, and other tribes, that those united with him were determined to fall

on those tribes and annihilate them; that they were determined to have no more chiefs, but in future to be governed by their warriors; that unless a stop was put to the further encroachment of the whites the fate of the Indians was sealed. They had been driven from the banks of the Delaware across the Alleghanies, and their possessions on the Wabash and the Illinois were now to be taken from them; that in a few years they would not have ground enough to bury their warriors on this side of the Father of Waters; that all would perish—all their possessions taken from them by fraud, or force, unless they stopped the progress of the white man further westward. That it must be a war of races in which one or the other must perish. That their tribes had been driven towards the setting sun like a galloping horse (Ne-kat-a-cush-e Ka-top-o-lin-to.) That for himself and his warriors, he had determined to resist all further aggressions of the whites, and that, without his consent or that of the Shawnees they should never acquire another foot of land.' "

The address, of which the foregoing is but a brief outline, occupied more than an hour in delivery, and was delivered in Shawnee, a language which, says Law, is the most musical and euphonious of all the Indian languages of the west, and which sounds, when spoken rapidly by a fluent speaker, more like the scanning of Greek and Latin verse than any thing else to which it can be compared.

Tecumseh, before leaving the Wabash country for the south and southwest, repeatedly impressed upon the mind of his brother, the prophet, the absolute necessity of feigning friendly relations with the whites until he had succeeded in conciliating and confederating the tribes that dwelt on both sides of the Ohio river with those dwelling on the Mississippi. He had, he thought, made plain to him the incalculable benefits to be derived from such an alliance and the wonderful power and prestige to be obtained from such a confederation in all future controversies or conflicts with the white race. The chief was desirous that no aggressive move should be made on the part of the prophet and his followers, and especially that no blow should be struck at the white people in the Wabash and Illinois countries until the contemplated Indiana alliance had proceeded far enough to make possible, if needs be, their complete annihilation or their banishment to domains beyond the borders of the Ohio river. The prophet had consented that during the absence of Tecumseh no warlike measures would be undertaken; that while strengthening his forces by the acquisition of new adherents to his cause, he would exercise the utmost precaution and make his declarations for peace and friendship with the whites to General Harrison so loud and strong that his sincerity of purpose could no longer be questioned by the general, and whatever suspicions the latter might entertain would be dispelled by the cleverness of the deception. In short, there was a tacit understanding between Tecumseh and the prophet that while the former was in the south planning for his great confederation the latter would take no steps not consistent with a friendly disposition towards the United States. In short no

move was to be made, no expedition planned, until Tecumseh had consummated his grand scheme of centralization of the tribes of the northland and the southland, for the sole purpose of wreaking vengeance on the whites and driving them from the vast scope of country in which they had settled to impart the first touch of civilization by felling forests and furrowing fields which the Indians felt by inherent right to belong to them.

The battle of Tippecanoe, as has already been stated, defeated Tecumseh's grand scheme of confederation, with all the blighting effects it would have wrought to mankind and civilization. He immediately returned from the south on learning of the event, and going to Prophet town heaped upon the devoted head of his hypocritical brother, whose actions were the ultimate cause of the occurrence, all the vile vituperation to be found in the Shawnee vocabulary, denouncing him for his treachery, duplicity and cowardice; and it is said he died without forgiving his brother. He did not long remain with his tribe, feeling too keenly the humiliation of a defeat he could have himself averted had he been present to linger with the proud spirits of his clan who had reposed in him the most explicit confidence. When the war between Great Britain and the United States broke out in 1812 he joined General Proctor's forces at Malden with a large band of trained warriors. At the battle of the river Raisin he was slain; but by whom, there seems to be a doubt among some historians, while others contend that he fell from the thrust of a sword in the hand of Col. Jas. Johnson.

General Harrison was the one man capable of coping with Tecumseh and the versatility of the genius possessed by that wonderfully versatile red man. Like all the truly great, he was a man of destiny, and, therefore, appeared upon the scene at a most opportune time. When the General came the Indians were the real monarchs of the land they surveyed. His intelligence, bravery, honesty, skill, humanity, permitted him to handle the Indian question as it should be handled. They enabled him to treat intelligently and humanely with the Indians, and to conclude treaties which meant much, very much, to the United States from a monetary view point, but which were an hundredfold more valuable when considered along social, political and economic lines. In the discharge of every official duty General Harrison was a faithful and obedient servant, and in every walk of private life he portrayed gentleness, honesty and virtue. He has bequeathed to the nation untold blessings that are the outgrowth of wise statesmanship and diplomacy, patriotism, unselfishness and integrity, and has left unsullied an honored name which is a joy and inspiration to posterity.

William Henry Harrison was born in Virginia, at Berkley, on the James river, about twenty-five miles below Richmond, February 9, 1773. He was the third son of Benjamin Harrison, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently governor of Virginia. Young Harrison was educated at Hampden Sydney college, and by the advice of friends turned his attention to the study of medicine. About the time he had completed his education the northwestern frontiers had become the scenes of

Indian depredations and barbarities of such a character as to excite the entire country. The fever of excitement attacked the young medical student and he forsook his studies to join the armed forces which were preparing to march in defense of the Ohio settlements. The very life had been crushed out of some of the border settlements in the northwestern frontiers, and rapine, conflagration and wanton destruction of life and property were the appalling scenes prevailing in others. Numerous expeditions had gone forth to quell the savages, only to be repulsed with disastrous losses. Brigadier General Harmar, trained in the advanced schools of militaryism, had met with greater reverses than all the rest, and the few experienced officers of his command who had escaped the terrible slaughter administered to his troops were so fatigued and harassed by battles in the wilderness and horrified at barbarities they produced, that they resigned their commissions. The settlements both north and west were in the throes of the intensest excitement and a feeling of despair, consternation and dread pervaded the land. And this was the dark and gloomy picture that appealed to William Henry Harrison, and caused him to leave his home, with all its luxurious surroundings, to go into the wilderness and jeopardize his life in defense of his country and his fellow-countrymen.

In the autumn of the year 1791 he applied for and received a commission as ensign in the United States artillery, when he was only eighteen years old, and hurriedly joined his regiment then stationed at Fort Washington. Only a few days before his arrival at that post Gen. St. Clair had suffered his humiliating defeat near the Miami villages, at the hands of the celebrated chief Little Turtle and his confederation of Indian warriors. St. Clair had lost nearly a thousand men in this engagement, killed or taken prisoners, and in consequence of such a disastrous loss the whole of the northwestern frontier was practically exposed to the outrages of the blood-thirsty savages, which condition only added to the consternation of the terror-stricken inhabitants.

At this turn in the tide of affairs the government became alarmed as well as the people, and determined to take decisive action to stop the shedding of blood by savage butchers in the western and northern settlements; and that gallant old hero of Revolutionary fame, General Anthony Wayne, was chosen to head an expedition for that purpose. His army (Wayne's Legion) in the summer of 1792 was organized and in November of that year went into winter quarters at Legionville, on the Ohio river, a short distance below Pittsburg. Harrison had just been promoted to a lieutenancy, and he joined Wayne's Legion. The soldiery bearing of the youth completely captivated the rigid disciplinarian, who ere long appointed him one of his aids-de-camp, at the age of nineteen. Harrison acted as one of the aids to Wayne through the whole of his ensuing campaigns, which were closed August 20, 1794, with the battle of the Miami, resulting in the overwhelming defeat of the Indians and their allies. Wayne, in speaking of Harrison's conduct on this occasion, complimented him highly for render-

ing "the most essential service and communicating his orders in every direction, and by conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory."

Soon after this battle Lieutenant Harrison was promoted to a captaincy and placed in charge of Fort Washington, the most important fort on the western frontier. In 1797, there remaining no longer an opportunity for him to render his country service on the battle field, he tendered his resignation and quitted the military to enter civil life. Almost immediately on leaving the army he received the appointment of secretary, and, *ex officio*, lieutenant-governor of the northwest territory. The following year, by a faithful performance of his official duties, an intelligent conception of the people's needs, and a desire to promote their interests at all times, he became deservedly popular with the masses, and was elected their first delegate to congress, being at this time in the twenty-sixth year of his age.

He took his seat in the national house of representatives, December, 1779, at the beginning of the sixth session of congress, when some of the ablest men the country has ever produced were members of that honorable body—ripe in statecraft, learned in letters and law, orators and debaters of superior eloquence and superb skill. Yet among these talented and learned wiseacres Harrison's abilities were not only recognized, but they were admired and respected. The all-absorbing topic of discussion in the national legislative halls at that time was the acquisition and disposition of public lands. Harrison framed much of the legislation pertaining to these important measures, and subsequently was clothed with authority to execute the provisions of said measures, displaying such fine business acumen and exercising such unscrupulously honest methods that he won the government's thanks and the people's approbation. By introducing legislative action to overthrow the pernicious system of disposing of the public domain in large tracts, limited to four thousand acres, Mr. Harrison made a master stroke in defense of the poor man, thwarted the land grabbers, speculators and monopolists in their scheme to get a corner on land, and paved the way for poor emigrants to procure a homestead at trifling cost. In defending the bill he had introduced in the house to reduce the size of tracts of public land offered for sale, which was the joint production of himself and Albert Gallatin, Mr. Harrison won an enviable distinction as a statesman and an orator. It was through the workings of this act that thousands of industrious farmers from the northern and middle states, and many of the poorer planters of the south came into a field where fair and honest deals for public lands could be had. And it was by providing such conditions as these that growth, life, vitality and respectability were imparted at an early day to the western settlements.

The condition of the Northwest Territory, and the masterly manner in which Governor Harrison managed its civil and military affairs when he took the reins of government in 1800, have been already briefly touched on. The ability with which Harrison discharged the functions of territorial

governor, extending over a period of thirteen years, during which the people clamored at the expiration of each successive term for his reappointment, was so marked that congress took official cognizance of it year by year. To reproduce these reports of commendation would require volumes; and to set out the many state papers, official reports and addresses of Governor Harrison, all illustrative of a patriot, statesman, soldier, scholar, and diplomat, would result in the compilation of an exhaustive work, replete with the purest patriotic sentiments, the choicest language, the soundest logic and the nicest arrangement of words, clothed in the finest tissues of rhetoric.

Upon the declaration of war against Great Britain Harrison was unanimously chosen to assume chief command of the American forces in the northwest, where the hostile Indians were still continuing their bloody work at the bidding of British interests. Having been thus vested with supreme control of this division of the army, on September 17, 1812, he directed his attention to the immediate objects of the campaign—the recapture of Detroit (which the cowardly and imbecile Hull had surrendered), the reduction of Malden, and the protection of the borders on the northwestern frontiers. To retrieve the great losses sustained by General Winchester at the river Raisin (where nine hundred of the most promising young men of the northwest yielded up their lives), and in the disastrous defeats suffered by others who had preceded him, and in the maintenance of the defenses and the preparation of offensive movements against the British and Indians, he directed all his energies.

Early in the spring of 1813 he learned that an expedition, composed of the combined forces of Proctor and Tecumseh, was about to march against Fort Meigs. By May 3d ample preparations had been made for the attack, and his forces had been augmented by an addition of 3,000 troops from Kentucky. The attack of the fort was made on May 5th, and at the end of a five days' siege in which many on both sides were killed, the enemies were driven from their batteries, notwithstanding their superior numbers. It is said that the final charges on the enemies batteries, after which the guns were spiked, was the most spirited, desperate and sanguinary recorded in the annals of border warfare. The period of its duration was only forty-five minutes, yet in that time the British and their Indian allies lost nearly two hundred men while the number of killed and wounded on the American side was eighty or ninety. Disheartening as was this defeat to the enemy, they sought to compensate for their losses by an attack on the fort at Sandusky of which Col. Croghan was commandant, but the gallant Croghan repulsed them and perceptibly thinned their ranks.

It was the eighteenth day of September when the fleet of Commodore Perry arrived off Sandusky bay, and several days later he had cut a large swath through the columns of the enemy who fled from the scenes of carnage with their ranks sadly depleted. Harrison was again on the trail of Proctor, pursuing him up the river Thames towards the towns of the

Moravians, where he overtook him on October 5th and illustrated the superiority of American arms to British by administering to the Briton butcher a scathing defeat. Here it was where fell the great Tecumseh, whose death deprived Proctor of one of his best generals and created a void in the ranks he never could fill. The loss to the British, killed and wounded, was little less than seven hundred. President Madison, in his message to congress, December 7, 1813, said the result of this engagement was "signally honorable to Major General Harrison by whose military talents it was prepared." And Mr. Cheever, addressing his remarks to congress, said "the victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general, in the best days of the republic, the honors of a triumph. He put an end to the war in uppermost Canada." Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania, in his message of that year, says: "The blessings of thousands of women and children, rescued from the scalping knife and the ruthless savage of the wilderness, and the still more savage Proctor, rest on Harrison and his gallant army." In further recognition of his eminent services on that occasion, by joint resolution of both houses of congress, at that session, the thanks of the Union were tendered and a gold medal awarded him.

This ended Harrison's brilliant military career, which was the beginning of a new chapter in the history already replete with his civil cares and responsibilities. He was appointed by President Madison in 1814, in conjunction with Gov. Shelby and Gen. Cass, to treat with the Indians of the northwest, at Greenville, O., the old headquarters of Gen. Wayne. In 1815 when the treaty of Ghent provided for the pacification of several important tribes, he was placed at the head of the commission. In 1816 he was elected to represent his district in congress. He was elected to the senate of Ohio in 1819. In 1824, having been chosen as one of the presidential electors for Ohio, he cast his vote for Henry Clay. The same year he was elected to the senate of the United States, where he was honored with the chairmanship of the committee on military affairs. In 1828 he was appointed by President Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia, in South America, and on his arrival at the capital, Bogota, given a demonstrative reception and overwhelmed with evidences of profound respect and admiration.

The inauguration of President Jackson's administration necessitated the recall of General Harrison from South America the year after he entered upon his official duties in that country. Returning joyfully to the land of his birth, he withdrew from the pursuits of active life, and retired to his farm at North Bend, on the Ohio river, near Cincinnati. For quite a number of years he was made clerk of Hamilton county, of which he was a resident. He tried to seek retirement towards the latter days of his life but the people would not sanction it, and in 1835 brought him out as a candidate for the presidency. While he was not elected, owing to a peculiar complication existing among political parties at that period, the

vote showed that he had a great popular following with the people. His race had demonstrated so clearly his popularity, that his friends induced him to accept another nomination, and in 1840 placed his name at the head of the whig ticket. In the electoral college he was given 234 of the 294 votes cast, his opponent, Mr. Van Buren, receiving only sixty. On March 4, 1841, he was duly inaugurated, at which time he delivered an address in the presence of a large concourse of people, * "expressing the fear that we were in danger of placing too much power in the hands of the president, and declaring his intention of exercising the powers intrusted to him with great moderation."

He had fairly entered upon the discharge of duties incumbent on the chief magistrate of the nation, to which exalted position the voice of the people had called him from a retirement for which he yearned, when the joy of his constituents was suddenly transformed to grief, by the announcement that the president was dead! The malady which suddenly seized him was pleurisy fever, and after a few days of intense suffering he died on April 4th, just one month following the date of his inauguration. Had Harrison been permitted to have served out his term, with Daniel Webster, head of the cabinet, he would have no doubt given the most brilliant and wholesome administration of affairs in the country's history. In speaking of his death the National Intelligencer of April 9, 1841, says: "Never since the days of Washington has any one man so concentrated upon himself the love and confidence of the American people; and never, since the melancholy day which shrouded a nation in mourning for his sudden death, has any event produced so general and so profound a sensation of surprise and sorrow."

The mortal remains of General Harrison are entombed on his farm at North Bend, about five miles below Cincinnati. The burial place is within a short distance of the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern railroad tracks, on the northeast side thereof, where the attention of the traveler is directed by the presence of a large American flag, which perennially waves above the hallowed spot.

* John S. C. Abbott, *Lives of Presidents of the United States*, p. 272.

CHAPTER XX.

A FEW OF VINCENNES' NOTABLE CITIZENS IN EARLY DAYS.

GOVERNORS GIBSON AND POSEY—LOGAN'S SPEECH—GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR—HIS DAUGHTER WOODED BY JEFFERSON DAVIS—THE "TRYSTING BOULDER"—GENERAL ROBERT EVANS—JUDGE WILLIAM PRINCE—HIS ROMANTIC COURTSHIP—NATHANIEL EWING—JUDGE JOHN LAW—THE FADING OF FORESTS AND STREAMS—DISAPPEARANCE OF BEASTS AND BIRDS—THE BUFFALO AND THE PAROQUET—SPORTING ITEMS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT—HORSE RACING AND COCK FIGHTING—OLD MAN BLACK—FISHING RESORTS AND BIG GAME FISH—ATHLETIC, SPORTING, HUNTING, FISHING AND OUTING CLUBS—THE FEATS OF WILLIAM LAKE, PEDESTRIAN—THE SKINNER-MURRAY PRIZE FIGHT—PUGILIST TOM ALLEN TRAINS AT VINCENNES—CAMP DEXTER, THE MOHAWK, AND THE MUCH-NAMED WABASH RIVER.

About the time Indiana as a state was admitted into the union Vincennes had become the home of quite a number of brainy and talented men,* among whom was John Gibson, who labored assiduously in the dual capacity of territorial secretary and governor from 1800 to 1816, the year of our statehood. General Gibson was born in Lancaster, Pa., May 23, 1740. He was well schooled in boyhood days, and when but eighteen years old joined the expedition of General Forbes, which marched against Fort Du

*In 1805 much of the territory now occupied by Vincennes was open commons. At this period the village, according to an account written by the late O. F. Baker, and published in Goodspeed's History of Knox and Daviess Counties, 1886, contained only sixty-two dwellings, one church, five stores, one saddlery shop, two blacksmith shops, four taverns, one ox mill, one windmill, and one wheel-wright. The professions were represented by three physicians and seven lawyers. The physicians were Drs. Kuykendall, McNamee and Samuel McKee, learned in their profession, and men of eminent respectability and intellectuality. Dr. McKee, who was the father of the late Archibald McKee, was a United States army surgeon, and died here in 1809. The lawyers were Thomas Randolph, a near relative of Thomas Jefferson, Benj. Parke, Henry Hurst, General W. Johnson, John Rice Jones, John Johnson and Henry Vanderburg. The gentlemen last named were very closely identified with the civil and military history of Vincennes and the Northwest Territory during the last half of the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth century, as has been shown in the preceding chapters of this work.

Quesne, sharing in the glory of the victory that followed. Following the declarations of peace he remained in that part of the country, establishing headquarters at Fort Pitt (Du Quesne) as an Indian trader. He was captured with several white companions by the Indians and condemned to die at the stake. An old squaw, lamenting the loss of a son in a recent battle, adopted the youthful trader, and his life was spared. He at once adapted himself to his savage environments, and remained among his new-made friends for several years, maintaining conjugal relations with a sister of Logan, the celebrated chief, acquiring the customs and habits of the red people and learning the Indian language. He, however, eventually tired of the life he was leading, and abandoned it to take up his operations again as a trader at Fort Pitt. He was with Lord Dunmore in 1774 in his expedition against the Shawnees, of which he gave an account in a deposition made in Pittsburg April 4, 1800, wherein he quoted the famous speech made by Logan on the murder of his family, including the sister of the chief, referred to as "Gibson's squaw." It is said that the tragedy which occasioned Logan to express himself so eloquently to Lord Dunmore, was also the ultimate cause of the war of 1774, commonly called Cresap's war. Logan's speech was as follows:

"I appeal to any white man to say, if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Colonel Cresap, who, last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

As soon as the Revolutionary war broke out General Gibson marched to the front with a strong regiment he had himself recruited. He joined forces with the army at New York, and was with it during its retreat through New Jersey. Not long afterward he was given absolute military command of the western frontiers, acquitting himself with distinguished ability. At the conclusion of the war he returned to his former home at Pittsburg to resume the avocation of a trader. As a member of the convention, he helped frame the first constitution of Pennsylvania, in 1788; and subsequently, for several years served as judge of the court of common pleas of Allegheny County, while holding also a commission as general of the state militia. The commissioners whom President Washington appointed in 1793 to treat with the Indians northwest of the Ohio river, called on him to select suitable persons to act as interpreters, and to procure 80,000 white wampum to be used in peace negotiations, which requests he cheerfully complied with, selecting the best of men and material. He

was a civil and military official of Pennsylvania up to the time of coming to Vincennes, in 1800.

In September, 1812, when Fort Harrison, then under charge of Capt. Zachary Taylor, was attacked by Indians, General Gibson, in order to afford succor to Taylor and also for the purpose of protecting Vincennes against the anticipated invasion of Indian armies, in less than one month had mobilized probably four thousand soldiers at the Old Post, including troops of the regular army, two thousand mounted volunteers from Kentucky, and militiamen from Indiana. Taylor, in the meantime, had sent word by messenger to Gibson that he was able to maintain his garrison at Fort Harrison, and had demonstrated his ability by defending the fort against an assault of the enemy lasting seven hours.

General Gibson was an honest man—fair and just in his treatment of the Indians, against whom he advocated war only as a means of attaining peace. He was a faithful public servant, and devoted all of his time in the consideration and performance of his official duties, which precluded him becoming a conspicuous figure in any events of public concern not connected therewith.

When the seat of government was changed to Corydon, General Gibson removed his residence there, but in May, 1813, when he was superseded by General Thomas Posey as governor he returned to Vincennes to reside. He remained a resident of the Old Post for several years, watching the progressive steps Indiana, the child of his early cares, was making as the nineteenth state in the union. He finally removed to Braddock's Field, Pa., and took up his home with his son-in-law, George Wallace, where he died April 10, 1822.

General Thomas Posey, the successor of Gibson, who made the Old Post his home for a brief period, was born on a farm in Virginia, on the banks of the Potomac, July 9, 1750. His education was of the meagre kind which the country schools of that day afforded, but by diligent study on the outside he had acquired considerable knowledge when he arrived at man's estate. Like his predecessor, Governor Gibson, he enlisted as a private soldier before attaining his majority, and like Gibson, he, too, was a member of one branch of Dunmore's army in the year 1774, and fought with Dunmore the following year in the war of the colonies against Great Britain. At the conclusion of the Virginia campaign he joined Washington's army, and was with him in the Jerseys, later with Gates at Saratoga, to witness and help hasten Burgoyne's surrender. At Monmouth he was commander of a regiment that played an important part in that undecisive battle. In 1779 he commanded the Eleventh Infantry, which company was a part of Washington's main army. At the taking of Stony Point he was with Wayne. "Colonel Fleury* was the first to enter the fort and strike the

*Marshal quoted by Woollen, in *Woollen's Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, p. 23.

British standard. Major Posey mounted the works almost the same instant, and was the first to give the watchword, 'The fort's our own.'"

He was at Yorktown when Cornwallis surrendered and had campaigned in South Carolina prior to that event. The years 1781-2 found him serving with Wayne in Georgia; and in June, 1781, he engaged Guristorsgo and his Indian allies in a fierce fight near Savannah, killing quite a number of savages with his own hands, and giving thrilling examples of his skill, courage and bravery. When the dove of peace descended he was with Greene in South Carolina. From 1785 at his home county until 1793, when he again took up arms in defense of his country, he served as colonel of militia, county lieutenant and magistrate. He fought with Wayne all through the Indian war in the Northwest Territory; and after "Mad Anthony" had partially subdued the hostiles, he resigned his army post and removed to Kentucky, where he was elected to the state senate and subsequently became speaker of that body. In 1809 he held a commission as major-general of Kentucky troops. Later he moved to Louisiana where, in 1812, when war between Great Britain and the United States was declared, he recruited a company at Baton Rouge and assumed the captaincy thereof. "Seldom," says Woollen,* speaking of Posey's willingness to take up the office of captain, "in the history of military men do we find one who, having held a major-general's commission, consents to command a company. But General Posey's patriotism was stronger than pride. Had he believed it best for his country, he would have shouldered a musket and marched in the ranks." General Posey came to be United States senator by the grace of Governor Claiborn, who appointed him to fill the unexpired term of John N. Destrihan, who resigned his seat as a member from Louisiana. He wore the senatorial toga until March, 1813, when President Madison honored him with the appointment of governor of Indiana territory. Mr. William Wesley Woollen, from whose excellent work much of the data herein presented is obtained, concludes an extended biography of General Posey as follows: "When Governor Posey's official term expired by reason of the admission of Indiana into the union, he was appointed Indian agent for Illinois territory, with headquarters at Shawneetown. Early in the spring of 1818, while descending the Wabash river from Vincennes, he caught a deep cold, which threw him into a fever. When he reached Shawneetown he was compelled to take to his bed. He continued to grow worse until the 19th of March, when he died.

"Governor Posey was an amiable man in private life. He was a member of the Presbyterian church and very active in church work. He was president of a Bible society, and did much to distribute the scriptures among the poor and needy of the territory.

"In person Governor Posey was exceedingly attractive and commanding. He was tall, athletic, and had a handsome face. His manner was graceful

*Woollen, *Biographical and Historical Sketches of Early Indiana*, p. 25.

and easy, denoting the gentleman he was. Some years ago a correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial started the story that Governor Posey was a natural son of George Washington, but the romance did not take root. Had he been Washington's son, begotten in wedlock, he would have honored his father's name."

General Zachary Taylor, who subsequently became president of the United States, was among the noted men who resided at Vincennes in early days. He lived in a cottage which Benjamin Parke had erected, corner of Hart and First streets, where a daughter was born to him and afterward became the wife of Jefferson Davis. By this marriage, which was the culmination of a courtship* began here in later years when Miss Sarah Taylor came to the Old Post on a visit and Davis was a young lieutenant in the United States army stationed at this point, Vincennes gained a distinction of which few, if any, towns can boast—that of having been the abiding place of three presidents and the birthplace of the wife of one—William Henry Harrison and Zachary Taylor, respectively presidents of the United States, and Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy. As were many distinguished men of that day, Zachary Taylor was born in Virginia, his birthplace being Orange County. In 1808 he was commissioned a lieutenant in the United States army and joined the military forces of General Wilkinson at New Orleans. When the American-British war of 1812 broke out he was given the command of Fort Harrison, near Terre Haute, and successfully defended the fortification against the strong assaults of the Indians in the autumn of that year. For the noble defense he made on this occasion he was promoted from captain to major. At the termination of the war the army was curtailed and he was reduced in rank to captain, which office he promptly resigned. He was afterward reinstated as major and given command of Fort Crawford on Fox river near Green bay, a dreary and isolated place where he watched the uneventful years glide by, finally attaining the rank of colonel. He was in the Black Hawk war, and in 1836 was sent to Florida to help subjugate the Seminoles.

*Mr. Jeremiah Donovan, then a young man, who for many years afterward served as marshal of the town, was sparking a girl the same time Mr. Davis was courting Miss Taylor. He says that while the quartette were indulging in courtship, he and his girl frequently met Mr. Davis and Miss Taylor on jaunts through the country which led to an inviting woods containing an enormous boulder, on which the couple were wont to sit—a romantic trysting place. Mr. Donovan, who had in the meantime made his sweetheart his wife, bought property at the corner of Sixth and Broadway streets, and many years before his death, as a reminder of the youthful dreams of love he had himself experienced, and in memory of the joyous greetings he and his wife had been accorded by Davis and his affianced bride, had the boulder removed and placed in his front yard. After his death the property was purchased by the late Dr. John H. Rabb, President of the First National Bank, who suffered the boulder to remain where Mr. Donovan had put it, on account of the romantic associations it recalled; and it occupies to-day the identical spot it did when the property changed hands.

which was accomplished after a long siege of stubborn fighting in which losses to both whites and Indians were very heavy. As a reward for valorous deeds in these conflicts Colonel Taylor was elevated by brevet to the rank of major-general; and in 1838 was appointed commander-in-chief of United States troops in Florida, where for a long time the Indians kept the settlements in a state of alarm and uneasiness. At the expiration of two years of the most exacting and perilous military service in the everglades of the peninsula, at his own solicitation, he was transferred to Fort Jessup, in Louisiana, which gave him command of the department of the southwest, embracing the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. When Texas was annexed, 1845, he went to Corpus Christi and established his corps of observation, having fifteen hundred soldiers, which number was increased by reinforcements to four thousand. In 1846 he advanced to the Rio Grande and blocked Brazos Santiago, the port of Matamoras; but on learning that the Mexicans had crossed the river with six thousand men and that Fort Brown was surrounded and in great peril, retraced his steps in haste. The first encounter with the Mexicans was on the field of Palo Alto, where Taylor routed about 3,000 of the enemy. The fleeing enemy halted at Resaca de la Palma, about three miles distant, where they were badly worsted in a second engagement, and the safety of Fort Brown, whose soldiers could hear plainly the cannonading, was secured. Taylor's next victory was Monterey, where he forced the Mexican General Ampudia to capitulate after administering to him a severe drubbing. General Scott soon after became commander of the American forces in Mexico, which left Taylor at Monterey with about only 5,000 troops, which number, however, was subsequently increased to 6,220, and he began a forward movement. When about fifty miles south of Monterey he learned from a Mexican messenger who came with a flag of truce and a summons for him to surrender, that Santa Anna was advancing with 20,000 men. After telling his men that if they were twice that number it would make no difference to him, he sent back to Santa Anna the curt reply that "General Taylor never surrenders;" and riding down the ranks he informed his men that "he intended to stand here not only so long as a man remains, but so long as a piece of a man is left." The battle was fought on the 22d of February, 1847, and lasted ten hours; and in the midst of the terrible carnage Taylor rode up to a battery that was belching forth volumes of death-dealing fire into the columns of the enemy and with an air of serenity said, "A little more grape, Capt. Bragg." It was feared in the American camp that the next day would call for a renewal of the battle, but in the morning the Mexicans had fled. At Buena Vista Taylor and his troops exhibited the greatest bravery and the victory was attributed to his valor and skill. Gen. Taylor died in 1850, after he had occupied the presidential chair little more than a year, and his last words were "I'm not afraid to die; I'm ready; I've endeavored to do my duty."

General Robert Morgan Evans, who laid out the city of Evansville in 1814, was a resident of Vincennes in 1805, coming here in that year from Princeton, where he bought a tract of land and soon after formed a settlement. He was born in Frederick County, Va., in the year 1783, removing to Paris, Kentucky, and later coming to Indiana territory. He was an active participant in the battle of Tippecanoe, being one of the aids of General Harrison, who had commissioned him a brigadier-general of militia, a position he filled with great credit during the wars of 1812-15. During the Indian attack on Fort Harrison in 1812 he marched at the head of a company of militia in defense of that fortification, and rendered General Taylor, in command of the fort, much valuable assistance. General Evans during his residence in Vincennes was a tavern keeper. Though closely identified with the town bearing his name he maintained his residence at Vincennes and Princeton until 1824, when he moved to Evansville. The socialistic sentiment which Robert Dale Owen had made prevalent at New Harmony appealed to him, and he went there to live, dividing his time between farming and conducting a hotel. After four years thus spent he returned in the year of 1828 to Evansville, where he terminated his early career in the year 1844.

Vanderburg County, of which Evansville is the seat, was named after a citizen of Vincennes, as were Dubois, Vigo and Parke Counties, respectively; and so was Harrison County. Princeton was named in honor of another distinguished citizen of the Old Post—William Prince. Judge Prince was an Irishman by birth and emigrated to America in 1794, while quite young, settling at Vincennes. He was an energetic and talented man, thoroughly imbued with that proud spirit of Americanism which came to us with the establishment of liberty and independence. His independent air and his talents were not long in securing for him deserved recognition. By profession a lawyer, he soon became the recipient of judicial honors and a lucrative practice. Soon after his citizenship was established he was commissioned Indian agent for Indiana territory, and in 1802 served as a delegate with Governor Harrison, Col. Francis Vigo and Luke Decker, to the convention called by the governor to consider the advisability of permitting the practice of slave holding in the territory. He fought with Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe, as a member of the General's staff, and rendered Harrison valuable aid in concluding many treaties of peace with the Indians. Vincennes at this time, being the seat of government, was also the center of social life in the territory, and Judge Prince's commanding presence, courtliness and affability made him an attractive person at all functions. He had not been long a resident of the Old Post until Miss Theresa Fromble, a strikingly beautiful French girl of fourteen summers, completely captivated him with her unaffected charms, and he sought her hand in marriage. Her stern father, who was a man of wealth and affluence, resented the advances of the young Irishman as presumptuous, but the black-eyed maiden reciprocated all the tender and sentimental stories of love whispered into her ear by the dashing wooer. Prince, therefore, determined to press his suit, and putting

on bold front sought *pater familias* in the hope that the latter would relent. But not so. The haughty Frenchman summoned to his aid a goodly number of his minions, and thrust the undesirable suitor into a barn, and placed him under lock and key. The idea of inflicting imprisonment as a punishment without due process of law, appealed irresistibly and irritatingly to the populace, who were just beginning to realize the beneficence of the spirit of liberty then prevalent throughout the land, and looked upon the procedure as outrageous to all senses of justice. The natives—friends of Prince's—grew highly indignant over his incarceration, and talked threateningly of adopting retaliatory measures. Monsieur Fromble, no longer able to withstand the feeling of resentment displayed, consented to release the prisoner, but the young man, whose indignation had outgrown his mortification, spurned the proffered liberty. He held up courageously and refused for some time to leave the prison whose portals had been thrown wide for him to pass through to freedom. Fromble was beside himself with rage, and in his anxiety to get his precursory prisoner out of sight and mind, as well as off of his premises, demanded wrathfully to know what he wanted and why he did not vacate. The youthful lover replied that he intended to remain until he had secured that for which he came. Meantime the gossips were busy. The affair became town talk. Neither the old or the young man would concede an inch of ground in the stubborn stand both had taken, until rumors of a suit for false imprisonment were circulated by the friends of the injured party. The prospect of having to pay heavy damages, aided no doubt by the pleadings of the beautiful Theresa, brought Monsieur Fromble to terms and forced him to give his consent reluctantly to his daughter's hand, making the way perfectly clear for the youthful Prince to lead the beautiful maiden to the hymenial altar as his blushing bride.

It is not definitely known at what date Judge Prince left Vincennes to take up his home in Gibson County, at which place the fame he had already acquired in public and private life brought him additional honors. He became the first prosecuting attorney of that county; in 1816 was appointed resident judge, and in 1824 was elected to congress, but died before filling out his term of office. Judge Prince spent the latter days of his life on his farm, near the town of Princeton, "and to the last," says the Evansville Pocket, 1898, "was a striking figure in public life, always clad in knee breeches and silver buckles. He was very fond and proud of his wife, the prize he had so hard a fight to win, and which he valued more than all others. Four children were born to them. Two sons, George and Harry, died without perpetuating the name. Of the daughters, the eldest, Elizabeth, married Judge Samuel Hall, who held a distinguished place in the history of Indiana. Their children are Mrs. Kidd, wife of Dr. W. G. Kidd, Mrs. W. D. Downey and Mr. John B. Hall, all of Princeton. Nancy, the second daughter of Judge Prince, married Dr. Wm. Stockwell. Their children are Mrs. Wm. E. French and Messrs. George and Nathan Stockwell of Evansville, and Mrs. Minerva Bingham, of Patoka.

"It was men of Judge Prince's character and gifts that gave to the early history of Indiana its prestige, and maintained for it the position it was called upon to sustain as one of the oldest and leading states of the new west. All honor and praise be to his memory."

Nathaniel Ewing, the great grandfather of William L. Ewing, was one of Vincennes' most prominent citizens of territorial days. He first saw the Old Post in 1788, having come here with a *pirogue* load of apples, salt and furs when he was sixteen years old, following at that time the dual occupation of farming and trading on the Wabash and Ohio rivers. He was descended of pure Irish stock, his grandfather, who was a native of Colerian County, Ireland, emigrated to this country in 1725 to escape the persecutions of the English. His father emigrated to Pennsylvania, where he died in 1785. Young Nathaniel was born in the last named state in 1772, and took up his permanent residence in Vincennes in 1807, having been previously appointed receiver of the public land office, a position he filled with marked ability, through a series of presidential terms, until 1824. He was chosen as the first president of the first bank established in Vincennes, which was a private concern that finally merged into the State Bank of Indiana. He was rather active in politics, and at the time of the admission of Indiana into the union was a member of the territorial legislature. He was a strong anti-slavery advocate and espoused the cause of freedom both in and out of the legislative halls. In the civil and commercial activities of the Old Post Mr. Ewing was a dominant figure and amassed a handsome competence. After his retirement from public office in 1824 he took up his residence at his country home, Mount Clair, where he died a peaceful death August 6, 1846. In 1793 Nathaniel Ewing married Anna Breeding, and to them were born eight children. The eldest daughter, Mary, married Dr. Wm. Carr Lane, St. Louis; Caroline married Dr. George W. Mears, Indianapolis; Rachael married Daniel Jencks, Terre Haute; Harriet married James Farrington, Terre Haute, and Sarah married the Hon. John Law, one of the most prominent attorneys of the Old Post, and a member of congress from this district. The sons of Nathaniel and Anna Ewing were George W., who became a prominent attorney and banker; W. L., who removed to St. Louis and became prominent in commercial and financial circles of that city; James, who resided at Mount Clair until his death. The late Wm. L. Ewing, Sr., ex-mayor of St. Louis, was a grandson of Nathaniel Ewing, and at the time of his death occupied Mt. Clair as a summer home. The property, which was a portion of a vast estate he left, has been in the Ewing family for nearly a hundred years. It is an attractive place, one of the most delightful suburban homes in the county, which has been the scene through all the years of scores of brilliant society *fetes*.

John Law will ever occupy a conspicuous place among the intellectual giants of territorial days, and his name will always be linked with the recital of all important events which treat of colonial times. He was a New Englander by birth, having been born at New London, Connecticut, in 1796,

emigrating westward early in the nineteenth century, and locating at Vincennes in 1817, the same year he was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of Connecticut. When but eighteen years of age he was graduated with high honors from Yale College, New Haven. On his arrival at the Old Post he opened an office and began the practice of law, a profession for which he was eminently fitted. In a short while he was elected prosecuting attorney of this circuit, which then embraced nearly one-half of Indiana where settlements had been formed. His constituents in 1823 elected him by a pronounced majority a representative of Knox County to the Indiana legislature, where he won distinction through his activity and ability as a legislator. His inclination, however, to follow his chosen profession was stronger than his desire to enter upon a career of politics, and he declined to make the race for re-election. The legislature in 1830 elected him judge of the seventh judicial circuit, and he wore the judicial ermine with becoming grace and dignity. From 1838, to 1840 he was in charge of the office of receiver of public moneys, being an appointee of President Van Buren. Removing to Evansville in 1851, he formed a partnership for the practice of law with James B. McCall, Lucius H. Scott and his brother, William Law. With his associates he purchased a piece of land adjoining Evansville, platted it, and gave the new addition the name of Lamasco. Judge Law was appointed by President Pierce in 1855 judge of the court of land claims for Indiana and Illinois, and while confronted by many perplexing legal propositions in the discharge of his duties, acquitted himself with honor, justice and fairness, displaying signal ability. As a member of congress from the first district, in 1860, he was a member of the library committee and committee on Revolutionary pensions, and was the author of the measure to pay the surviving soldiers of the Revolution an annual pension of \$100. He died in Evansville on October 7, 1873, and, in compliance with an oft-repeated request, his remains were brought to Vincennes for interment. Judge Law had a warm place in his heart for the people of Vincennes, who looked on him as a great man. And he was a great man—not alone in law, but in letters. His address, delivered before the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society, February 22, 1839, is a fine literary production, possessing more reliable information pertaining to colonial history, especially that part applicable to Vincennes, than is contained in many of the publications of more recent years.

With her organization as a state Indiana began to undergo great physical changes. Before the advances of a newer and higher civilization the forests rapidly faded, miniature rivers converging at certain seasons and forming mighty lakes, disappeared. But the original beauty and grandeur portrayed in the giant bodies, limbs and foliage of the trees are yet visible in the forms of the mighty monarchs left proudly standing today along the banks of the Wabash, White and Embarrass rivers, or in the innumerable patches of woods which enhance the beauty of the landscape in all parts of Knox County. The inroads carved by the axe of the pioneer in forest fastnesses

drove many beasts and birds from their accustomed hiding-places to return no more. The introduction of ditches and tiling, and the destruction of trees, for the reclamation of lands inundated by large and small bodies of water obliterated these streams and put to flight many aquatic fowls, and caused large numbers of fur-bearing animals to migrate, and fishes to die and fossilize, and become component parts of the rich and fertile soil. The buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, bear, and even the wild turkey and pigeon, have long since departed; but geese and ducks annually trouble the waters of streams in unlimited numbers, while quite a few minks, otters, musk rats and beavers remain as survivors of the pioneer families of quadrupeds which made it possible early in the eighteenth century for fur merchants in Vincennes to do business in the markets of European countries. The "survival of the fittest" among fish is seen in the large schools of black, stripped, rock, little and big-mouth bass, tin-mouths, blue gills, crappies, pike, sun and ring perch, which keep company with myriads of white perch, cat fish, jack salmon, sturgeon, buffalo and carp, and other members of the finny tribe, that are to be found in all the rivers and lakes of this region. Wabash lake, lying about seventeen miles southeast of Vincennes, controlled by the Wabash Fishing Club, but which is really the private preserve of Edward Watson, is an ideal fishing resort, from which anglers inveigle great quantities of game fish. The lake, which is probably a mile and a half in length by a half mile in width, was formerly the bed of the Wabash, is in close proximity to the latter stream, and its banks, hemmed with timbers of similar growth, give it very much the appearance of the river. Bowman's lake, across the river, on the borders of which the Country Club (composed of Vincennes gentlemen to the number of one hundred) has erected a model club house, is the home of game fish, from which bass of an unusual size are taken every season.* Since the establishment of the oil fields in Illinois, the surplus product from the wells, which finds its way into the Wabash through the Embarrass river, has had a tendency to materially lessen the indulgence in piscatorial pleasures both on the Wabash and Duchee, but it has not deterred the disciples of Izaak Walton from gratifying their desires in angling at Otter, Claypool, Long, Dan's ponds, White river, and the many other places (below the Embarrass,) in Knox County which afford genuine sport to the true angler. The oil nuisance, however, will shortly be abated, through the agency of the federal government, and the streams now suffering more or less from pollution will ere long resume their pristine purity and lure both fish and fishermen to their classic precincts.

The beautiful golden pheasant, the inoffensive quail, the gentle dove,

* Dr. C. W. Benham has taken from Bowman's Lake some fine specimens of black bass, one of his catches weighing eight pounds and two ounces. At Beaver Dam, two miles west, he caught a bass that weighed seven pounds and two ounces: From the waters of Otter, Swan and Dan's ponds, and River Duchee, he has frequently hooked bass weighing five and six pounds, always using a casting-rod and artificial bait.

the cunning prairie chicken, and the elusive and toothsome jack snipe, as well as the gray and fox squirrels, continue to be familiar denizens of field and forest, for which the Nimrods lay down the rod, and take up the fowling piece. Whether he goes in quest of fish or game, within the confines of Knox County, or on the adjacent prairies of Illinois, in a day's jaunt the legitimate sportsman can gratify his every whim.

As late as the year 1870 this immediate locality was infested by wild pigeons which gathered in such large flocks as to form clouds, in their migrations, of sufficient density to obscure the sun from one's vision. While they congregated at no particular spots, confining themselves to the woods generally, they have been known to assemble on Bunker Hill and along the plank road, on Allison prairie, in such enormous quantities as to break the limbs of the largest trees. The wild pigeons migrated several years before the deer and turkey, their final flight from this region, as well as from other sections of the western country, being rather of a spontaneous character. And today there is not a trace left of them in any section—seemingly, they have disappeared entirely from the face of the earth.

During the years 1874-5 deer, wild turkeys and quail were handled by all leading grocers and, not infrequently the iron pegs in front of the stores of John Vickery, John Burke and Chas. A. Weisert, were adored with from six to eight carcasses of deer and twice that number of turkeys. Mr. Burke during this period bought quails by the car load and shipped them to eastern markets. Mr. Weisert was also a big dealer in game and shipped principally to Louisville, many of his choicest consignments going direct to the famous Rufer *café* at the Falls City. In season it was no uncommon sight daily to see car loads of deer, turkeys, quail, prairie chickens and rabbits piled up in front of his place of business, at the northwest corner First and Main streets.

The wild pigeons were arch enemies of growing crops, and for a while had a monopoly on roosting places; hence, their departure occasioned no regrets, because it made more room for the song birds, which now awaken woodland and dell with sweetest melodies.

In very early times the pioneer placed his main reliance for a livelihood in his flint-lock musket; but, instead of pursuing the game at all times, it was not infrequently that some of the game pursued him. Bears, wolves and panthers were very plentiful in Knox County at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The pesky wolves, which frequently chased the deer through the forest, and, when driven by hunger, would attack cattle, were despised by the huntsman and abhorred by the settler, as they snarled and barked around the lonely cabin in the wilderness. In following a wounded deer, the hunter frequently encountered a pack of hungry wolves, which had gotten on the trail in front of him. Dogs were generally used for the purpose of aiding the hunter in fighting bears, panthers and wolves. The canines, however, were not of the hound variety—a later importation used for trailing deer—but were the commonest kind of curs, trained to slow-

track game, without making an outcry, and capable of giving a big bear a good fight.

The buffalo, that shaggy beast for the protection and propagation of which the federal government is interesting itself, which roamed the western plains in countless thousands fifty years ago, has become almost extinct, and there is no section of country in North America today where a single one runs at large. There were a great many of them ruminating in this locality in the early part of the nineteenth century, migrating from south to north in the summer season and from north to south in the winter season, without attracting any very great amount of attention. They differ from the domesticated bovines in that they are of a black, or dark brown color, longer of limb and shorter of body, and have a prominent hump on their backs. Their necks are short and thick, head and eyes small; while their general appearance is fierce, they are not at all ferocious; have an acute ear and smell, and can detect danger from afar. The male is the least bit larger than the female, varies in height from five to five and a half feet, has a heavy mane and longer growth of hair on his back and shoulders than the rest of his body. The tapering bodies of these animals—which are largest at the shoulders, and recede towards the hips—denote speed. *Except during the months of June and July, when the mating season is on, the males and females run in separate herds. During this period there is a great rivalry for supremacy among the males, and the fiercest battles, in which an entire herd would sometimes contend for mastery, is waged. The bellowing and roaring, deep and loud, occasioned by these conflicts, was harrowing, equaled only by the desperation with which the fight was conducted, which frequently resulted in many of the bulls being gored to death. The cows, which bore their young in March and April, were very much attached to their offsprings, and took extra precautions to prevent their calves from the attacks of savage beasts, by forming a circle at night with their horns outward, corraling the calves within the circle. The young cane and rich prairie grass on which the buffalo subsisted while in this section imparted a flavor to the meat far superior to stall-fed cattle. The choicest cut from a buffalo was considered the hump, which had a flavor akin to a combination of venison and bear meat, after it had been prepared by the French or Indians.

Nearly every section of Knox County is made melodious with the notes of song birds. The mocking bird, and cardinal, the brown thrush, jenny wren, robin, bobolink and cat bird, (not to apply the more technical Latin terms) are very much in evidence for the reason that there seems to be a tacit understanding among the people here, not so apparent in other localities, not to disturb the feathered song-sters. Mongolian pheasants, recently introduced in different parts of the county, are afforded ample protection, and are multiplying steadily. There are a goodly number of prairie chickens yet to be found in certain localities; and quail are quite plentiful, con-

*Cochran, *Pioneer History of Indiana*, p. 428.

sidering the relentless manner with which they are pursued in season. Rabbits are numerous, and squirrels are to be found in limited quantities in all parts of the county.

There are a great many people who are not aware that at one time parrots in great numbers, were a familiar sight in Knox County—little green parrots, better known as paroquets. This bird is now nearly extinct, and is only found in small numbers in Florida and a few favorable localities from there to northeastern Texas and Indian territory. They were formerly very plentiful in Indiana, and did not make their disappearance entirely from Knox County until about a half century ago. *In the White Water valley, in 1835, they were last reported from Brookville. They were common in Switzerland County in 1838-9 and were last noted in Clarke County in 1844. Their disappearance from Vermilion County occurred in 1844; Parke, 1842; Marion, 1835; Monroe, 1836; Morgan, 1840; Owen, 1845; Daviess, 1857; and the latest date is Knox, 1859. The haunts of the paroquets were in the valleys of streams and the vicinity of ponds, where they were found in flocks ranging from six to a hundred or more. Their favorite food was "cackle-burrs" for which, it is said, they would leave any other food. Sometimes they would gather in numbers upon a stump and shell out the kernel, leaving instead a pile of empty burrs. Wherever they were found they showed a decided preference for this food next to which they preferred hackberries. In the spring they were very destructive in orchards, eating the leaf-buds, blossoms and young fruit. Early apples were often eaten by them, and in the fall they fed upon apples, grapes and grain. They also ate cherries, persimmons, black-gum berries, haws, beechnuts, acorns and pecans. One authority says they split open the apples and ate the seeds, discarding the fruit. After eating what they wanted they would tear the apples off the tree, and, after taking a bite, throw them to the ground. They also tore off the heads of wheat just for the sake of throwing them on the ground. They were easily tamed and made interesting pets. In their wild state they were very affectionate, and it is said when one of a flock was wounded the others gathered about, regardless of danger, and made every effort to render the cripple assistance.

Athletic, sporting, hunting, fishing and outing clubs have existed in Vincennes from time immemorial—since the earliest days, when the French and Indians were wont to indulge in games and feats that, for daring and prowess, were worthy of Olympian fields. Foot racing and wrestling were formerly the most fascinating pastimes of the village, and were encouraged to a greater extent than horse races, especially among the younger class of people. The latter sport, however, had its full quota of devotees who were responsible for many exciting turf trials, which became quite the rage towards the close of the civil war. One of the race courses, which consisted of two parallel paths made by skimming the soil of tufts of grass and weeds, was

*Amos W. Butler, *The Birds of Indiana*.

located in what is now Brevoort field, on the east side of the Cathlinette road, just south of the city ditch. During the fall of 1864 William Shannon and Dr. C. S. Hurd owned jointly a very speedy gray gelding that had been entered against all comers on the day of which we speak. The horse was being ridden by Abe Decker, and was going down the line in a fair way to win the third race, when a dog ran across the track, causing the horse to stumble and throw the driver over its head. In the fall the horse was uninjured, but Decker was instantly killed, having sustained a broken neck. After this occurrence the habitues of this track temporarily transferred their operations to a course that had been previously laid out on the commons, extending from Busseron to Hart street, through which Thirteenth street has been opened. Here's where the valuable stable of horses owned by Bob Flanders—notably "Silver Tail" and "Fanny"—got their first training, and where "Bull Pup," Owen Pinkstaff's famous running horse, was bested in a series of contests by "Silver Tail," before she became noted in the annals of the western turf. Long after these men and horses became only memories, the late James B. McCarthy, of this city, and William Neal, of Washington, Indiana, got possession of a work horse which they subsequently dubbed "Flora Belle," and early in the eighties went east with their equine prodigy to lower the colors of the proud "Buffalo Girl," "Brown Jug" and other favorites of sterling worth at Sheepshead Bay, and succeeded in breaking all the records these blooded "Flyers" had ever made. "Cora Lee," a gray mare owned by the late Jack Ayers, was another fine specimen of horseflesh that went with the "top-notchers" in many important brushes in the western circuit, and brought fame to her home town. George Bonnell, at a later date, took a "swing around the circle" with a string of horses owned by Vincennes parties, dividing honors and shekels with his competitors on nearly every track in the middle west. Subsequently he acquired a small number of thoroughbreds of his own and six years ago changed his base of operations to California for the purpose of showing the track followers of the Pacific slope some new stunts in twentieth century "hoss racin'." The late James Gatton, father of John Gatton, was among the early admirers of horseflesh of which Vincennes boasted, and owned a string of good running horses in the palmiest days of Bob Flanders, as the latter frequently found out, sometimes to his sorrow. Charlie Theriac, who was considered one of the best jockies in the west in the sixties, with Jim Gatton a close second, generally rode in all the races where Gatton was interested. There was a race pulled off one day in which he didn't ride, when Gatton took his mount. The event occurred at the same course where Decker met his untimely death, and the circumstance precipitating the accident, which caused Gatton to retire from the turf with a broken leg, was very similar to that which cost Decker his life—a dog running across the track caused the horse to stumble and throw the rider. John Monical, a prosperous farmer of Orange County, formerly of Knox, Dr. M. M. McDowell, James D. Williams, James House, Dr. Norman E. Beckes, Dr. Wm.

Jones, Will Tewalt, Adolph Meyer, Dr. M. T. Scott, D. C. Langdon, Richard Cox, and others, are among the prominent people who have been responsible for developing good track and superior road horses in Knox County.

Sixty years ago race courses for trials of speed of human and equine sprinters formed borders on three sides of the town, and the meets were almost of daily occurrence, not excepting Sunday. Liquid, as well as solid refreshments were served to the assembled multitudes by the enterprising merchants, who generally carried in stock beverages of higher proof than spruce beer. It is said that the late William Burtch, who was considered the merchant prince west of the Alleghanies early in the nineteenth century, made considerable money in supplying the wants of the "inner man" at pioneer race course meetings, and that anybody who had the price was welcome to his wares. However, he amassed quite a fortune, although he died a poor man. During the zenith of his mercantile glory, whenever the native citizens desired to convey, by comparison, some idea of an individual's great wealth, instead of using the name of Croesus, they would paraphrase a familiar quotation by saying he is "as rich as Billy Burtch."

The articles wagered on foot races were marbles, home-made tobacco pads, black navy plug, French, Spanish or American coins, of large or small denomination, as the occasion required. While there were no races made against time, the real object of the game being for one adversary to beat the other, there is no doubt that some of the Creole sprinters, who were as fleet-footed as Indians, frequently broke the pre-eminent speed records of today.

Pedestrianism, lifting, jumping and other feats requiring skill, strength or endurance were companion pieces, as it were, to the running races, and afforded no end to the amusement of the spectators, besides furnishing them with marvelous exhibitions of physical force. These various athletic stunts gave rise to general conversation regarding the prowess of some individual who was capable of performing herculean tasks, and Old Man Black was generally the hero of every story told, so numerous had been his escapades. Mr. Black was not a myth, although to hear some of the older French citizens recount many of his adventures, one would naturally think so. He lived, however, many years ago, about two miles below the city, on a farm now owned by Isaac N. Henderson. He was a peaceable man so long as he abstained from strong drink, but when under the influence of liquor the very demon seemed to take possession of his mental as well as physical nature, and he became a Sampson and a Goliath at the same time. To jerk with one hand a heavy door from its hinges was one of his favorite pastimes when in his cups. A stout man in his hands was manipulated with the same ease that a ventriloquist handles his puppets; and he always preferred to fight a house full of men instead of one man. According to the writer's informant, Black's strength was never tested, and he himself never knew how strong he was. Without an effort, apparently, he could walk away with a hefty hog under each arm, and had frequently carried whole beeves on his back which two men could not lift. It is related that one day he

came to town and purchased a barrel of salt, which he was toting home on his shoulder, when he met a friend on the river road, about midway between town and his house, who engaged him in conversation for three quarters of an hour, during which Black never shifted his load.

And, speaking of pedestrianism; it was featured in a novel way here in 1879, and proved the means of stimulating the "walking habit" to a very great extent. Mr. William Lake, pedestrian, was the gentleman responsible for its introduction, and the novelty of his scheme lay in the fact that the contest was one in which there was but one contestant, as paradoxical as that may sound. But, to be brief with explanations, Mr. Lake—who was a handsome fellow with the symmetrical proportions of a Roman gladiator—proposed to walk 500 miles in as many consecutive hours, and he did. The merchants were led to believe by the pedestrian that it would be a good advertising scheme and contributed quite liberally towards the cause. Mr. Lake's quarters were at the LaPlante House, (now the big department store) and as regular as the hour came around he would emerge therefrom to go on a mile jaunt, passing up Main street as far as Eighth, and returning over the same route to the hotel, the distance covered between the points named being considered a mile. Up and down the line, by day and by night, he was greeted by throngs during the protracted season required to complete his task. The young ladies were rivals for his smiles, and went into ecstasies over the manner in which his seductive eyes cast knowing glances, which they encouraged and sought to provoke by showering him with bouquets and other evidences of their infatuation. At the conclusion of his herculean task Mr. Lake left town, taking away the hearts of many poor, deluded fair ones, but leaving a beautiful daughter to receive the motherly care of a betrayed maiden.

Forty years ago, Sunday, with the sporting fraternity, was a day devoted largely to cock fighting. Easter, especially, was set apart for the exclusive indulgence in this barbarous practice, the annual recurrence of which was permitted, with no effort at legal restraint, for many years. The *penchant* for the sport has been inherited by the descendants of its original promoters, who are quite numerous, and whose love for the main is shown in the large quantity of handsome game birds to be seen in poultry yards about town.

Fistinia, under Marquis of Queensbury rules, had many admirers, and the bloody battle of Skinner and Murray, fought at Nine Mile island, in the Wabash, in May, 1869, attracted hundreds of people to the ring side. In this engagement both men underwent terrible punishment, and the heads and faces of the belligerents were horribly lacerated by blows from ungloved hands. The steamer "Advance" made trips to and from the battleground and when the trim craft landed at the foot of Broadway to discharge its last cargo of human freight, the motley crowd which assembled on the bank to greet Jack Skinner, the victor, saw Tom Murray, the vanquished, carried ashore on a stretcher, more dead than alive. The presence of Tom Allen in Vincennes was the incentive for this fight. Allen, who wore for

many years upon his placid brow the laurel wreath of pugilistic supremacy, came here to train for his forthcoming bout with Mike McCool, which was pulled off on an island in the Mississippi river, near St. Louis, three months later. McCool was a big burly fellow employed as mate on a Mississippi steamer at the time he fought Allen, and his friends became so incensed over the severe drubbing he received at the hands of the affable Tom that they threatened to take the latter's life. Allen was accompanied by his wife during his sojourn in Vincennes, and made the home of Bob Flanders his place of abode. He mingled quite freely with some of the best people, dressed in the height of fashion, always wearing a silk hat, and accompanied Mrs. Allen to a fashionable church every Sunday morning. In his day Allen was considered the most gentlemanly fellow among the short-haired fraternity and associated with quite a few men of prominence and respectability.

Pugilism, as well as all other athletic sports, has received a new impetus in Vincennes in recent years, and some very fine exhibitions of the manly art of self defense have recently been given in the squared circle at Lakewood Park by scientific generals having high rank in the army of Fisticia. Clifton Gosnell, one of the fathers of the Kitty Base Ball League, and to whom all lovers of the national game are indebted for encouraging good ball,* is responsible for awakening new interest in wrestling, boxing and kindred sports, which have been the means of developing high-class amateur talent. The university and high schools have admirably taken up the idea of encouraging and promoting athletics by organizing, respectively, football and base ball teams which are capable of making a good showing on any gridiron or diamond. The handsome high school building, recently enlarged to twice its original size, has been equipped with an up-to-date gymnasium, and calisthenics are taught in all departments of the school, from the kindergartens up to the eighth grade, in order that the gradual strengthening of the youthful bodies of pupils will better enable them to exercise and develop their youthful minds.

The Vincennes Gun club, which was organized about thirty-five years ago, had for its first president the late Edward M. Kellum. It still retains among its membership some of the best trap-shooters in the country. Collectively and individually the club has won distinction on many fields, notably in Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky. Harvey McMurchey, a traveling representative of the L. C. Smith Gun Manufacturing Company, Jack Wins-

*The first base ball club of prominence in Vincennes was organized in the early seventies, and Charley Jones, who was one of the best players in the Cincinnati team in after years, was a member. The club was appropriately named Excelsior, and the boys never met with defeat. Among the players identified with the organization during the first few years of its existence were Herman Peck, Will Wise, Wm. K. and Richard T. Dawes, Virgil Sinclair, who afterwards played with the Cincinnati Reds, Horatio Nelson, P. R. McCarthy, Emmons Wise and Jack Murphy. It is said that in a game with the Rockport club Murphy hit the ball so hard one day that it could never be found.

ton, now living at Washington, Ind., Perry Tindolph and the late Henry H. Hackman, all members of the Vincennes club, by scores made at St. Louis, Cincinnati and Louisville outclassed many of the trap experts. Dr. Carver, Bogardus and Captain Stubbs have been pitted against the gentlemen named above and, in more than one instance, have only been enabled to come out second best. The club holds its regular shoots at the fair grounds, and at present is officered by Perry Tindolph, president and captain, and William Eluere, secretary. In 1884 Tindolph was awarded a handsome gold medal at Evansville as the champion trap-shot of the state.

There are quite a number of clubs in the city, some private and some public, which make hunting and fishing features of the outing season. In this class, however, are not to be included Camp Dexter or "Mohawk." The former generally pitches its tents for a fourteen-day's outing on the banks of the Wabash river, near the mouth of Maria creek, and keeps "open house" for all who choose to come and partake of its comforts and joys. The guests are allowed unlimited privileges, which are eagerly exercised by hundreds every year. Camp Dexter was founded about thirty years ago by the late Dexter Gardner, George Fendrich and several other gentlemen, and in its name many Lucullus feasts have been given. The "Mohawk" is an elegant steamboat, having a handsome and commodious barge, lighted with acetylene lamps and equipped with a powerful searchlight. It is the property of the Sycamore club and is commanded respectively by Captains John N. Bey, William Propes, Hugh O'Donnell, Joe Risch and other members of that organization. The crew generally selects Nine Mile island whenever an outing, just for the sake of being out, is suggested, although having access to many places both up and down the river. The owners of the boat are not a whit selfish, and just because most any one can have the craft for the asking is the reason that it is often the scene of many social gatherings, balls and parties, and the means of transportation by which anglers and hunters frequently go up and down the Wabash to and from the fish retreats and game preserves.

The Wabash, that classic stream of whose matchless beauty, romantic scenery and historic glory poets have sung and historians have written, has ever been a source of pleasure for sportsmen. Its straight stretch at the feet of the city, uninterrupted by bends for two miles, either up or down, affords the finest course for regattas to be found on any island stream in the country. This fact appealed to quite a number of enterprising young men many years ago, and resulted in the formation of the Tecumseh Boating club, which has not only been instrumental in developing unlimited numbers of oarsmen and athletes, but has made possible many delightful trips for the young and old of both sexes upon the placid bosom of the beautiful river. To recount the legends of the Wabash would fill a volume almost as voluminous as that required in which to enter all the vows of tenderness and love that have been uttered above its moon-lit wimples. And that these

declarations of devotion have been made in more than one tongue is evidenced by the many different names by which the Wabash has been known, of which the following are only a few: Ouabache, (We-bo), Ouabouski-gou, Agouassake, Ouabou, Ouabouskiagou, St. Jerome, Waba-skik-kah and Wabache.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF KNOX COUNTY.

THE PRODUCTS OF THE SOIL—FIRST COURTS AND JUDGES—FORMATION OF FIRST TOWNSHIPS—FIRST JAIL AND COURT HOUSE—MURDER OF THE DE BUSSIERES AND JULIUS KLUCK—LYNCHING OF CANFIELD AND EPPS—LAST LEGAL HANGING—BURNING OF COUNTY RECORDS—BUILDING OF SECOND COURT HOUSE—THE BECKES-SCULL DUEL—PRESENT COURT HOUSE—ORPHANS' HOME—POOR ASYLUM—HIGHLAND ORPHAN ASYLUM—GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL—GRAVEL ROADS AND RAILWAYS—EARLY AGRICULTURAL AND MEDICAL SOCIETIES—BRILLIANT LAWYERS AND DOCTORS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT—MEMBERS OF THE BAR TODAY—NAMES OF MEN WHO HAVE HELD OFFICIAL POSITIONS IN COUNTY FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO DATE.

Knox County, which has been appropriately called the "Mother of Indiana Counties," was first established in July, 1790, by Winthorp Sargent, secretary of the Northwest Territory, who came here at the request of Gov. St. Clair in January of that year, for that purpose, vested with all the powers of governor and commander-in-chief. The name of Knox was given in honor of General Henry Knox, secretary of war. The territory of the county at this period included all the states of Indiana and Michigan. Before the end of the year 1798 Wayne County had been formed, with Detroit as the county seat, and comprised the greater part of Michigan and a portion of northern Indiana. By an act of congress, passed in 1800, as has already been shown, the territory embraced in these states was divided into two separate and distinct territories with Vincennes the seat of one and William Henry Harrison as its governor. In the year 1802 Clark and Randolph Counties were formed, and in 1805 Dearborn County was acquired. At a still later date of the year last named Michigan was made a separate territory, and Illinois, which had been a part of Knox County, in 1809 was made a distinct territory.

At the date last named there were only four counties in the Indiana territory—Knox, Clark, Dearborn and Harrison—and Knox embraced nearly half the territory now constituting the present boundaries of the state of Indiana. During the year 1810 Jefferson and Franklin Counties were established and in 1813 Gibson and Warrick were organized. Sullivan was added in 1817, and Greene in 1820, which reduced Knox County to its present limits.

"Old Knox" has an area of about four hundred and fifty square miles, and is situated pretty well towards the southwestern part of the state. It is bounded on the north by Sullivan County, on the west by the Wabash river,

on the south and a greater part of the east by the White river, which separates it from Gibson, Pike and Daviess Counties. It is traversed by many smaller streams, which afford abundant water for stock and furnish inviting sites for mills and other manufactories.

THE SOIL AND ITS PRODUCTS.

The bottom lands, extending along the banks of the Wabash, White and Duchee rivers, ranging in width from one to three miles, are covered with a growth of fine timber, the density of which has been materially lessened in recent years, but of which there yet remains a good supply. The trees to be found in greater or lesser quantities in different locations, are: sycamore, cottonwood, sweet gum, soft maple, white oak, white ash, hackberry, black walnut, white walnut, poplar, elm, lind, cherry, catalpa, mulberry, hickory and black oak. The immense size attained by primitive forest trees, suitable for building, manufacturing and cabinet purposes, has given Knox County an enviable record as a timber producing locality. A few giants of the forests yet remain, but their numbers are fast disappearing. Sycamores have been felled in this locality with trunks twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, and some, it is said, were even of the dimensions of twenty feet. Cottonwood, walnut and poplars, with trunks sixty feet long and from six to eight feet in diameter, a number of years ago were not considered uncommon. In 1873 James E. Baker, who was county surveyor in the seventies, measured a sassafras tree four feet in diameter, and a pecan tree, near Sandborn, eight feet. The durability of Knox County mulberry and catalpa has been the least bit remarkable. In 1871 a catalpa fence post, which it is said had been set up near a cabin on river Duchee in 1780, was cut down and showed very little evidence of decay. When General Harrison was looking after his presidential fences here in 1840 he called attention to posts set out and a picket fence built in 1801, which were in a very good condition. In the latter part of the sixties these were removed, and the posts (mulberry and catalpa) were yet comparatively sound. Posts which were set by General Harrison in 1808 in 1870 were taken up and reset, and the fence which was placed around Judge Parke's house in 1809 remained in good service until the old homestead was torn down ten years ago.

On the outer edges of the bottom lands that hem the river banks are benches of earth, evidently built up by drifts, composed of sand and alluvial soil, varying in height from five to thirty feet above the bottoms; and running through the central part of the county, from north to south, is a range of hills, composed principally of sand, which are broken here and there by marshes or ponds, indicating that the hills were once the banks of a river or lake that spread over the level plain below. The fertility of the soil of the bottom lands, which is rich beyond compare, gives Knox County an agricultural superiority possessed by few localities, and enables the husbandman to grow most any kind of a crop he desires.

The geological reports show that more than one-half of the county is underlaid with a seam of coal, averaging from seven to ten feet in thickness. And the output of the numerous mines located in the northern and eastern portions of the county indicate an inexhaustible supply of "black diamonds." The coal is of a superior quality for both domestic and manufacturing purposes, and is probably of the same vein that is found in Sullivan, Daviess and Pike Counties. Its cheapness, and the low railroad rates, combined with the fact that Vincennes is the center of four trunk lines of railways, make the latter place most desirable for the location of manufactories. Natural gas, with which the Old Post is abundantly supplied from the Illinois fields just across the river, and its cheapness, is another feature of the city which appeals strongly to the manufacturer as well as the home-seeker.

While no efforts have been put forth to develop the field, it is presumed that in the vicinity of Monroe City bog iron is present in quantities sufficient to justify its being mined. In different localities of the county minute particles of gold, copper and lead have been encountered. These atoms from larger bodies have always excited curiosity, but never to a degree to induce any one to go below the surface in quest of any of the metals named. The clay for the manufacture of brick is so plentiful that it may be said to be "as common as dirt." But there is another kind, probably just as plentiful, of far greater value, which has not received the attention to which it is entitled. This is the variety peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of fire brick, tiles, terra cotta and potters' wares. It is found under the coal, and as a market commodity is almost as valuable.

There are large quantities of stone in the county, yet it has never been quarried on a large scale. Sandstone, of a reddish cast, suitable for building foundations and tenacious enough for rough masonry work, is found in the Maria creek bottoms and west of Wolf Hills; also, south and east of the city, between La Plante's Hill and the Pyramid Mound. What is designated as Merom sandstone occurs at Fort Knox and at other places along the bluffs of the Wabash. While not generally adapted for building purposes, on account of softness, it is said to be valuable, after having been exposed sufficiently to wash out the iron, for glass making. Large quantities of good brown sandstone (from which the pillars and front of the Pastime Club are built) are to be found in northern and southern sections; and along the Wabash deep beds of limestone exist. Both of these stones are desirable for building purposes and are adapted to the application of all kinds of mason's tools.

THE EARLIER COURTS AND JUDGES.

The first court to convene in Knox County was the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, which met in Vincennes July 14, 1790, at which session there were present the following judges: Antoine Gamelin, Paul Gamelin, Francois Busseron, James Johnson and Luke Decker, Esquires. The proceedings consisted in reading the proclamation for the erection of the county

of Knox, the presentation of the general official commissions, and prescribing the dates of the terms of court.

The commissions of James Johnson and Luke Decker, as justices of the peace, John Small as sheriff, and Samuel Baird, as clerk of the court were read, also the laws for establishing the court and appointing the sheriff. Joseph Laballe was appointed constable for the village of Vincennes and Allen Ramsey constable for the district of river Duchee. At the afternoon session Peter Thorn was appointed a constable for the village, and swore in the court. The following persons were empaneled and sworn in as members of the Grand Inquest: John Rice Jones, John Mills, Henry Vanderburg, Francis Vigo, Thomas T. Jackson, John Baptiste Miet, Nicholas Miet, Robert Johnson, Patrick Simpson, John Baptiste Smarata, Robert Mays, Joseph Leflore, Thomas Jordon, John Ganeshow, John Durgalare, Abraham Westfall, Benj. Beckes, Joseph St. Mary, Robert Day, Lawrence Basedon, Antoine Salamiere and Peter Mallet. The inquest jury consisted of twenty-two members, all of whom subscribed to the oath, which was administered in French to those who did not comprehend the English language. Shortly after receiving the charge, they presented the following report: "The Grand Inquest for the body of the county, upon their oath present that a murder of malice aforethought was committed on or about the 19th or 20th day of November last by one Michael Graft upon a certain Albin Guest, and as the same has not been taken notice of in any civil court, to the knowledge of the jury, they present the same to the court, that it may take cognizance of it in the proper court."

At the next session of the court, held in October, 1790, the members in attendance were Paul Gamelin, James Johnson and Francois Busseron, but "in consequence of the militia of the county of Knox being ordered by the United States, in congress assembled, on an expedition against the Indians of the Wabash, the court for want of a jury found it necessary to adjourn." The residence of John Small was the place at which the court sessions were held; but, owing to conditions as stated, from the dates last named, there was no court business transacted until July 28, 1791, at which time an indictment was found against Patrick Simpson, Anthony Smith, Joseph James and Derick Schuyler, of Vincennes, for riot and assault upon Joseph Andrew; also one against Joseph Janes for an assault upon Maria Louisa Lefevre, and another against Patrick Simpson and Anthony Smith, for an assault upon Josetta Andrew. In the first case the defendants Simpson, Smith and Janes were each fined \$16, and Schuyler was mulcted in the sum of \$22; and in the other two cases the defendants were fined 12 cents each.

FORMATION OF FIRST TOWNSHIPS IN KNOX COUNTY.

In October, 1791, the court, pursuant to the statutes in such cases made and provided, took the initiatory for dividing the county of Knox into two townships, to be named the townships of Vincennes and Clarksville. It was



JURY AND LAWYERS IN CELEBRATED WISE WILL CASE

General Benjamin Harrison, second from the right, one of the attorneys, and
George G. Riley, another of the attorneys, first from the right

decreed that the township of Vincennes shall begin at the line dividing the county of Knox from the county of St. Clair, and shall run from the line of the two counties on the Ohio to the river which empties in the Ohio called Blue river; from thence up the said river to its source, and from thence in a north course to the northerly boundary of the county; thence along with that northwesterly line westwardly till it strikes the line of St. Clair County and along that line southwardly to the beginning. The township of Clarksville to comprehend the whole of the remainder of the said county of Knox, from Blue river to the bounds thereof of the county of Hamilton. The symbol adopted for Vincennes was a capital "V." and for the township of Clarksville the letter "C."

In 1801 an order was made by the court of quarter sessions, by James Johnson, Antoine Marchal and Ephriam Jordon, "esquires justices," that two townships should be laid off as follows, to-wit: "The township of Vincennes shall be composed of the village of Vincennes, the upper and lower prairie and the commons, and shall be known and called by the name and style of Vincennes township. Ordered, that the second township shall be bounded by the road leading from the town of Vincennes to Harbin's Ferry, beginning at the point where the road crosses the line of the township of Vincennes; thence along that road until it strikes the division line between the county of Knox and the county of Clark, and that it be named and styled Harrison township," which name was given in honor of General Harrison. And it was further ordered by the court "that the third township shall be bounded by the said road until it strikes the said division line between the counties of Knox and Clark, and should be known by the name and style of Palmyra township." And, in the establishment of all these townships it was further decreed by the court that no boundaries heretofore established should be respected.

At the time of this apportionment Vincennes township embraced the western part of the county, Harrison all to the southeast and Palmyra all to the east and northeast. In 1808 Busseron township had been laid off and embraced the northern part of the county, the name given having been applied out of compliment to Major Francois Busseron, as stated heretofore. Widner was the next township to be established, but the year of its establishment, owing to the disappearance of documents bearing on the same, is not known. The date, however, is said to be about 1812. It embraced the larger portion of Vigo township, and was named in honor of John Widner. Decker and Johnson townships were laid out some time between the years 1813 and 1823; the records relating thereto are also missing. It was ordered in 1838 "that part of Harrison township lying north of the township line between Harrison and Palmyra on the east side of Pond creek, running down said creek to fractional sections Nos. 9 and 16, thence east to White river, be attached to Palmyra."

At its September term a new township was formed by the court, bounded as follows: "Beginning at the juncture of the river Du Chien; thence up

the river to the township line of Decker; thence north to Vincennes commons; thence west to the ditch; thence down the ditch to Grand Coupeé; thence up Coupeé to the Wabash; thence down the Wabash to the mouth of the Embarrass, the same to be called Uno township, and the place of election to be St. Thomas' church. *In 1846 a material change was made in the boundaries of this township, and it was finally abolished. Two explanations for its abolition by the commissioners were given by an old settler—one being that there were not people enough living in the township who could read or write that were legally qualified to sit on an election board; and the other was that many of the farmers were in the habit of driving their hogs into the township to feed, and so few of the hogs were ever driven out that it came to be known as "hog thief township," and the better element of the community petitioned the commissioners to abandon the township organization.

BUILDING OF THE FIRST JAIL AND COURT HOUSE.

Mr. Prior, who was a commandant of militia, having charge of Fort Knox, at the request of court appropriated the southwest bastion of the fortification for the purpose of establishing a jail, and the place was subsequently converted into a temporary prison. It was also ordered by the court "that Henry Vanderburg contract and agree with any person or persons for the building and erecting of any pillory or stocks, to be placed before the church, and that the same be paid for out of the funds of the county."

Because some of the justices of the peace and judges of the court of common pleas did not understand the English laws, and desired to have them translated into French, the court engaged John Rice Jones to do the translating, and agreed to pay him for such service the sum of \$33.33 1/3 for an indefinite period. Jones was a Welshman, and came here before the close of the eighteenth century. He was a brilliant lawyer, a fluent talker and splendid writer. He took a lively interest in the affairs of Knox County and Vincennes. He was especially active in military matters, was with Harrison at the battle of Tippecanoe and had previously distinguished himself in the Vincennes-Spain embroil by aiding in the impressment of goods belonging to Spanish merchants. He built a theatre at the corner of Broadway and First streets early in the nineteenth century, in which the first performance was given in the year 1807. The title of the play produced was "Drowning Men Catch at Straws;" and, singularly coincidental with the production of the piece and the opening of the theatre on that night, a man named Robert M. Douglas was accidentally drowned in the Wabash, not a great distance from the playhouse.

Some time during the year 1810 the contract for the building of a court house was let. The style or dimensions of the building, however, are not given. William Lindsay was the contractor and Charles A. Boyles fur-

* Goodspeed, *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, pp. 149-150.

nished the stone for the foundations; Abraham Snapp furnished the lumber; Samuel Parr did the carpenter work, and Mark Dunning the blacksmith work; Robert Bunting was superintendent of construction. The house, which has undergone some modifications since it was built, is standing today at the corner of Fourth and Buntin streets, and is occupied as a residence by Hon. J. P. L. Weems. For many years it was the comfortable homestead of the late Hon. Wm. E. Niblack, who made many alterations on the building before he moved into it. The original cost of the house, which was first occupied for county purposes, July 30, 1813, was \$3,156.41 $\frac{1}{3}$. Before the building of the court house the court sessions were held from July, 1810, until July, 1813, at the residence of Antoine Marchal, who was paid by the county \$200 for the use of his property during that period.

In 1803 Henry Vanderburg was delegated to superintend the construction of a jail on a lot purchased of Robert Buntin, corner Fourth and Buntin streets, the site of Mr. Yates' residence. While it was a very unpretentious structure, it took two years to build it, work having been started on construction in 1803 and finished in 1805.* In early days it was a criminal offense to owe anybody, and debtors were in a few instances incarcerated for non-payment of obligations. The incarceration, however, did not always mean confinement in jail, but meant sometimes that the guilty parties were obliged to remain within certain territorial boundaries beyond which they dared not go without the assent of creditors. Doctor Smith says that "in 1808 an order was passed that 'no objection being made by the creditors, and the debtor making oath that he possessed neither personal or real property, he should be released;'" and then and there imprisonment for debt was accordingly abolished in the territory. The records disclose a description of one of these 'debtor's limits,' as it were, and it is a curiosity and unique, to say the least, and is worthy of mention here. It reads as follows: 'Beginning at low water mark on the Wabash between Antoine Marchal and Margaret Gamelin's; thence down said street to the lower corner of James Purcell's; thence up to St. Louis street; thence up said street, including the same, to the corner of John Ochiltree's house, next to Thomas Coulter's; thence up the street, between Coulter's and Ochiltree's, to John Knelly's lot; from thence to the corner of the lot opposite the widow Brouillettes; thence down that street leading to H. Vanderburg's, to the place of beginning, including the streets.' It is supposed the debtors knew the deviations of the boundaries outlined and governed themselves accordingly."

* This was a very indifferent jail, as it was declared unsafe for prisoners in 1807, the Sheriff (Sullivan) entering his protest at that time against it. Robert Slaughter was one of the first prisoners in the jail. He was incarcerated for the murder of Joseph Harbin. He was executed in 1805, by Daniel O. Sullivan, for which and his coffin, gallows and burial the county paid \$17.—[Goodspeed, *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, p. 152.]

MURDER OF THE DE BUISSIÈRE FAMILY AND JULIUS KLUCK.

For many years an organization known as the Johnson Township Regulators administered "justice" outside of the courts to all culprits in various parts of the county who had been favored by the law's delay, making the punishment inflicted fit the crime. The Regulators worked with greatest secrecy, and the mysterious disappearance of many persons who were charged with the graver offenses against society, were always laid at the door of these vigilantes. Pierre Vacelot, who murdered the De Buissière family, consisting of mother, father and three children, it is said, was the last victim of the Regulators. Vacelot lived as a hired hand with the De Buissières on the Wise farm five miles east of Vincennes. In the fall of 1879, as the family slept in their humble cabin, Vacelot invaded their sleeping apartments and with an axe as a weapon cleaved each victim. After completing his bloody work he went to the house of a neighbor and related that an unknown man, from whom he had made his escape, did the killing. His story was never believed. He was taken in custody and put in jail. The second morning after his incarceration the jailer found his dead body dangling at the end of a towel which had been adjusted to the top of his cell. Rumors were rife the night before the discovery was made that the Regulators were in town, which led to the supposition that Vacelot's death was not self-inflicted. The killing of Julius Kluck, in 1870, has also been attributed to the Regulators—at least to one member of the organization. Kluck was at his home, corner Seventh and Bayou streets, reading a newspaper by the light of a coal oil lamp, when an unknown assassin fired at him through a closed window, filling his head and face with the contents of a double barrel shot gun, killing him instantly. It is alleged that Kluck had burned a mill in Johnson township belonging to the man who did the shooting.

THE LYNCHING OF CANFIELD AND EPPS.

Judge Lynch has never been an overzealous worker in Knox County. The two cases in which he last presided, therefore, are not devoid of interest. On June 17, 1884, Oliver Canfield, a laborer, who had quarreled with his sweetheart, Mollie Gherkin, deliberately shot and killed the girl at the boarding house of Alexander Brown, Fourth and Harrison streets. He was arrested and put in jail. On the night of the 24th a mob stormed the jail, overpowered the sheriff and took the prisoner to the scene of the tragedy, and with a bell-cord, taken from a B. & O. coach, hanged him to a telegraph pole. Holly Epps, a negro, was Judge Lynch's last victim. Epps worked as a farm hand for James Dobson, a white farmer, living in Greene County, near Worthington. On the night of January 11, 1886, he murdered his employer in cold blood, and after perpetrating the crime, for which there was not the slightest justification, he attempted a violent assault on Mrs. Dobson. Failing in his design, he made his escape to the home of a

colored man in the neighborhood, where he was soon after arrested and taken to jail at Switz City. The Dobsons were very respectable people, and the indignation of the populace against the black fiend was wrought up to the highest tension. The excitement grew so intense that the Greene County authorities deemed it advisable to take Epps to Knox County for safe keeping, and he was accordingly brought here. At midnight of the 18th an "orderly mob" attacked the jail, the leader showing knowledge of the premises by working the combination of the outside doors without assistance. Admittance was soon gained to the cell occupied by the black man, and he was led therefrom with a rope around the neck, and hanged to the tree nearest the gate at the Seventh street entrance to the court house yard. The limb over which the rope that strangled the murderer was thrown, never afterwards showed any signs of life, and was eventually lopped off.

THE LAST LEGAL HANGING.

The last legal execution to take place in Knox County occurred between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock on the morning of April 19, 1889, when Sylvester Grubb, who shot and killed his sweetheart, Gertrude Downey, on the Princeton's fair ground, September 13, 1888, was hanged by Sheriff M. M. McDowell. The case was brought for trial from Gibson to Knox County on a change of venue. The cause was tried before Hon. W. F. Townsend, special judge, and the verdict of the jury, which was rendered October 19, 1888, read as follows:

"We, the jury, find the defendant guilty of murder in the first degree, as he stands charged in the indictment, and fix his punishment that he suffer death.

RICHARD A. WOODS, Foreman."

BURNING OF THE COUNTY RECORDS.

All of the county records were destroyed by fire on January 24, 1814. John D. Hay was the recorder and postmaster, and both offices, were kept in his stores (the present site of the big department store), which had a stock of goods valued at \$20,000. All were destroyed, and two small children of Mr. Hay perished in the flames. To add horror to the dreadful calamity, three hundred pounds of gunpowder, stored in the cellar, exploded, killing one man outright and maiming another so severely that he subsequently died of his injuries. John Duffield Hay was a volunteer captain in the army, was in the battle of Tippecanoe, and in 1812 was one of General Harrison's aide-de-camps. He was the father of five children, three of whom were born subsequent to the lamentable occurrence which caused the death of the first two. *The eldest daughter, Mary Ann, born in 1815, married Dr. Joseph Maddox, a physician of Vincennes, each of whom died early; Nancy Ann, born in 1817, married John W. Maddox, a prominent

*H. M. Smith, *Historical Sketches Old Vincennes*, p. 182.

merchant (succeeding his father-in-law) and a staunch church member, dying in March, 1879; and George Duffield Hay, who was a prominent merchant in Vincennes many years, but who removed to Philadelphia, where he died in September, 1895, leaving one son, Henry Gurley Hay, a prominent banker and financier of Cheyenne, Wyoming. The relict of Mr. Mad-dox died in February, 1902, aged eighty-five years, in Chester, Pa., leaving only one daughter, Mrs. Sarah Hay Vance, relict of the late Rev. Joseph P. Vance (for many years pastor of the First Presbyterian church, Vincennes) now a resident of Cheyenne. John Duffield Hay was for many years prominent in the mercantile business at Vincennes and died here in November, 1840.

THE SECOND COURT HOUSE—THE BECKES-SCULL DUEL.

The first board of justices, under the provisions of an act "to regulate the mode of doing county business," met at Vincennes, September 6, 1824, and consisted of the following members: Frederick Graeter, Samuel Hill, David Lillie, Joseph McClure, James Thorn, Joshua Bond, William Raper, William P. Beckes and Aquilla Ramsey. A committee consisting of Samuel Langdon, Joseph Chambers, John Black and William Raper was appointed July, 1826, to examine the court house, and after completing the examination made the following report: "The committee appointed to examine the court house and the expediency of repairing the same, is of opinion that the house can not be repaired to benefit the county in proportion to the expense. It is the opinion of the committee that it will be of more benefit to the county to enter into the building of a new court house at this time, under the impression that the materials of the old one may be better disposed of to the benefit of the county; the committee would recommend to the board the appointment of a committee of three citizens of the borough to receive proposals and enter into such plans as the board may see proper to suggest. The committee has also made some inquiry in regard to the probability of obtaining a loan of money, but has not been able to obtain any information on that point." The name of William P. Beckes, one of the members of the first board of justices, recalls an unfortunate affair through which his uncle, Parmenas Beckes, met his death. Parmenas Beckes, who was a brother of Benj. V. Beckes had married a Mrs. Johnson, a widow, the mother of a beautiful daughter, and Dr. Scull, who had been a suitor for the hand of Beckes' stepdaughter, (Miss Johnson) it appears made some slighting remark regarding the chastity of the young lady. Beckes challenged Scull, who was a surgeon with Harrison's army, to a duel, which was fought on the Illinois shore of the Wabash, directly opposite Vincennes, and in the affair lost his life. Parmenas Beckes wrote a letter to his brother Benjamin V., in July, 1813, which explains the incidents which led up to the affair of honor, wherein he says: "This may be the last of my writing to you, being about to engage in a duel, a custom I ever abhorred, but

there are circumstances which sometimes render it necessary. A man who insinuates himself into your esteem, professes the most unbounded friendship for your family, paying his address to your daughter, gaining her affections, promises in the most solemn manner to marry her, asks permission of her parents, fixes a date for their marriage, and you afterwards ascertain that all this was done for the express purpose of ruining her reputation and destroying the happiness of her family, is it possible that any man can tamely submit to an insult of this kind? Such is my situation with Dr. Scull, and for such conduct I am about to punish him, or lose my life in the attempt. Although I have no daughter of my own, yet it is as much my duty to protect and vindicate the character of those under my charge as if they were my own. If unfortunately I should be killed in this affair, I have left a will in which you and William Prince are left my executors, feeling confident you will not think hard of attending to my affairs, and Prince will be an able assistant to you. My affairs are somewhat unsettled, but do the best you can for me. Pay attention to my wife, for to me she has been a good one. My own fate hereafter I trust in the honor of that God who gave it to me, fully believing his power to save and disposition so to do. Adieu, my dear brother! Should you next behold me cold as clay, see me decently interred, is my last request." Not long after the curtain had been rung down on the last scene in the Beckes-Scull tragedy, the men who acted as seconds for the participants, fought a duel over the same cause, on the same ground, and with the same weapons (pistols), in which Irwin Wallace, Beckes' second, killed Isaac Richardson, a Fort Knox lieutenant.

The committee appointed to negotiate bonds for the purpose of building a new court house, reported their inability to do so, and it was thereupon decided to repair the old one at a cost not exceeding \$500. In May, 1830, a committee consisting of Thomas McClure, Benj. V. Beckes, Samuel Tomelson, William Draper and Jacob Anthies was appointed to select a site for a new court house and reported that they "had selected one square of ground, consisting of four lots, being numbered 310, 311, 328 and 329, agreeably to the survey of John Emson, of the town of Vincennes, these lots being the property of I. Kuykendall, which will be conveyed to the county for the sum of \$200." The lots were purchased and proposals for the erection of the building solicited. The contract was subsequently let to John Moore, he being the lowest bidder, for \$3,971.46, the specifications calling for a "brick building, 45x65 feet, 23 feet, 4 inches high; to contain a recorder and clerk's office and jury room, each 17 feet 6 inches high by 19 feet 9 inches." In 1837 a jail was erected on the same lot as the court house, of which neither the dimensions nor cost are given. John Moore, the court house contractor, was no ordinary personage. He was born in Staunton, Va., in the year 1788, and was a citizen of Vincennes before Indiana as a state was admitted to the union. He was with Harrison at Tippecanoe in 1811, and later did military service in the Black Hawk war. He was the builder of the first town hall, the Episcopal church and many other public

and private buildings, and had filled the offices of president, treasurer, and marshal of the borough, and judge of the county probate court. He was the first mayor of Vincennes upon the adoption of her city charter, and served as postmaster of the town under President Buchanan. He died on December 23, 1864, leaving a widow and three children. His wife, Mrs. Mary E. Moore, is still living and resides at the old homestead, 305 Church street, far advanced in years, beloved and respected. The son Frank died about twelve years ago. The eldest daughter Ellen, deceased, was the wife of Edward H. Smith; the youngest, Marguerite, married Wm. B. Chadwick, and resides in Chester, Pa.

The agitation for building a new court house, which began several years before, resulted in the contract being let March 13, 1872, to James K. Frick,* Evansville, for the erection of the present magnificent "temple of justice." The cornerstone was laid June 24, 1873, with masonic ceremonies. The late Dr. Austin, D. D., for many years rector of St. James Episcopal church, delivered an eloquent address appropriate to the occasion. The building, fire proof and built of stone and iron, occupies an elevated position in the center of an entire block, bounded by four streets, to which the beautiful lawns, studded with giant maple trees, recedes.

THE KNOX COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

It fronts seventy-eight feet on Seventh and Eighth streets; its depth on Busseron and Broadway is one hundred and twenty feet, and its extreme height is one hundred and forty-seven feet. The central and main portion of the building is of a composite order of architecture, and at each of the four corners stands a tall tower, which gives to the whole structure its Norman type. The main, or highest tower, stands at the northwest angle, and contains the great clock and bell, the latter now used to sound the number of fire-alarm boxes. On the Seventh street side of this tower, resting upon a large block of marble, containing a bas-relief of the coat-of-arms of the federal government, arises a marble tablet twenty-one feet high, capped with a molding bearing the monogram of the United States. This slab was designed to receive the names of citizen soldiers who have fallen in battle, but inasmuch as the county recently appropriated \$50,000 for a soldiers' monument, it is more than likely that provision will be made for inscribing thereon the names contained in the long roll of our fallen heroes. Over this tablet in a niche stands the gigantic statue of an American soldier in the position of parade rest. The northeast tower, facing toward Seventh street, has a similar block and tablet, designed as a memorial to the pioneer settlers. The base contains a fine bas-relief representation of the setting sun behind the mountains, and the frightened buffalo tearing away at the

* Charles Pearce, who subsequently built the city hall, Bayard, Graeter, La Plante and Bierhaus blocks, was foreman on the job, and before the building was completed did work as a sub-contractor.



KNOX COUNTY COURTHOUSE

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sound of the pioneer's axe. In the center is a rude block house within the protecting pickets, perpetuating the alarms and dangers amid which our civilization was planted, while in the foreground an ivy-twined cross, eloquently preserves the memory of those Jesuit fathers, who braved the dangers of howling wildernesses to bring knowledge, hope and comfort to a savage race. And above this marble-carved picture of primeval conditions, stands out in bold relief the first settlement of Old Vincennes, 1702. And how appropriate to assign in this tower the figure of George Rogers Clark. It is truly a fine piece of work—this colossal statue, and was sculptured by Andrew Barrot of the city of Carrara in Italy. It is carved from one solid block of stone and has a weight of nearly four tons. The figure is draped in the costume of the western pioneers—fringed hunting shirt, buckskin leggings and moccasins. The broad and bald brow, aquiline nose, firm and square under jaw traditionally characteristic of the man, are wonderfully brought out. His chapeau, or cocked hat, rests upon the pedestal, carved into a stump. The statue occupies a niche in the tower about fifty feet above the ground. Midway between the two towers, in the center of the building, on the Busseron street side, above a grand doorway of heavy iron, is a statue of Justice, holding the scales loosely by her side in her right hand, while her sword is held across her left shoulder. It is said that this piece of work has been modeled from Donati de Bardi's famous piece in the vatican collection at Rome. The statues are all more than nine feet in height.

The cost of the building was something like \$360,000, and at the time of its construction quite a good deal of unfavorable comment was had, in the newspapers, and otherwise, regarding the largeness of the sum. Messrs. Thomas Dayson, John M. Berry and Asa Thorne composed the board of commissioners at the time, and probably came in for more unjust criticism than they were entitled to. It was the original intention to have the house built of brick, instead of light-colored Bedford limestone, and bids were advertised for accordingly—the proposals submitted ranging in price from \$8,998 to \$167,000. After the contract had been agreed upon, there was no little dissatisfaction manifested as to the style of the building and the material entering into its construction, and Edwin May, the architect, was authorized to change the plans and, of course, the price. The house, however, is one of the most attractive in the state.

For several years prior and subsequent to the erection of the court house the jail (a small affair) was on the same lot, near the corner of Seventh and Broadway streets. In 1903 a stone bastile, three stories high, costing \$45,000, was built across the street, corner Eighth and Broadway, and the old jail torn down. The sheriff's residence is in connection with the jail, and the whole make quite an imposing structure.

In the matter of her public buildings Knox County takes front rank with the proudest counties in the state. The orphans' home, which is located on Fairground avenue and occupies a half block, is one of the most

attractive looking places in Vincennes. It was erected in 1898, when the cost of material was down, and the contract let for \$6,000; and afterwards, the commissioners issued bonds to the amount of \$10,000 to apply on cost of construction. The home is at present in charge of Miss Minnie Hanna, matron, and controlled by a board of managers composed of the following well-known ladies: Mrs. Charles Bierhaus, Mrs. S. B. Judah, Mrs. Guy McJimsey, Mrs. Kate Morse, Mrs. W. C. Bierhaus, Mrs. W. H. Vollmer, Mrs. M. G. Moore, Mrs. W. H. Glover, Mrs. John Hamm, Mrs. Sam Lyons, Mrs. Mary Baker. The board of trustees are Wm. J. Nicholson, president and treasurer; C. B. Kessinger, Wm. H. Vollmer, Geo. W. Donaldson, Dr. Geo. Knapp. During the year 1910 the running expenses of the institution were \$4,413.30. While ample provision is made for the maintenance of the home by the county, it is given much substantial aid from the private purses of citizens. It is one of the best-managed orphanages in the state; and those who are so unfortunate to become its wards are fortunate in having come in contact with the motherly care and attention which is bestowed on all who pass within its portals as inmates.

THE COUNTY ASYLUM FOR THE POOR.

The asylum for the poor, located about three miles east of Vincennes, is another well-conducted institution, and at present is in charge of Andy Buley as superintendent. It was built by John H. Piel, contractor, in 1881, and cost \$15,544.15. As early as 1800 provision was made by Knox County for keeping and burying the poor, but it was not until 1820 that initial steps were taken toward the erection of an asylum or home for paupers. At that time the commons lands were in the hands of a board of trustees of the borough of Vincennes, and that the borough might share in its benefits, General W. Johnson was appointed by the board to confer with the commissioners* (appointed by the general assembly) in the purchase of a farm for the asylum, and it was jointly agreed that if the commissioners would purchase one-half of lot No. 88, containing ten acres, the borough would donate the other half, which agreement was fulfilled. This joint arrangement of taking care of the poor was adhered to until 1843, when it was decided that it were better from a humane as well as an economical standpoint to have the paupers brought together at one place, and put in charge of a keeper, instead of having their wants looked after in the various townships by three commissioners appointed in each for that purpose. And from 1845 to 1882 the contract for keeping the poor was awarded through competitive bids. In 1852 an asylum costing \$5,636.44 was erected; and the commissioners issued an order requiring all paupers to be sent to the asylum for care, and when they were not sent the cost for their care was not to be greater than if they were at the asylum. The poor farm on which the

* David McClure, Thomas Emison, Samuel Chambers, Thomas Jordon, William Gamble, Abraham Kuykendall, James Watson and Henry Ruble.



KNOX COUNTY ORPHANS' HOME



present asylum is located consists of about two hundred acres, and the aggregate cost for the maintenance of both farm and asylum for the year 1910 was \$3,629.06. The amount realized from the sale of products of the farm for the same period, which was applied towards reducing the expense incurred, was \$774.30. The aggregate amount paid by the county for the relief of the poor in all the townships during the year 1910 was \$11,245.62.

General W. Johnson, who opened and closed negotiations on behalf of the borough of Vincennes with the county commissioners for joint ownership in the first county poor farm, was prominent in the civic affairs of county and town and had been honored with public positions of dignity and responsibility. He was a native of Virginia, and took up his residence at Vincennes in 1783. He was the first attorney admitted to practice before the territorial bar, and was the first postmaster of the Northwest Territory; was auditor and later treasurer of Indiana territory; and, with the assistance of John Rice Jones, compiled the first revision of the laws of Indiana, which were bound and published by Elihu Stout, who was at the time proprietor of the *Western Sun*. He was several times elected to the legislature, and was chosen chairman of a committee to give answer to a petition of the pro-slavery element of the population of the territory who memorialized congress to legalize slavery in the territory. This committee advised against said grant and the whole subject was then and there buried forever.* Mr. Johnson's old-fashioned home, builded flat on the ground, with a long porch in front, was for many years considered an important land-mark because of the celebrity of its former occupant, and was allowed to remain standing at the corner of First and Hart streets until the year 1900, when it was razed to the ground.

THE HIGHLAND ORPHAN'S HOME.

St. Vincent's orphan asylum for boys, popularly called the Highlands, while not maintained by public funds, is among the worthy institutions of the county. It is located across the highway (Hart street road) from the asylum for the poor, its buildings forming an imposing pile of stone and brick, costing probably \$55,000. It stands on the former site of the structure that about twenty years ago was destroyed by fire—being the third conflagration of which the institution has been a victim. †St. Vincent's was

* H. M. Smith, *Historical Notes Old Vincennes*, 207.

† St. Ann's Asylum was projected by Bishop Bazin, but his death put a stop to its progress for a time. This was again started by Bishop de St. Palais. It was opened in a building near the cathedral, August 28, 1849. Maggie Dill's name first appears on the roll of inmates. The Orphans' Home remained in this building until 1863, when it was removed to the college building, now St. Rose Academy. It then took the name of St. Ann's Asylum, which was before called the Girls' Orphan Asylum. In 1878 this asylum was removed to Terre Haute. St. Vincent's Asylum for boys was soon after located at Highland. This had been attempted in July, 1850, but the enterprise failed. In April this institution was opened in the college building in Vincennes, but in 1860 it was permanently located at Highland, about three miles from Vincennes.—[Goodspeed, *History of Knox and Daviess Counties*, p. 303.]

established temporarily in 1850, but attained no permanency until ten years later, although as early as 1847 there were large frame buildings at the Highlands, which was the seat of the diocesan seminary, and which had been erected by Rt. Rev. Celestine de la Hilandiere, the second Bishop to preside over the Vincennes diocese, and for whom the Highlands were named. The asylum is under the supervision of the Sisters of Providence. It is built on rolling land in a charming locality, and its grounds and buildings are very pleasing and attractive to the eye. A tract of three hundred, or more, acres, with woodlawns, flower and fern-grown, gardens of choicest blooms, orchards of delicious fruits, and fields of golden grain, are among its priceless possessions. It is prepared to domicile and care for more than a hundred waifs, its costly and commodious buildings having been constructed with that idea in view. The institution is financially aided through voluntary contributions of generous hearted people, among whom are many Protestants, who delight to call and inspect the place and cheer its inmates, who seem always happy with their surroundings and the cleanliness and mild discipline to which they are subjected. As long as the "Highlands" endure the name of Bishop Hilandiere, who made its establishment possible, will be revered, and the people, regardless of creed, will do honor to his memory for paving the way for his worthy successors to found such an institution.

* "Bishop Hilandiere was born in the town of Comborg, France, May 2, 1798, at a period when the French revolution was still devastating France and the Reign of Terror was exterminating the priesthood. Being of noble birth and assured of an honorable career in civil life, he determined to join the ministry and fill up its thinned ranks; and he was ordained priest at Paris on May 28, 1825. When Bishop Bruté was in France seeking priests for this diocese Father Hilandiere met him and determined to accompany him and aid in the work of building up his diocese. He arrived at Vincennes in the fall of 1836. He was assigned to work as a parish priest and continued to labor in that position until the death of Bishop Bruté. At that time he was in France soliciting funds for the diocese. He was appointed the second bishop while in France and was consecrated at the chapel of the Sacred Heart in Paris by Bishop Janson, assisted by the bishops of Versailles and Beauvais. Soon after his consecration he started for Vincennes and arrived here November 14, 1839. He had succeeded in collecting a large sum of money in France which he used in finishing the cathedral. He was a man of liberal ideas, good judgment and foresight, and prudently purchased real estate in all parts of the diocese, which was of great value to the church. He continued to preside over the diocese until 1848, when he resigned the see and returned to his ancestral home in France. Here he lived in retirement on his estate at Triandin, until he died on May

* H. S. Cauthorn, *History of the City of Vincennes*, p. 196.



GOOD SAMARITAN HOSPITAL.



1, 1882. He never forgot the diocese of Vincennes and every year sent from his private means considerable sums of money to aid the diocese. He always expressed a wish to be buried in Vincennes. In accordance with this desire his nephew, Ernest Andrau, went to France and procured his remains and brought them to Vincennes, and on the 22d day of November, 1882, they were entombed with appropriate religious services in the basement chapel of the cathedral."

The Good Samaritan hospital, which admirably typifies its name, is built on ground purchased by the city and subsequently donated to the county; hence the institution may be said to be a joint affair. The building site was bought of the heirs of the late Cyr. Poulet for \$7,000, conveyed to the Clarke-Gibault Hospital Association, which in turn deeded it to the county conditional that the latter erect a building thereon to cost \$25,000, the same to be furnished and equipped by the said association. Plans were accordingly drawn by J. W. Gaddis, architect, and on September 6, 1906, the commissioners entered into contract with Van Hoy & Sons, of Loogootee, to erect the building for \$24,300. The structure is nicely built and beautifully located in the center of an entire block, where abundance of fresh air and light are obtainable. The grounds are provided with inviting shade trees and the lawns adorned with shrubbery and flower gardens. Many of the apartments have been furnished by private individuals as well as by fraternal and religious organizations. The operating rooms are constructed along modern and scientific lines, the best surgeons and physicians give patients, whether able to pay or not, the most prayerful attention and treatment, and the inmates are carefully looked after by a corps of professional nurses who are graduates of the prominent hospitals of the country.

A FEW FINANCIAL FACTS.

The population of the county as reported by the federal census of 1910 is 39,183. In 1900 it was 32,746. The total amount of the assessed valuation of property listed for taxation on the duplicate of 1910 is \$25,824,655. Of this amount \$9,792,410 are against property in the incorporated towns. The remaining \$16,032,245 is exclusive of corporations, and is distributed among the various townships in the following ratio: Vigo, \$2,031,610; Widner, \$1,485,560; Busseron, \$1,504,770; Washington, \$1,711,210; Palmyra, \$1,311,410; Vincennes, \$2,611,570; Harrison, \$1,677,730; Johnson, \$1,757,040; Decker, \$816,490; Steen, \$1,125,855; City of Vincennes, \$8,299,160; Monroe City, \$183,480; Bicknell, Vigo township, \$722,150; Bicknell, Washington township, \$28,650; Sandborn, \$202,780; Oaktown, \$356,190. The total amount of taxes collected for the year 1910 was \$89,020.70.

The net indebtedness of the county, included in jail bonds, hospital bonds, and bridges, on January 1, 1910, was only \$22,330.43. During the year bridges cost \$11,098; free gravel roads repairs, \$15,714.81. The total

receipts from all sources were \$174,696.21, and the expenditures were \$118,340.78, leaving a balance on hand of \$56,355.43.

GRAVEL ROADS AND STEEL HIGHWAYS.

Since the system of building gravel roads was introduced into Knox County a few years ago, more than four hundred and forty miles of these highways have been constructed. They not only enable the farmer to transport his products to market with comparative ease at any season of the year, but provide splendid avenues over which automobilists may drive in any direction and regale themselves with glimpses of the rich and fertile country and the great beauty of its landscape. The corduroy, even in the bottoms, is becoming a thing of the past, and in a few years will have gone the way of the old plank road, which has not been known in this locality for more than a half century. Fairground avenue supplanted the first, if not the only, plank road ever built in the county; and, according to the older inhabitants, it must have been a very bad thoroughfare at best. In 1850 a petition was presented to the commissioners by Samuel Judah, Alfred Smith and Thomas Bishop, asking for the privilege to use any county or state road from Vincennes to Bruceville, "by Kelso's and the tan-yard, and from Bruceville to Emison," for the purpose of building a plank road. The petition was granted and the road subsequently built to Bruceville. The enterprise, however, did not prove a good investment, and was soon after abandoned by the operators. About the same time the Lawrenceville and Wabash Plank Road Company was formed, with J. G. Bowman, president and Joseph Somes, secretary and treasurer, and for many years maintained the main thoroughfare leading from Vincennes to Lawrenceville.*

The railroads, realizing the inducements offered by Knox County and Vincennes, were seeking admission and an appropriation several years before the plank road question was agitated. The Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railway, which was then the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad, organized as a company in 1848. In 1849 the commissioners voted \$200,000 to aid in the construction of the main line of the road, to run from Cincinnati to St. Louis, a distance of 340 miles. The work of construction, however, was not

* An occurrence having connection with the Lawrenceville and Wabash Plank Road Company, interesting only to those who have been made acquainted with the peculiarities of the two men involved, is related: Wright B. Pritchett, father of Hon. James S. Pritchett, who was considered somewhat of a wag, borrowed a pet bear from Charley Graeter, Vincennes merchant, for the purpose of enlivening the scenes at a barbecue to be held in Illinois. On the way to the grove where the event was to take place, the bear became unruly and had to be shot. On learning of the fate of poor bruin, Mr. Graeter became very much agitated and demanded a large sum of money in payment for the loss of his pet. Mr. Pritchett, who expressed regret at having been compelled for his own safety to take the animal's life, soothed the wounded feelings of Mr. Graeter by pre-enting him with \$2,000 of plank road stock, which only served two months later to intensify the anguish of Mr. Graeter, when he was obliged to pay an assessment of \$800 on said stock to defray the current expenses of the company.

begun until 1851 when the road was built as far west of Cincinnati as Seymour; and was not completed until 1858.† The road was built with a six-foot gauge, but in order to accommodate its rapidly-increasing traffic, and to facilitate the movement of freight by transferring cars to other roads, the company decided to change the gauge; and on Sunday, July 14, 1871, the standard gauge was established—the time consumed in making the change being from 6 o'clock a. m. till 7 o'clock p. m.

The Evansville & Terre Haute Railroad Company (Frisco) which connects Vincennes with Chicago, Evansville and Terre Haute, was completed in 1854, although construction on same began in 1850. The Indianapolis & Vincennes Railroad (Vandalia) which is a direct route from Vincennes to the state capital, was built in 1873. The Cairo & Vincennes Railroad (New York Central) was begun in 1872 and completed in 1874.

INCORPORATIONS OF PAST AND PRESENT.

Early in the nineteenth century old Knox boasted of an agricultural society, of which John D. Hay and Symmes Harrison were the promoters. The object of the organization, which was formed in 1809, was "to encourage domestic products." The society only held one meeting. In 1826 Henry D. Wheeler organized a similar institution, which remained intact for several years, until the legislature passed a law making provision for the commissioners to aid such organizations, when a third one was established, and during the years 1836, 1837 and 1838, \$80—\$25 for the two first years named and \$30 for the third—were appropriated. There is, however, no record of any fair having been held during the time specified. On October 11 and 12, 1855, the "fifth annual fair" was held at the courthouse. The officers of this association were: James D. Williams, president; A. B. McKee, secretary, and Thomas Beeler, treasurer. The membership fee cost \$1, and the premium awards were distributed in the departments of agriculture, manufacture and mechanics. A purse of five dollars was also given for the best essay on stock raising, and one on agriculture. The following year (October 15, 16, 1856) the sixth fair was held, a mile from town on the plank road, and proved a financial success. After paying out two hundred dollars in premiums, the society had more than \$4,000 on hand, over which much dissatisfaction arose as to who should be its custodian, eventually leading to the disorganization of the concern. James D. Williams who, it will be remembered, defeated Benjamin Harrison for governor of Indiana, in 1876, was a persistent organizer of fair associations, and in 1858 formed another agricultural and mechanical society. On October 28, 29 and

† Col. C. M. Allen and C. P. McGrady were contractors for building the O. & M. road between Vincennes and Mitchell. They owned a team of large elks with which they drove back and forth on the works from Vincennes, the novel turnout always attracting no small amount of attention. Col. Allen also had the contract for constructing the greater portion of the C. & V. road.

30, 1858, this organization held its initial meetings as a district fair, at which the counties of Gibson, Warrick, Pike, Sullivan and Lawrence county, Ill., were represented by exhibits, while both Louisville, Ky., and Evansville, Ind., had notable displays among the 1,000 or more entries. Judge Law on the second day of the meeting delivered an interesting address on agriculture. Notwithstanding the great success that attended the district fair, it was suffered to become extinct after the following year, and no effort was made to revive it until 1871, when the present Knox County Agricultural and Mechanical Society, through the agency of James D. Williams, was brought to life. The organization was chartered under the laws of the state on June 29, 1871, with a capital stock of \$20,000, divided into shares of ten dollars each; and the first meeting was held on the third week in October of that year. Mr. Williams was the first president; H. A. Foulks, treasurer, and Enoch R. Steen, secretary. The society has been in existence ever since, adding to its possessions year by year, and controls an immense tract of valuable land bordering on the northwestern limits of the city. It is judiciously managed and ably officered by the following well known gentlemen: President, Ephraim C. Gilmore; secretary, James M. House; treasurer, B. M. Willoughby.

The first medical society ever formed in the state of Indiana was organized in Knox County in 1817. There is a probability that an association of a similar character had an existence prior to this date, and that its membership was composed of such eminent physicians as Dr. T. V. Tisdale, who was a resident of Vincennes as early as 1792; Dr. Samuel McKee, father of the late Archibald McKee, who was a surgeon of the United States army, and located here in 1800, and Dr. McNamara, who came here about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The medical society which came into existence in Knox County one year after Indiana had been admitted to statehood, memorialized congress to enact a law providing for the formation of medical pharmacopeia. In 1830 the second medical society was formed, of which Dr. Joseph Somes was president, and Dr. H. M. Smith, secretary and treasurer. On April 24, 1875, in response to a call issued by Dr. F. W. Beard, and other members of the medical fraternity, a large number of physicians of city and county met at the city hall and organized the present Knox County Medical Society, the object of which is for the advancement of medical science and mutual improvement. The first officers were Dr. John W. Pugh, president; F. W. Beard, secretary; Alfred Patton, treasurer. The present officers are Dr. W. H. Davenport, president, and Dr. S. C. Bryan, secretary and treasurer.

The Lancet Club, while having no direct connection therewith, does not consider an applicant eligible for membership who does not belong to the Knox County Medical Society. The Lancet is composed exclusively of physicians of Vincennes, and was founded in 1906 at the instigation of Dr. S. C. Beard, son of Dr. F. W. Beard. It is a literary, scientific, social and fraternal organization, and is unique in many respects. It has but one perma-

ment officer—the secretary—whose sole duty is to keep a record of the proceedings. The surgeon-general is the presiding officer. This position is changed every meeting, alphabetically, so that every member serves in turn in this capacity. Each surgeon-general formulates the program for his own meeting, according to his own desire, without calling any other member into consultation.

Brilliant and eminent men have always given a high tone to the medical profession of Vincennes and of the towns and hamlets of the county. The citizens of the present generation living at the Old Post can recall among the more learned disciples of Esculapius the venerable Dr. Hubbard M. Smith, Dr. Batty, Dr. Robert B. Jessup, Sr., accomplished physician and surgeon, whose talented son, Dr. Robert B. Jessup, Jr., acquired his practical knowledge in the best clinics of Europe, as a practitioner of Bellevue Hospital, New York City, and as microscopic demonstrator in the Illinois College of Medicine at Chicago; Dr. F. W. Beard, another noted physician and surgeon, whose enviable reputation is sustained by his son, Dr. S. C. Beard; Dr. J. C. Bever, Dr. John R. Mantel, Dr. Alfred Patton, Dr. W. B. Harris, Dr. W. W. Hitt, Dr. Joseph Somes, and many others, who not alone graced the profession, to which they were wedded, but were largely instrumental in advancing the scientific, educational and commercial interests of the old town.

The representatives of the medical profession in Vincennes are an intelligent class of people, industrious and provident, as a rule, and nearly all of them have accumulated largely of worldly goods. The following comprises a complete list of the present practitioners, physicians and surgeons: John B. Anderson, Richard Anderson, Schuyler C. Beard, Norman E. Beckes, Chas. W. Benham, Norman E. Beckes, Eugene P. Bowers, Claudius L. Boyd, Chas. S. Bryan, David M. Buley, Patrick H. Caney, Wm. H. Davenport, Louis J. Downey, Omar Fairhurst, Wm. H. Gilbert, Benjamin Griffith, Silas Hall, John S. Hamilton, Henry Held, James H. Hoag, Louis F. Hulsman, John G. Jones, Adam B. Knapp, George Knapp, Hubert D. McCormick, James N. McCoy, Mordecai McDowell, Thos. J. McGowen, Emanuel Masgana, Thomas H. Maxedon, Mary H. Michie, Reuben G. Moore, Harry M. Parrett, Edward F. Pielmeire, Samuel Prather, John P. Ramsey, James M. Sanders, Joseph W. Smadel, Wm. F. Smith, Jos. F. Somes, Thomas F. Spink, Clarke E. Stewart, Wilhelm T. Von Knappe, Almira C. W. B. Williamson, Colonel E. Witty.

AN ARRAY OF BRIGHT LEGAL LIGHTS.

Knox County has always been noted for the brilliancy and eminence of the men comprising her legal profession, having gained a prominence in this respect at a period even antedating the county's organization. Complete biographical sketches of all of the distinguished gentlemen identified with the bar of Knox County, as well as the medical profession, are presented in another volume of this work, and it will not be necessary to introduce them

here. However, a brief mention of some of the more prominent men connected with the bench and bar, who have long since been gathered to their fathers, would seem apropos to the history of both county and city.

The first session of the circuit court was opened on May 9, 1814, but, none of the judges putting in an appearance, court was adjourned from day to day, for three successive days, by the clerk and sheriff—and a repetition of this procedure occurred at the term of the August following. March 6, 1815, however, the court was duly opened with Isaac Blackford as the presiding judge, and Daniel Sullivan and James B. McCall as associate judges. The first practitioners at the bar of the circuit court were Henry Hurst, General W. Johnson, John Johnson, William Prince and Benjamin Furguson. The names of the presiding judges from the date last named up to the present time, with the years they served, are as follows: Isaac Blackford, March, 1815 to March, 1816; David Raymond, March, 1816 to October, 1816; William Prince, February, 1817 to April, 1818; Thos. H. Blake, May, 1818 to October, 1818; General W. Jackson, February, 1819 to October, 1819; Jonathan Doty, May, 1819 to October, 1821; Jacob Call, March, 1822 to March, 1824; John R. Porter, September, 1824 to August, 1829; John Law, March, 1830 to March, 1831; General W. Johnson, September, 1831 to September, 1832; Amory Kinney, March, 1832 to September, 1836; Elisha M. Huntington, March, 1837 to April, 1841; John Law, 1844 to 1850; Samuel B. Gookins, August 19, 1850 to August 31, 1850; Delana R. Eckles, February, 1851 to August, 1852; Alvin P. Hovey, March, 1853 to September, 1853; William E. Niblack, March, 1854 to September 1857; Ballard Smith, March, 1858 to September, 1858; Michael F. Burke, March 1859 to March, 1864; James C. Denny, August, 1864 to September, 1864; John Baker, February, 1865 to October, 1870; Newton F. Malott, February, 1871 to April, 1888; George W. Shaw, April, 1888 to November, 1900; Orlando H. Cobb, December, 1900, present incumbent.

The late Hon. William E. Niblack was conspicuous among the most able jurists of his day. He was born in Dubois County, May 19, 1823, but when quite a young man moved to Dover Hill, in Martin County. This was really the beginning of his public career, and from its inception he showed himself to be a man of marked ability and great force of character. For several terms he represented Martin County in the Indiana legislature, both in the house and senate. In 1854 he was appointed judge of this judicial circuit; and in 1858, while still on the bench, was elected to congress from this district, to fill a vacancy occasioned by the death of James Lockhart. He took up his residence at Vincennes about 1859, and for seven consecutive terms occupied a seat in the legislative halls of the national congress, defeating for election some of the ablest men of the district, among whom were Alvin P. Hovey and Judge Law, the latter for nomination. His congressional career, which ran through fourteen years, was characterized by wisdom, honesty and integrity, and won golden opinions for him as a safe and patriotic legislator among the most stalwart of his political enemies.

He was elected in 1876 as a member of the supreme court of Indiana, and again in 1882, and wore the judicial ermine with becoming grace and dignity, his decisions always being sound and logical. Soon after his election to the supreme bench, he moved to Indianapolis where he died on May 7, 1893. Surviving him are two very accomplished daughters, Misses Lida and Sada Niblack, Indianapolis, Hon. Mason J. Niblack, Vincennes, who was elected for three consecutive terms to the Indiana legislature, and each time occupied the chair of Speaker of the House of Representatives. Lieutenant Albert P. Niblack, U. S. N., and Wm. C. Niblack, Chicago, president of the Illinois Trust Company.

Hon. James C. Denny, well remembered by many older citizens of the county, and who was elected in 1872 as attorney general, received his commission of circuit judge of Knox County from Governor Morton, and was appointed as such to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Judge Burke. He was a self-made man and very popular with the masses.

Judge Newton F. Malott was a native of Lawrence County, where he was born in 1831. He was a graduate of the law department of the state university, and practiced law at Bedford for many years as a partner of the late Thomas R. Cobb. The firm moved to Vincennes in 1867, and soon acquired a large practice. Mr. Malott was first elected judge in 1870, and occupied that position at the time of his death in 1888, when the Hon. Geo. W. Shaw became his successor, to fill the unexpired term, by appointment of Governor Gray. Judge Malott was a fair and impartial jurist, and always gave every question by which he was confronted while on the bench the most careful and thoughtful consideration before rendering a judicial decision. A sketch of Hon. Geo. W. Shaw, and, also, one of the Hon. O. H. Cobb, will be found in the other volume of this work.

Space forbids an extended individual mention of the many notable men in the legal profession who gave lustre, fame and dignity to the Knox County bench and bar from territorial days down to the present time. Brief notice of some of the practitioners, however, of the past and present may not be amiss.

John Rice Jones, scholar, linguist and diplomat, to whom reference has been made in preceding chapters, was one of the prominent attorneys of early days, having been in the territory long before the close of the eighteenth century. He left a distinguished son, George W. Jones, who was a member of the United States senate from Iowa for many years. Moses Tabbs, Marylander by birth, eloquent, brainy, honest, religious, who came here in 1818, was another. He was a son-in-law of Charles Carroll, last survivor among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Charles Dewey, most eloquent of pleaders, with strong anti-slavery proclivities, quit the bar in 1836 to go on the supreme bench, and for ten years served as a jurist with marked distinction. Thomas Randolph, descendant of John Randolph of Roanoke, friend of Harrison, who labored with the latter to have the ordinance of 1787, relative to the slavery clause suspended, was among the pioneer prac-

tioners at the Knox county bar; as were the following named gentlemen: Alexander Buckner, who came here from Louisville, Ky., a member of the celebrated Buckner family. He removed from here to Missouri, and on the admission of that state into the union was chosen as one of its first United States senators. Geo. R. C. Sullivan, another Kentuckian, kin to the Buckners, and related to Elihu Stout. He married the eldest daughter of Judge Vanderburg and became the father of an interesting family. He was secretary of the territorial assembly at both meetings of the fifth session, filled the office of prosecuting attorney for this circuit, and was a strong advocate of whig doctrines. John Johnson, who became one of the first judges of the supreme court of the state, was a great orator. Moved to Princeton at the close of territorial government and became a member of the first state legislature held in Indiana. Edward A. Hannegan came to Vincennes in April, 1829; moved to Covington, Ind., and was elected to the twenty-third and twenty-fourth congress from the seventh district. While a member of the United States senate he suddenly stopped in the midst of a discussion to take cognizance of the death of Henry Clay, delivering a memorial that attracted the attention of the country at large on account of its pathos and eloquence.

As lawyer and scholar, the name of Samuel Judah will long endure. He was born in the city of New York in 1798, and came to Indiana when a very young man, locating at Merom, Sullivan County, whence he came to Vincennes. His fame as a lawyer was not confined to the state, and he was frequently consulted on many important cases beyond the borders of Indiana. He was looked upon as being the most able and learned lawyer of his day, and during the long years he devoted to the practice of his profession was busily engaged in litigations, all of which were of more or less importance. In the suits brought by the trustees to recover the township in Gibson County appropriated by the United States government for the use of the Vincennes university, he was counsel-in-chief, and instituted a number of ejectment suits against property owners who held lands purchased under an act of the Indiana legislature which authorized sales thereof for the benefit of the state university at Bloomington. In fighting for his clients, Mr. Judah waged the warfare at great personal risk, as there was much bad blood engendered in Gibson County over the controversy, and several threats were made against his life. The subsequent enactment of a law by the legislature authorizing the institution of a suit against the state in the Marion county circuit court to test the validity of title to the lands in controversy, and the state's pledge to abide the decision honorably and faithfully, were all that prevented a reign of terror, and probably saved Mr. Judah's life. Fighting heroically through the Marion circuit court, the Indiana supreme court and the supreme court of the United States, he finally established the claim of the university and recovered for the institution a judgment equal to the value of the lands sold by the state. After several years the state issued bonds to pay off the aforesaid judgment; and one-third of the bonds were retained by Mr. Judah for services rendered and expenses incurred in having the measure enacted.

Then the trustees brought suit against Judah to recover from him on the bonds he was instrumental in having issued for them, and the result was a seige of long and mystifying litigation, during which the lawyer's integrity was never assailed. Mr. Judah took a great delight in encouraging and aiding young men who were inclined to be either studious or ambitious. He was a profound Greek and Latin scholar; and many of the students who experienced difficulty in familiarizing themselves with Caesar and Homer, found these authors agreeable companions after Mr. Judah's methods of translation had been imparted to them. It was always a pleasure for him to assist a diligent student in learning hard lessons. Towards the close of his life, which ended in April, 1869, he was a great sufferer from rheumatism, which rendered him at times very irritable. Among the surviving children of his illustrious family are Mrs. Alice Clarke and Samuel B. Judah, of Vincennes; John M. Judah, of Indianapolis, and Noble B. Judah, of Chicago.

Benjamin Thomas, a native of Philadelphia, whose death occurred at Vincennes in 1863, and William W. Carr, stepson of Judge John Moore, who died in 1847, were both men of classical education. The former in 1853 served as district attorney of Indiana, and in 1856 was a law partner of Judge Goodkins of Chicago. During the administration of President Polk, Mr. Carr held the position as secretary of the territory of Oregon.

Cyrus M. Allen was one of the leading lights in the legal profession of Vincennes during the latter half of the nineteenth century. He was a native of Clarke County, Ky., but moved from there into Indiana about 1838, locating first at Paoli. Three years later he took up his residence at Petersburg, in Pike county, where he resided until 1843, when he removed to Vincennes, practicing his chosen profession and following the avocation of railroad contracting up to the time of his death. In 1870 he formed a partnership for the practice of law with the late Nathaniel Usher and Judge William R. Gardiner. Mr. Usher, who was a bright lawyer, brilliant wit and humorist, died in 1877. Judge Gardiner, the brightest and most eloquent practitioner of the Indiana bar, is living at his palatial home at Washington—a handsome, courteous, chivalrous gentleman, past three score and ten. He is well and favorably remembered by the older citizens of Vincennes, and cherishes down deep in his heart the kindest feelings for the people and the old town, to which he often refers as his home. Cyrus M. Allen was a personal friend of Abraham Lincoln, and made many eloquent speeches from the stump in behalf of the candidacy of the martyred president during the campaign of 1860. Twice he was honored with election to the Indiana general assembly, and in 1861, while serving as a representative of that body from Knox county, was chosen at the general and special sessions as speaker of the house. In 1864 he was the republican candidate for congress from this district against Judge Niblack, and was defeated by less than 1,800 votes. The canvas of the district was made jointly by these two congressional candidates, who were the warmest personal friends, but the most bitter political enemies. Allen attributed his defeat to the fact that a large number of the

soldiers, who would have cast their ballots for him, were at the front fighting rebels when the election came off. Col. Allen, through the practice of law and contracting, amassed several fortunes, but he died in 1883 in possession of very little of this world's goods. The only survivors of his immediate family are his youngest son, Louis O. Allen, and Mrs. Lloyd Allen Johnston, daughter of his eldest son, Cy. M. Allen, deceased. Mrs. Johnston is the present owner of the Allen homestead, a stately mansion at Fourth and Main, that was built by William Bonner in 1840, and in which the Allens have sumptuously entertained the votaries of social swelldom on innumerable occasions.

Hon. Henry S. Cauthorn, born in Vincennes, February 23, 1828, was a distinguished member of the Knox County bar up to the time of his death, November 16, 1905. His father was a native of Essex county, Va., and came west in 1823, locating at Lawrenceville, Ill., where he died in 1834. His mother was a daughter of Elihu Stout, who founded the *Western Sun* in 1804. After the death of his father, Mr. Cauthorn, with his mother, made his home with Mr. Stout, and became an apprentice in the printing office of his grandfather, acquiring a good knowledge of the "art preservative." In 1840 he entered St. Gabriel's College as a student, pursuing his studies in that institution until 1845, when he went to Greencastle to attend Asbury University, from which institution he graduated in 1848. While a student at Asbury he gained distinction as an essayist and orator, winning prizes in competition with fellow students within his own and from other colleges. He began the study of law at Vincennes with Benj. F. Thomas, in 1851. In 1853 he was admitted to the bar, and the following year was elected to the office of district attorney for the judicial district comprising the counties of Knox, Daviess, Pike and Martin. Subsequently he was elected clerk of the Knox circuit court, and served in that capacity for two terms, which covered the only period in which he was not engaged in the practice of law after his admission to the bar. He was an all-around lawyer, careful, accurate, painstaking; an eloquent pleader and forceful advocate, earnest, logical, impressive and serious. In 1855 he was elected city attorney, and as the head of the legal department, a year later drew up the first ordinances to become operative under the city charter. After his election as county clerk in 1859 he introduced a system of filing and indexing in the office which was adopted by many counties of the state. His books and records were models of neatness and accuracy. In 1870 he was elected a member of the general assembly of Indiana, and the voters were so well pleased with his ability as a legislator, that they reelected him again in 1872, 1878 and 1880. During the session of 1879 he was chosen speaker of the house, a position he filled with great dignity and signal ability. Besides being a brainy lawyer, a wise legislator and able parliamentarian, Mr. Cauthorn was a historian of note and writer of ability, as attested by several volumes of church and colonial history, of which he is the author. He was a democrat of the Jeffersonian school, believing that the people should always rule. He was an effective political

orator, a brilliant advocate of democratic principles, but fair, courteous, and considerate to adversaries. In 1868 Mr. Cauthorn was married to Margaret C. Bayard, and was the father of eight children, of whom seven—three sons and four daughters—are living, viz.: Henry S., Jr., Robert G., Francis, May, Clotilde, Martha and Alice (Mrs. Potter). Mr. Cauthorn was an active member of the Catholic church, and was serving on the board of trustees of St. Francis Xaviers cathedral at the time of his death, and had held the office of supreme president for Indiana of the Catholic Knights of America. He was a pleasant and entertaining conversationalist and speaker, courteous and obliging, and deservedly popular.

Hon. O. F. Baker was one of the most gifted orators at the Knox County bar—a fluent and graceful speaker and a beautiful writer, expressing his thoughts in the purest and choicest English. His delivery was impressive, his voice and gestures often dramatic. He had a keen and penetrating mind, which enabled him to rapidly form opinions and reach conclusions in theorizing on a case without apparently giving any reflection or thought to the subject-matter involved. Mr. Baker was born in Paoli, Orange County, Ind., August 4, 1843. He was educated by a private tutor, and later attended the state university at Bloomington, from which institution he graduated in 1864. In connection with his other studies, he studied law, and was admitted to the bar at Jasper, Dubois County, Ind., in 1863, while in his nineteenth year. In May, 1859, he came to Vincennes, and in 1863 was elected city attorney, an office he held for two years. In 1866 he represented Knox County in the general assembly of Indiana, but declined reelection in 1868. With the exception of two years (1869 to 1871, when he resided at Indianapolis as a law partner of Judge Samuel E. Perkins), his home from 1859 until September 11, 1888, the date of his death, was at Vincennes.

John M. Boyle was probably as well posted on municipal law as any man in Indiana. He was a diligent student and possessed a fine analytical mind; but he had a modest, retiring and unassuming disposition, not calculated to impress one with the idea that his knowledge of legal lore was profound. He, nevertheless, was an able and learned lawyer. He was a native of Vincennes, having been born here in March, 1837. His earlier education was acquired in Danville, Ky., where lived his grandfather, John Boyle, the first chief justice of the court of appeals of Kentucky. Later he graduated from the law department of the state university at Bloomington, and was admitted to the Knox County bar August 7, 1866. He was elected city attorney of Vincennes in 1871, and reelected successively until 1890. During all these years he applied himself diligently to legal questions likely to engage his official attention, and thus became thoroughly conversant and familiar with the minutest details of corporation law. He was a rebel democrat, and, while it is not generally known, was a member of Quantrell's band during a period of the civil war. He died at Hot Springs February 4, 1891, and his remains were brought to Vincennes for interment.

Hon. Thos. R. Cobb, father of Judge O. H. Cobb, who for many years represented the second congressional district in the national congress, was born near Springville, Lawrence County, Ind., July 2, 1827. He attended the country schools, taught school in the rural districts, and later attended the state university, at which institution he began the study of law in 1853, and the same year was admitted to the Lawrence County bar. He practiced his profession at Bedford until 1867, when he moved to Vincennes, which was his home up to the time of his death June 22, 1892. He was one of the leading democratic politicians of the state and figured prominently in public affairs. In 1852 he was appointed a commissioner of Indiana militia; was a member of the Indiana legislature from 1858 to 1860; a democratic candidate for elector in 1868; was chairman of the state democratic central committee in 1876; a delegate to the democratic national convention that nominated Tilden and Hendricks in 1876; was elected to the forty-fifth, forty-sixth and forty-seventh sessions of congress, and reelected to the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sessions. He gained a national reputation during his congressional career, and served on many important committees. While chairman of the committee on public lands, during the forty-seventh congress, he introduced a bill forfeiting the lands of railway corporations for non-fulfillment of contracts, by the operation of which millions of dollars were saved to the people. In the forty-fifth congress he introduced a bill, which became a law at the succeeding session, providing for the sale of a tract of land, extending from the Wabash river to the eastern limits of the city, by which the site of Harrison Park was given gratuitously to the city.

Capt. Geo. G. Reily, who acquired his military title during the civil war as an officer in the Fourteenth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, gained an enviable reputation as a soldier during his four years' service. He was among the best trial lawyers of his time. His presence was commanding, his voice musical, his speech fluent and his gestures graceful. There were no problems of a legal nature too intricate for him to solve; and as a cross-questioner he had few equals. He was a native of Martin County, Indiana, where he was born in 1841. He lived at Petersburg, Pike County, for a while, but came to Vincennes soon after the close of the war, and formed a partnership for the practice of law with the late James C. Denny. Subsequently W. C. Johnson became a member of the firm, which was well established and enjoyed a large practice. In later years Capt. Reily and James Wade Emison comprised the firm, and did a large amount of business. Capt. Reily died on February 10, 1899, leaving to his wife and daughter a handsome estate, the result of his indefatigable labors as an attorney at the bar. As a political speaker and as a pleader, Capt. Reily was attractive and interesting. He was a high-minded politician, a polite, dignified and courteous antagonist, but republican to the core. In 1884, when the district was overwhelmingly democratic, he made the race for congress on the republican ticket and received a vote that was decidedly flattering.

William H. DeWolfe was another brainy lawyer, and an accomplished and polished gentleman. He was born in Fairhaven, Mass., September 30, 1832, and came to Indiana in the fifties, locating at Petersburg. In 1863 he removed to Vincennes and began the practice of law in partnership with Judge Niblack. He had a most pleasing voice, and in the presentation of his case never lost sight of the facts by attempting an indulgence in glittering generalities. Naturally mild-mannered, he was always courteous toward the opposing counsel, and never attempted to harass or confuse a witness by resorting to tactics that had the semblance of rudeness. Mr. DeWolfe was very prominent in Masonic circles, and, at the time of his death, which occurred February 23, 1902, was a Royal Arch Mason. He was also a consistent member of the Odd Fellows lodge, having been grand master of the Grand Lodge of Odd Fellows of Indiana. An Odd Fellows lodge in Wheatland is named in his honor. He is survived by a wife and three children—two daughters and a son, Edgar H., one of the prominent young lawyers of Knox County, who became heir to his father's practice and complete library. Mrs. DeWolfe and her eldest daughter, Miss Clara, are residing in New York city. The younger daughter, Anna (Mrs. Mack), is living at Cleveland, O.

Hon. Frederick W. Viehe ranked with the leading lawyers of the state, and was frequently consulted by some of the ablest practitioners from abroad concerning legal questions of importance that came up for consideration, both in and out of the courts. He was a Prussian by birth, and was born in Westphalia, September 2, 1832. He came to America with his father's family in 1845, and took up his residence at Freelandville. Shortly afterward he moved to Vincennes, and was admitted to the Knox County bar in September, 1859. His knowledge of law was thorough, and while he made no pretensions as an orator, he had a wonderful faculty of presenting his cases to the judge and jury in the clearest, concise, and most convincing manner. For several years he practiced law in partnership with Hon. Mason J. Niblack, and amassed a fortune in pursuing his chosen profession before he had advanced far beyond the meridian of life. Viehe & Niblack, in 1884-5, were of counsel who successfully defended the will of William J. Wise, involving nearly a million dollars, which members of the Wise family not named as beneficiaries sought to have set aside. In 1870, by appointment, Mr. Viehe acted as prosecuting attorney for the twelfth judicial circuit. For several terms he represented Knox County in the house and senate of the Indiana legislature, and at one time was chosen president *pro tem* of the senate. During the construction of the present city hall, Mr. Viehe was a member of council and chairman of the committee on public buildings. As such he carefully watched the progress of the work, inspecting material and scrutinizing the workmanship, reporting for duty regularly twice a day until the building got under roof. As a reward for his faithfulness, after the job had been completed, the council set off a room in the building for his private

office, which he occupied and greatly enjoyed up to the time of his death, which occurred suddenly on November 28, 1888.

PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE KNOX COUNTY BAR.

The names of the present active members of the Knox County bar are as follows: Henry W. Alexander, Wm. McClellan Alsop, John L. Buckles, William F. Calverley, Robt. G. Cauthorn, Arthur A. Clark, Thomas B. Coulter, D. Frank Culbertson, Sherman G. Davenport, Charles E. Daily, Richard F. Davis, Edgar H. DeWolfe, John Downey, James Wade Emison, Samuel M. Emison, James Garrarde, Joseph M. Glenn, Hugh M. Goodwin, James M. House, A. Lincoln Harbison, George B. Hazleton, Wm. H. Hill, Hamet D. Hinkle, Wm. S. Hoover, Charles B. Judah, Wm. C. Johnson, W. W. Johnson, Francis A. Johnson, Clarence B. Kessinger, Harry R. Lewis, James A. McClure, Charles G. McCord, Shuler McCormick, Louis A. Meyer, Mason J. Niblack, James S. Pritchett, Wright B. Pritchett, John P. Ramsey, Sterling H. Royse, Curtis G. Shake, LeRoy M. Wade, James P. L. Weems, John Wilhelm, Benjamin M. Willoughby, Wm. A. Cullop.

Nearly all of the gentlemen above named are members of the Knox County Bar Association, which was instituted in December, 1900, with Samuel W. Williams president, and Robt. G. Cauthorn secretary. The object of the organization is for the mental improvement, advancement and protection of its members. Sociability and good fellowship are encouraged, and the annual banquet, which has been a great feature of the association since the first year of its formation, is always looked forward to with much pleasurable anticipation. At present the association is officered by William S. Hoover president, and Curtis G. Shake secretary.

OFFICIAL HEADS OF COUNTY FROM DATE OF ITS ORGANIZATION

But once, since the formation of the republican party, has the official household of old Knox been other than democratic. In 1886 the discovery of irregularities in the treasurer's office, under the regime of S. S. Hollingsworth, caused the defeat during that year of the entire democratic ticket. The republicans made a clean sweep—and for the first time in the county's history, took possession of all the offices, except representative, for which place they failed to name a candidate. The following is a list of names of the men who have occupied the various offices, not hitherto mentioned:

Clerks—Robert Buntin, 1796-1818; Homer Johnson, 1818-22; H. L. Withers, 1822-26; Homer Johnson, 1826-30; Daniel C. Johnson, 1830-33; Alexander D. Scott, 1833-38; Wm. R. McCord, 1838-51; William Denny, 1851-59; Henry S. Cauthorn, 1859-70; A. P. Woodall, 1870-74; William B. Robinson, 1874-82; Geo. R. Alsop, 1882-88; Albert G. Sloo, 1888-92; Anthony M. Telton, 1892-1900; James F. Lewis, 1900-08; Frank G. Reiter, elected in 1908, and reelected in 1910, holds over until February 24, 1916.

Sheriffs—William Prince, 1796-98; Christian Wyant, 1798-1801; William Prince, 1801-04; Daniel O. Sullivan, 1804-09; Parmenas Beckes, 1809-11; John Myers, 1811-13; Benj. V. Beckes, 1813-19; John Decker, 1819-24; Seneca Almy, 1824-30; John Purcell, 1830-35; Zachariah Pullman, 1835-39; Abraham Smith, 1839-44; Isaac Mass, 1844-48; Wm. T. Scott, 1848-52; R. J. Beeler, 1852-56; Martin Anthis, 1856-60; James Reynolds, 1860-64; James C. Lahue, 1864-68; James A. Reynolds, 1868-72; Simon Payne, 1872-76; James H. Shouse, 1876-80; James E. Kackley, 1880-84; M. L. Seddlemeyer, 1884-86; Samuel McClure, January 1, 1887 to September 27, 1887; Mordecai M. McDowell, 1887-93; John L. Buckles, 1893-97; Howard Orndorff, 1897-99; John C. Cox, 1899-1901; Louis C. Summitt, 1901-05; Abraham Westfall, 1905-09; Frank Byers, present incumbent, who has held office since January 1, 1909, was reelected in 1910, and holds over until January 1, 1913.

Auditors—S. W. Elliott, 1845-55; J. B. Patterson, 1855-63; Hiram A. Foulks, 1863-70; A. J. Thomas, 1870-74; Gerhard Reiter, 1874-82; James A. Dick, 1882-87; Clinton H. DeBolt, 1887-91; Samuel A. Jordon, 1891-95; Jas. D. Williams, 1895-1904; John T. Scott, present incumbent, by appointment filled out the unexpired term of Williams, which ended in 1906. He was subsequently elected and held office from 1906 to 1910, and was reelected to succeed himself at the November election of the year last named.

Recorders—W. D. Hay, 1814-16; John Gibson, 1816-18; Robert Buntin, 1818-22; William R. McCall, 1822-23; Samuel Dilworth, 1823-30; William Ruble, 1830-39; Nicholas Harper, 1839-51; Elihu Stout, 1851-59; R. T. Caddington, 1859-63; James Beck, 1863-67; Emanuel Meisenhelter, 1867-70; James J. Mayes, 1870-78; Fred Hall, 1878-87; John G. Bailey, 1887-91; Robt. B. Patterson, 1891-99; Frank P. Emison, 1899-1907. Guy L. Shepard, present incumbent, entered upon his duties 1907. He was reelected November, 1910, to serve until November, 1915.

Treasurers—John W. Cook, 1852-54; William Williamson, 1854-56; A. L. Cornoyer, 1856-60; John W. Cannon, 1860-62; W. W. Berry, 1862-66; Henry Knirihm, 1866-74; James Reynolds, 1874-78; Christian Hoffman, 1878-82; S. S. Hollingsworth, 1882-86; B. F. Polk, 1886-88; Geo. W. Donaldson, 1888-92; Christian Hoffman, 1892-94; Wm. T. McClure, 1894-96; Wm. H. Vollmer, 1896-1900; Chas. A. Weisert, 1900-04; Richard M. Robinson, 1904-08; Ed. W. Dreiman, present incumbent, was elected in 1908, and reelected in 1910. His present term expires in 1912.

Surveyors—Stephen Benton, United States deputy, 1805-14; Benton also held the office in 1815, and had as his assistants, Daniel Sullivan, William Harris, Robert Buntin and Arthur Henry; Samuel Emison, 1816-37; George Calhoun, 1837-54; Andrew Armstrong, 1854-57; Samuel E. Smith, 1857-59; Wm. P. Roberts, 1859-61; John Armstrong, 1861-63; C. S. Kabler, 1863-66; George Calhoun (Jas. E. Baker, deputy), 1866-70; James E. Baker, 1870-76; John C. Hennon, 1876-82; Robt. P. Mayfield, 1882-86; John C. Hennon, 1886-88; Jacob S. Spiker, 1888-90; Richard L. Bailey, 1890-02; Joseph V.

Hershey, 1892-98; John E. Rogers, 1898-1903; Elijah C. Williamson, 1903-07; John E. Rogers, 1907-11; Robert E. Lind, 1911, present incumbent.

Assessors—John N. Shepard, 1892-94; Wm. H. Pennington, 1894-98; John M. Stork, 1898-1906; Lee J. Dellinger, 1906-10, reelected for four years, November, 1910.

Coroners—Joseph Roseman, 1824-26; Daniel Wilton, 1826-28; Abraham Rodarmel, 1828-32; William Bruce, 1833-35; H. P. Brokaw, 1835-39; William Bruce, 1839-42; Isaac Mass, 1842-44; F. J. Meyers, 1844-54; J. W. Emery, 1854-56; F. J. Meyers, 1856-60; T. A. Smith, 1860-62; J. S. Westfall, 1862-64; B. V. Thorn, 1864-66; James Bliss, 1866-74; John Reiter, 1874-76; Fred. Hellert, 1876-78; Chas. M. Cornoyer, 1878-80; Ed. Cooper, 1880-84; Alfred Merchant, 1884-86; Dr. S. C. Beard, 1886-88; Dr. L. M. Beckes, 1888-92; Dr. P. H. Caney, 1892-98; Dr. H. W. Held, 1898-1902; Dr. D. M. Buley, 1902-06; Dr. Norman E. Beckes, 1906-10; Dr. Eugene Bowers, 1911, incumbent.

Superintendents Public Instruction—E. B. Milam, 1881-85; Wm. H. Pennington, 1885-89; Thomas J. Crosson, 1889-91; W. H. Johnson, 1891-93; Peter Phillippe, 1893-1903; Wm. McC. Alsop, 1903-09; Edgar N. Has-kin, 1909-11, incumbent.

Representatives—Isaac N. Eastham, 1858-60; Cyrus M. Allen, 1860-62; W. E. Niblack, 1860-64; John B. Patterson, 1864-66; O. F. Baker, 1866-68; James D. Williams, 1868-70; H. S. Cauthorn, 1870-74; Charles E. Crane, 1874-76; F. W. Viehe, 1876-78; H. S. Cauthorn, 1878-82; S. W. Williams, 1882-84; Jas. D. Williams, 1884-86; Mason J. Niblack, 1886-92; Wm. A. Cullop, 1892-94; Benj. M. Willoughby (joint), 1894-96; Basil Gaither, 1894-96; Maitland Claycomb, 1896-1900; Dr. J. L. Reeve, 1900-04; Basil Gaither, 1904-06; James Garrard, 1906-10; W. S. Racey, 1910, incumbent.

Senators—James D. Williams, 1858-66; William Turner, 1866-70; James D. Williams, 1870-74; Henry K. Wilson, 1874-78; Frederick W. Viehe, 1874-82; J. Ernest, 1882-86; W. W. Berry, 1886-90; Royal E. Purcell, 1898-1902; M. M. McDowell, 1906-10.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BEAUTY AND BOUNTY OF LAND AROUND THE OLD POST.

TOWNSHIPS AND TOWNS OF KNOX COUNTY—THEIR EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS—
OLD-TIME INDUSTRIES—MERCHANTS OF PIONEER DAYS AND THE PRESENT—
THE SHAKERS OF BUSSERON TOWNSHIP—FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN INDIANA BUILT IN PALMYRA TOWNSHIP—THE OLD MARIA CREEK BAP-
TIST CHURCH—BRIEF MENTION OF THE COMMERCIAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS
AND FRATERNAL LIFE OF BUSSERON, BRUCEVILLE, BICKNELL, DECKERS,
DICKSBURG, EMISON, EDWARDSFORT, FREELANDSVILLE, FRICHTON, MONROE
CITY, OAKTOWN, PURCELL'S, SANDBORN, WHEATLAND AND WESTPHALIA.

There is sufficient interest connected with the several townships, and the towns belonging to them, to admit of their treatment under separate heads. But, before indulging in individual descriptions of localities, it may be well to give the reader a hurried glimpse of the county in its entirety, its soil, fertility and products, with a general view of the country lying adjacent to Vincennes as the same appears towards the close of gentle spring. The landscape that environs Vincennes, with modern farms of progressive farmers, is as beautiful as a pastoral picture painted by deft hands.

The green earth sends its incense up from every hilly shrine.
From every flower and dewy cup that greeteth the sunshine.
The mists are lifted from the rills like the white wing of prayer,
They lean above the ancient hills as if doing homage there.
The forest tops are lowly cast o'er breezy hill and glen,
As if a prayerful spirit passed on nature as on men.

Beautiful scenery and husbandry are compatible. The presence of the former dissipates largely the thoughts of drudgery and feelings of unrest that come to the husbandman who plies his vocation remote therefrom. The hills, decked in vestments of green or gold, the crystal river, wending its serpentine course through woods and meads of luxurious vegetation, flowing 'neath the shadows of stately trees from which issue the sweet carols of native songsters, and a canopy of ever-changing skies, are elements that tend to cheer the heart and lighten the work of the husbandman. While scenic beauty is not necessarily essential to farming, it improves the mental

and physical condition of the farmer, imparting to his mind higher ideals of life and bringing him in closer contact with all creation, impelling him "to look up thro' nature to nature's God."

He looks abroad into the varied field
Of nature; and, though poor, perhaps, compared
With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
Calls the delightful scenery all his own.
His are the hills, and the valleys his,
And the resplendent river; his to enjoy
With a propriety that none can feel,
But who, with filial confidence inspired,
Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say, "My Father made them all."

A ride in any direction out of Vincennes in automobiles, in which vehicles it is said the people of the city and county have invested more than scant \$700,000, will reveal a net work of graveled roads having delightfully smooth surfaces. A splendid idea may be obtained by trips over these avenues of travel of the topography of the country, the richness of its resources and the unrivalled beauty of the landscape. A jaunt to the southwest and northeast will present the beautiful and fertile prairie lands, productive beyond compare with other favored localities, adorned with giant trees of dense foliage and flowers of exquisite bloom; and to the southeast a panoramic view of level country (over which the jack snipe fisks and the meadow lark sends forth his silvery notes), having here and there a range of hills partially covered with forest trees, can be obtained. Proceeding in the same direction for a mile or two, three picturesque mounds, the handiwork of a prehistoric race, rear their summits above the level plain, lending an additional charm to the physical contour of the locality. Myriads of wild flowers of variegated hues send forth cheerful greeting from woodland or glen, or salute the wayfarer from either side of the road; and across the plain, diverging from all points of the broad expanse, shiny brooks, whose sources are crystal springs, run in zig-zag lines like silver snakes through fertile fields, to lose themselves in the recesses of the shadowy woods or become hidden beneath the folds of fair Flora's resplendent robes. To the north and south, along the west bank of the Wabash, lovely driveways parallel the river for a distance of five or six miles. The route southward is considered one of the most beautiful and romantic roads leading out of the city and has been admired by thousands of visitors having occasion to sojourn at Vincennes. A friend of the writer, who has traveled from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast and visited many climes in the Old World, declares that it is as beautiful as any natural driveway he has ever seen in all his travels. To the north, for a distance of two miles, the road—canopied at certain sections by lapping of leafy branches along either side—extends beyond Robeson's Hill, a range of miniature mountains, studded with great trees, presenting a picture rare and beauti-

ful, with a faint suggestiveness of the foot-hills of an Alpine country. But the placid Wabash, more classic and picturesque than any, and more beautiful and romantic than all other rivers, while brightening and enhancing the scene of loveliness, is a dream in itself, as any one who has ever viewed the banks of either side while gliding o'er its wimpling waters in the brightness of day, or, after nightfall, when the moonbeams bathe the landscape in a flood of soft and mellow light, will attest.

Nature, science and wealth, have combined to make industrial farming in this community a calling out of which the producer not only gets big production, but which enables him to follow his vocation with profit and pleasure. The wonderful possibilities of scientific agriculture in this region cannot be exaggerated. The unprecedented crop yields are so enormous as to seem incredible to one not acquainted with the topography of the country, the climatic influences of river vapors on vegetation and the adaptability of the soil for their advantageous assimilation. One reason why the farms in this section are so attractive and productive is because they are nearly all owned by the men who till them. Diversified farming is quite extensively carried on, and as a producer of cereals, all kinds of grain and every known variety of vegetables and fruits, the soil of Knox county is exceptionally fine. Especially in the production of corn, oats, wheat, clover, rye, timothy, potatoes, tomatoes, apples, peaches, pears, plums, grapes, strawberries, etc., is this true. Alfalfa, the staple crop of Kansas, Washington, Oklahoma and Texas, can be raised in many sections of the county, where the ground has been properly fertilized, almost as well as in any of the states named, as has been demonstrated by William H. Brevoort, one of the largest land owners in the county, by practical experiments on several of his farms just below the city limits. Live stock farming, too, can be, and is, profitably carried on here to a very large extent. The natural water courses running through, and the smaller streams traversing or lying within the confines of the farming districts, and the excellent quality of grass for grazing purposes, which grows abundantly way into the winter months and remains green and nutritious almost the year round, are advantages which make the business at once inviting, pleasurable and profitable. Cattle, sheep, hogs and poultry are raised in unlimited quantities in Knox county, and for all of them there is always a ready home market. Some of the finest-bred stock to be found in the country is raised in the pastures and on the fields adjacent to Vincennes.

And, when it comes to melons, the growers of this luscious fruit have the "pumpkin growers" decidedly outclassed. The industry of melon growing in Knox county has attained gigantic proportions. The quantity of watermelons and cantaloupes—all of which are of superior quality—produced in this county is so great that when the crops are gathered the shippers frequently find it difficult to secure cars sufficient for their transportation. The Rocky Ford melons of this vicinity are prime favorites with the epicures of New York City, and the swell clubs and cafes of the East-

ern metropolis have acquired the habit of underlining on their menu cards "Knox county nutmegs," for which they receive handsome prices. The North and East are large consumers of the melons grown in this locality, and the railway stations at Vincennes, Decker, Purcell, Oaktown, Emison, Bicknell, Edwardsport and Wheatland are scenes of unusual activity when the melon season is on. The profits which accrue from the cultivation of melons are said to be enormous, amounting in the aggregate to more money in proportion to the time and labor expended, and the extent of acreage cultivated, than can be realized from the yield of any other product. And the industry, it might be said, is still in its infancy.

Knox county has almost as many varieties of soil as the products thereof. The high lands are abundantly rich and mellow, adapted to the culture of any crop, and conform admirably to every kind of farm uses. The vast expanse of bottom lands which skirt the Wabash, White and Duchee rivers, is especially adapted to corn, wheat and hay, which yield large crops during seasons of severest drought, when vegetation in other localities withers and dies from lack of moisture. There is really nothing which grows to sustain life of man or beast that can not be raised in abundance in this section, with less labor and less cost than the same can be produced elsewhere. The unexcelled railway facilities, which enable the farmer to get to any market he desires, without having to see a middle man; the excellent system of gravel roads that penetrate the very heart of the farming country, maintained in fine condition the year around, are advantages which are not to be given secondary consideration in summing up the many conveniences of living "down on the farm." The rural free delivery of the mail to all sections, and the services of two complete telephone systems, one of which is the product of home capital and enterprise, are other essentials not to be lightly considered in contemplating the advantages enjoyed by the farming community.

The unrivalled agricultural resources of the county of which Vincennes is the seat of government, have not only sustained but have builded up the thriving city. Some of the wealthiest citizens, in fact many are, or have been, owners of farms from which they derived their wealth. These men have kept pace with every advanced step made in the direction of progressive agriculture. While none of them are farmers in a literal sense, nearly all of them own farms and personally look after the cultivation of them, for the reason that the industry of farming, in this locality especially, is considered a science as well as a profession, besides an interesting study, an inviting avocation, and has been to them the royal road to wealth.

The major portion of all farming land in the county (with the exception of localities where mounds and hills occur) is generally level or gently rolling, with sufficient slope to afford first-class drainage, and so smooth that it will admit the passage of automobiles over its surface with comparative ease. It has few waste places to be made green for the reason that nearly every acre of it is in cultivation or covered with a growth of valu-

able forest trees. Farm life here is made pleasant as well as profitable by congenial surroundings which unite a people in bonds of mutual interest and make a community of happy homes. The progress of the farming communities in this section has kept pace with the progress of the world. The farmers hereabout know what constitutes scientific farming, and evidently possessed this knowledge before the study of agriculture was taught as a science in the advanced institutions of learning, for fortunes, large and small, have long since been gathered by them from the fruits of the soil. And yet there are no wild speculations here, growing out of the sale of desirable farms, like there are in localities where undesirable farms are sold, in the so-called virile and growing west, where land values, as well as the land itself, are fictitious. The best farms are bought and sold here for the best prices, and the purchasers hail principally from the west, while not a few are from the east and north. The unsurpassed fertility of the soil; a climate adapted to the highest crop production, and comfortable for human habitation; social, religious and educational advantages, such as are afforded by up-to-date schools and churches; the number of good-sized towns in proximity to the farms, and the splendid markets furnished by Vincennes for everything raised on the farms; a pleasing rural landscape, the beauties of which never become monotonous, but are always pleasing and refreshing, are a few of the manifold features having magnetic power to bring to this locality people who are seeking agricultural districts for agreeable homes and a comfortable competence. Good farms can be had as low as thirty and as high as three hundred dollars per acre.

In proportion to the area of territory she occupies, Knox county raises a greater quantity of wheat and corn than any other county in the state, the average yield of the acres in actual cultivation being greater than that of any other county. It is not a very uncommon thing in favorable seasons to gather eighty-five, ninety-five, and even one hundred and ten, bushels of corn from one acre of ground. On a farm two seasons ago, a sixty acre farm within two miles of Vincennes, totaled over a hundred bushels of corn to the acre. Conditions of climate and soil are very favorable to wheat raising, and from forty-five to fifty-three bushels of this cereal to the acre is not considered as a very extraordinary yield when the harvest days have been preceded by a season of winter weather conducive to health and growth of the tender plant. Other crops fare as well and yield as abundantly here as hay, corn and wheat. The atmospheric conditions of the locality, and the chemical formations in the soil arising from alluvial deposits of the streams, and from other causes, characteristic of this region, are responsible for the wonderful productiveness of the soil. Notwithstanding the ground in nearly all of the farming districts has been worked more or less for years, there are evidences of unanalyzed agents in the air and earth which impart to cultivated lands elements of fertility and productiveness equal to that possessed by virgin soil in the less favored localities. Hence, all products yield here abundantly, and the time and cost of

fertilizing the lands for cultivation are materially lessened on account of these natural favorable conditions.

The soil of Knox county is adapted to horticulture as well as agriculture. An impressive illustration of this can be had in a visit to the beautiful nursery farms of either Mr. Simpson or Mr. Reed, both of which adjoin each other and are located about three and a half miles southeast of the city, where flowers, trees and shrubs, natives of almost every clime under the sun, grow profusely, and are attractive features of two of the handsomest country homes any one having a taste for the beauties of landscape gardening or artistic architecture could wish for. The adaptability of the soil for flower culture has been demonstrated by W. A. Reiman, florist, who grows every year from 300,000 to 500,000 effusions of white, pink and crimson peonies from an open field of 12½ acres in one of the rich agricultural localities of the county. This wilderness of floral beauty is located about four miles northeast of Vincennes, and all lovers of nature as developed in flowers who have never seen it can form no adequate conception of its rarity and loveliness.

BUSSERON TOWNSHIP.

The township of Busseron, named in honor of Francois Busseron, lies in the northwestern corner of the county. It is bounded on the north by Sullivan county, on the east by Widner township, from which it is separated by Maria Creek, on the south by Washington township, with Maria Creek as the dividing line, and on the west by the Wabash river. It contains about 33,000 acres of rich farm lands, nearly all of which are under cultivation. The Wabash river and the Evansville & Terre Haute railroads are the avenues over which merchants, manufacturers and farmers receive and ship products and merchandise. The soil is fertile, and large quantities of corn and wheat, melons and tomatoes are raised in the township. The lands along the Wabash are generally low and level, subject to overflows, and produce big yields of corn. The elevated lands consist largely of prairies, of which Shaker Prairie is vaster in area and more noted than any other rural section in the county.

THE SHAKERS—A QUEER SECT.

The name Shaker Prairie was given the tract because of the fact that the Shakers—a queer sect of Christians—were its original owners. They were called Shakers on account of a peculiar agitation, or movement, displayed in dancing, which was a characteristic phase of their religious exercises. The proper name of the order, however, was the "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing." The denomination had its origin about the year 1770 in England, after which date it was confined to the United States. Originally the Shakers were an off-shoot from the Friends, or Quakers, and held about the same ideas in common with these

religionists; but subsequently they completely changed their spiritual views, both as to their theological creed, their modes of living and their methods of worship, all of which were at once peculiar and greatly at variance with their former practices. What few Shakers remain orthodox to the faith, hold that there is an eternal Father and Mother in the Deity, the heavenly parents of all angelical hosts and human beings; that Christ also is dual (Jesus being the male and Mother Anna Lee, founder of the sect, the female Christ). They believe that there are four cycles of human religious progress, and, therefore, four heavens and four hells, the first three of which are places of probation; that non-resistance, no participation in any earthly government, a community of property, and a life of celibacy and virgin purity, are of prime obligation to every true believer. The advent of the first disciples in the west occurred towards the close of the eighteenth century, when Archibald Meacham and Issachar Bates, from the mother church at Lebanon, Mass., visited Ohio and founded a church. About the year 1808, they came into Knox county, followed by some of their converts, and, after purchasing 1,300 acres of land from Robert Huston and Joseph Worthington, proceeded to establish a church. Among the more prominent of the first arrivals were William Brazleton, Henry Miller and Robert Gill, the latter having been a minister of the Methodist church in South Carolina. The converts who came with the first missionaries to this locality were George Liger, Joseph Johnson, Daniel Redman, William Davis and William Douglass, who joined the fold in Ohio, and who were members of the first board of trustees. The Kentuckians among the colony were James Hopkins, John McCombs and John Hancock. Among the prominent men of the county who identified themselves with the faithful immediately upon the establishment of the colony were William Price, Sr., James, Benjamin, and William Price, Jr., Robt. Huston, Jos. Worthington, John Edington, Daniel Rankin, John Knox, David Lowell and John Jenkins. The latter was the last survivor of the faith which was imparted on Shaker Prairie and died at Carlisle in 1890. At one time the Shaker colony is said to have consisted of 400 members. The first houses of worship and for living purposes were constructed of hewn logs, and built double, in order that the women, who lived and toiled and worshipped separately from the men, could occupy the ends of each building respectively. The first house dedicated to Sunday worship was a log structure about 50x50 feet square, built in 1809 on land owned by Robert Gill, on the upper end of Shaker Prairie, which is now a part of Sullivan county. The Indian troubles, which grew alarming in 1811, put the Shakers to flight, and they proceeded overland to Kentucky with their stock and a hundred and fifty wagons, leaving their lands and property unprotected. After reaching Kentucky soil, which was accomplished by crossing the Ohio river at Henderson, hundreds of the flock renounced the faith and returned. The remainder divided, some going to South Union, in Logan county, Ky., some taking up their abode at Pleasant Hill, Mercer county, while others pro-

ceeded up the river, crossed the Ohio at Cincinnati and formed a colony at Union village, in Warren county, Ohio, while a smaller contingent went to Brown county, Ohio, and established a church. In 1813 they returned, and removed their church building to a new tract of land, which was entered by William Davis, Adam Gallagher and Nathan Pegg, trustees, being the same which was purchased in 1837 by the grandfather of Wythe Sprinkle, of Vincennes, and Dr. Welcome Sprinkle, Oaktown, and which for many years was the country seat of their father, the late John H. E. Sprinkle. In 1820 the Shakers erected a two-story frame building, fifty feet long by forty feet wide, the upper part of which was occupied by the elders, and the lower floors which, by means of swinging doors, could be thrown into one apartment, used for religious worship, or dancing, which was the chief part of the ceremony. A few years later a brick building, for residence purposes, was constructed. The bricks entering into its construction were molded on the ground, and the sandstone used for foundations was quarried from the banks of the Wabash river. The dimensions of the building were fifty feet long by fifty feet wide, three stories high, with a basement. The arrangement of the first story was such that the hall and two of the larger rooms, by swinging back the doors to the walls, could be thrown into one room, which was used for the evening dance of devotion. The first floor was also arranged with sleeping apartments for twenty-four people. Similar arrangements on the second floor provided bedrooms for the accommodation of twenty-eight people, and the third story was supplied with sleeping compartments for eight persons—the house being ample to accommodate sixty people with a residence and still permit the men to live separate from the women. This novel house was razed in 1875, by the late John H. E. Sprinkle, who made use of the material in constructing a new home on the site of the old land-mark, which was found to be in a good state of preservation. The framework of the old house was black walnut—except the joists, which were burr oak. The streamers were 12x12 inches, fifty feet long and dove-tailed. The studdings were 3x5 inches, 18 feet long, and the spaces between them were filled with brick and mortar. Burr oak planks, which had been cracked on the surface to retain plaster, were used instead of laths on the walls and ceilings. The Shakers lived as a commune, with a male and female overseer. They tilled the soil, cultivated orchards, made wine, distilled whiskey, manufactured all their wearing apparel, and were apparently satisfied with their lot. With the disposal of their property, in 1837, nearly all of the colony removed to either Kentucky or Ohio. No effort was made by the few who remained to revive the society, and Shakertown, which they founded, like the religion they established on Shaker Prairie, soon became a thing of the past.

OAKTOWN.

Oaktown, on the E. & T. H. (Frisco) Railroad is the most important settlement in Busseron township. It was originally laid out for George

Bond by Samuel E. Smith, surveyor, in May, 1876. A month later Shepard's addition of fifty lots was added, and in October of the same year Watts Bond's parcels were made part of its domains. Mr. Bond built the first grist mill in the town, and is one of the pioneer merchants of the place. The town was duly incorporated December 6, 1909. It is a prosperous and growing community, and has quite a number of first-class business houses and up-to-date merchants, prominent among whom are: The Oaktown Mercantile Co., Latshaw & Co., hardware dealers; Rush L. Bond, grain dealer, who operates two big elevators, and is also engaged in general merchandising on a large scale; W. B. Wolfe, Jr., commission merchant and coal dealer; William Hollingsworth, D. S. Phillipps, meat market; H. F. Hoffman, queensware and stationery; Blackburn Bros., poultry; Joe Wallace, John Benefiel, Bert Blann, barbers; D. D. Shepard, M. A. Rockett & Co., restaurateurs and confectioners; Polk Bros., H. J. Shepard, live stock dealers; J. B. Sartor, Oaktown Elevator Co., grain and coal; F. M. Summers, J. P. Polk, livery; J. H. Snapp, Jr., hardware and implements, stoves and furniture; Sullenger Bros., tanners; M. R. Jones, manager Klemeyer Lumber Co.; Stotling Bros., blacksmiths and woodworkers; C. J. Polk, General repair shop; W. Bond Bratton, general merchandise; Mrs. Ida M. Sprinkle, millinery; W. A. Taylor, lawyer and insurance; William Collins, druggist; Dr. W. B. Sprinkle, Dr. J. S. Lisman, Dr. M. A. Johnson, Dr. Ashby, Dr. Jones, Dr. R. E. Trout, physicians and surgeons; Dr. C. A. Lambdin, dentist.

Oaktown has a splendid high school building, and three churches, viz: First Christian church, Rev. D. A. Hanna, pastor; Church of Christ, of which Elder O. M. Davis has charge, and the Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. T. M. Brimlow, pastor. Rev. Brimlow also officiates at the M. E. church at Emison. The Oaktown Christian church was organized in 1886, under the ministry of B. C. Sherman. The first elders were Roman Salters, Hampton Orndorf and Wm. Bifer. Geo. H. Bond and wife and B. C. Bond are the only surviving charter members. The present church, which cost more than ten thousand dollars, has a membership of over three hundred.

The Oaktown bank is an institution that is an index to the thrift of the people of that community. It was established in November, 1902, as a private concern, with a capital stock of \$12,000. On February 10, 1908, it was reorganized as a state bank, with a capital of \$40,000. Its resources and liabilities are \$161,485.70, and the total deposits at last report amounted to \$117,434.28. The present corps of officers, practically the same who were installed when the bank first came into existence, are: W. A. Polk, President; W. W. Osborne, Vice President; L. L. Blann, Cashier; Theo. W. Osborn, Assistant Cashier; C. F. Polk, Second Assistant Cashier.

Oaktown Lodge, No. 474, F. and A. M., was organized under dispensation June 14, 1873, and chartered October 17, 1874. The first officers of the order were T. F. Townsley, W. M.; W. H. Wise, S. W.; A. B. Pike, J. W.; W. H. Bell, Treas.; J. W. Pugh, Secy.; David Williams, S. D.; J. M.

Shepard, J. D.; James Williams, Tyler. The present officers are C. C. Sproatt, W. M.; H. T. Sartor, S. W.; Robt. J. Crawford, J. W.; C. H. Schulze, Treas.; J. T. Stalcup, Secy.; J. B. Sartor, S. D.; C. J. Polk, J. D.; L. E. Jordon, Tyler. The membership is forty-eight. Caldwell Lodge, No. 271, I. O. O. F., was instituted November 21, 1866, on petition of J. H. E. Sprinkle, H. J. Smith, W. R. Miller and J. W. Benefield. The order is in a flourishing condition and has a membership of fifty-five. The Ura Camp of Royal Neighbors, instituted December, 1898, is another thriving fraternal society. Its present officers are Georgia Snyder, P. O.; Mary Wolfe, O.; Minnie Blackburn, V. O.; Amanda Wolfe, Recorder; Mattie Bond, Receiver; Maud Smith, Marshal; Emma Miller, Chancellor; Ethel Duggins, Inner Sentinel; Flo Miller, Outer Sentinel; Junita Bond, J. H. Asher, Ida Sprinkle, Managers.

The town board is composed of the same gentlemen who took official charge of Oaktown when the charter was granted, and consists of the following members: I. N. Townsly, J. P. Polk and Granville Blackburn.

BUSSERON.

This hamlet had an existence before Oaktown. It is about twelve miles north of Vincennes, on the E. & T. H. railroad, about the centre of Busseron township, and was laid out in 1854 by Geo. Calhoun, for T. P. Emison, J. A. McClure and W. W. Harper, and contains twenty lots each 100 feet square. While it has improved but slowly in recent years, it is nevertheless to-day an important shipping point for live stock and farm products.

EMISON.

The site for this village was laid out by Samuel A. Emison in May, 1867, and the original plat (made by C. S. Kabler, surveyor) provides for twenty-six lots of 120 feet square. It is also on the E. & T. H. railroad, has several shops and stores, church and graded school, and one very large general store, conducted by S. Winkler & Co. Large quantities of grain and other farm products are shipped from Emison.

DECKER TOWNSHIP.

This township, which is noted for the fertility of its soil, and which produces immense crops of corn, wheat, clover and hay, to say nothing of melons, comprises between forty-five and fifty square miles. It is located in the southern extremity of the county, and occupies a point between the Wabash and White rivers, being bounded on the north by River Duchee and Johnson township. It was named in honor of Luke Decker, who was a member of the first territorial grand jury and who came from Virginia to Knox county with his family about 1781. The township, which is not without a number of swamps and bayous, has three large bodies of water known as Cypress, Dan and Claypool lakes (ponds), the two last named being very attractive

fishing places. Dick's Hills and Claypool Hills are also among its extraordinary formations. On a farm of I. Ward Frey, about two miles west of Decker Station, the side of a hill, adjoining Dick's Hills, affords an entrance to Worth's cave. This cave is two stories high, having two rooms, side by side, the floors of which are ten feet above the surface of the entrance floor. Lately but few explorers have entered the cavern, which in years gone by was made an objective point by many visitors, who came from abroad and left indestructible evidence of their visits in the names they carved on the walls.

Red Cloud, Orville and Little Rock are among the more important settlements of the township. None of these have as yet attained the dignity of a town, although all of them can boast of having had, or having, postoffices.

Among the pioneers of the township who came after the advent of the Decker family were James A. Dick, for whom Dick's Hills were named, and Thomas Dick, founder of Dicksburg. Prominent among the older residents were Henry Crow, Jacob and Robert Jacobus, David Jennings, Robert Warth, David Crack, John Ramsey, Thomas Washburn, Jeremiah McNeeley, Jacob Anthis, Aquilla Ramsey.

DICKSBURG.

Dicksburg, which is now extinct, was the first town established in Decker township. The land on which it was located was conveyed by Thomas Dick to Andy Purcell in December, 1836, and consisted of ninety-three lots, of which less than one-half were sold. The town lay on the west bank of White river and the streets, which were numbered First, Second and Third, paralleled the stream, while Purcell, Hill and Coddington streets respectively, ran at right angles. The encroachments of White river by which nearly all of the town was swept away at one time, caused its subsequent disappearance. During the freshet in the early autumn of 1875, a graveyard located near the former site of the town was engulfed by the angry floods.

HARRISON TOWNSHIP.

This township—one of the largest in the county—was laid out in 1801, and was named in honor of General William Henry Harrison. It is located in the southeastern part of the county, bound on the north by Palmyra and Steen townships, on the east and south by White river and on the west by Johnson township. The draining of Montour's pond about twenty years ago, added thousands of acres to the township's farming lands, which are very fertile. There are a few extensive ponds remaining, however, notably Long, Half Moon and Hitt's. Leonard R. Snyder was among the first settlers, and settled on a donation owned by Chas. Thorn in 1804. In 1817 he built the first horse mill in the county. He was the father of John, David, James, Samuel, Martin, Solomon and Andrew. Among the other early settlers whose descendants became prominent in the affairs of the commu-

nity were John Stork, John Hoffman, James Johnson, Solomon Teverbaugh, Adam Like, Fred. Myers, Elias Myers, Henry Summitt, Martin Goldman, who is said to have died at the age of 108, and David Vankirk. The late Governor James D. Williams was for many years a resident of Harrison township. In 1836 he built a water mill on Pond creek. As early as 1790 there was a grist and saw mill on Mill creek. At a much later date John Patterson built a water mill on Wilson creek, and subsequently Isaac Thorn built one on the same stream.

MONROE CITY.

This place, before its incorporation, December 12, 1874, was known by the cognomens of Nashville, Lovely Dale and the City of Three Names. It was laid out August 29, 1856, by W. C. Davenport, on land conveyed by Monroe Alton and wife to Alexander Lesley. In October, 1856, Geo. Shouse's addition was made to the town, and Martin's addition was made in 1871. The place is surrounded by a rich farming country, and notwithstanding it is neither on a railroad or navigable stream, has enjoyed a prosperous and healthy growth. Dennis P. Coonrod, whose death occurred only a few years ago, was one of the first merchants of the town. Albert Smith, James Lee and John Harrell were engaged in business at Monroe City before it was incorporated. Among the other commercial and professional men of an early day were: Merchants—Vankirk & Simpson, John R. R. Snyder, M. J. Stafford, Joseph Summitt, B. V. Alton, Emanuel Reel and A. Helderman. Physicians—N. M. Benham, J. H. Barnett, N. Young, Daniel Trent, W. T. Martin. The Monroe City State Bank, established several years ago, is a desirable feature to the commercial life of the community, which is represented by up-to-date merchants, among whom are the following: Dry goods and general merchandise—W. W. Claycomb, Jas. Junken, John Ketterman, Ready Bros., Soden & Wood, Geo. Like, F. Ridgely. Hardware—Thos. J. Reily, Blann & Junken. Blacksmiths—Welton Bros., J. W. Gibson. Furniture and Undertaking—Shugert & Co., Blann & Donaldson. Flouring mill—Walter Myers. Saw mill—P. C. Miley. Livery—Wm. Hazleton. Drugs—Sacray Drug Co. Physicians—C. L. Belcher, L. L. Gilmore, J. M. Goldman, A. W. Myers, J. W. Trueblood, E. C. Vontrees.

The Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Christian churches have fine houses of worship and large congregations. The fraternal orders are also progressive. Monroe City Lodge, No. 548, F. & A. M., was organized June, 1878, and its first officers were W. C. Wilmore, W. M.; J. N. Hart, S. W.; William Madden, J. W.; D. B. Vankirk, Treas.; Harvey Baldwin, Secy.; A. C. Falls, S. D.; J. H. Barnett, J. D. Its membership is about fifty. Lovely Dale Lodge, No. 566, I. O. O. F., was instituted in February, 1869, with the following officers: E. N. Hall, N. G.; J. J. Lasswell, V. G.; D. B. Vankirk, Sec.; David Miller, Treas. The other lodges are Rebeckah, an auxilliary to the Odd Fellows, Modern Woodmen and Ben Hur.

For several years there has been a contention between the First Presby-

terian and Cumberland Presbyterian churches of Monroe City, resulting in much expensive litigation on both sides. The Cumberland branch of the denomination has no regular house of worship, but is seeking, through the courts to acquire the church built by the members who belong to the first congregation.

A hack line, established many years ago, and two lines of telephones, bring Monroe City and Vincennes in daily communication. In all probability it will be only a short time until an interurban railroad will connect both places. The population of Monroe City is about 800.

JOHNSON TOWNSHIP.

This township was named in honor of Thomas Johnson, a native of Kentucky, who was born in 1775 and came to Knox County about 1800. He was the father of the late Thomas Johnson, "the king of Johnson township," who died in 1901, possessed of large quantities of farming lands, over which considerable litigation was had by his heirs, beginning shortly after his death. The township was organized between the years of 1812 and 1814. It is bounded on the north by Vincennes, on the east by Harrison, on the south by White river and Decker and on the west by Vincennes township. The Evansville & Terre Haute railroad, traversing the township in the centre, forms a dividing line between the northern and southern portions thereof. The land is generally low and marshy, except in the eastern section, where the picturesque Chimney Pier Hills rear their summits. This locality is famed for the fine flavored cantaloupes it produces. Among the pioneer settlers were Frederick Mail, George Catt, Samuel N. Wilson, Andrew Purcell, John Pea, James S. Moyes, William Flowers, Henry Barkman, Isaac Coon, John Dubois, John Purcell, John Coon and Jacob Pea.

George Catt built on his farm in 1820 the first mill in Johnson township. It was operated by horse power, and only had a capacity of ten or twelve bushels per day, the flour being bolted by hand. Customers who brought their grist to be ground had to spend two or three days waiting for the grain to be converted into flour or meal. As a rule they camped out while enjoying the wait, but sometimes were taken care of by friends. Jacob Pea built the second mill, on the banks of River Duchee. This was run by water power, and was both a grist and saw mill, from which considerable lumber was hauled to Vincennes. Isaac Coon, Jas. Becker and John Drennon, who were distillers on a small scale, also operated mills on River Duchee.

DECKERTOWN.

The principal settlement of Johnson township is Deckertown, designated generally as Deckers. It was laid out by Isaac Decker in June, 1869, when forty-two lots, each 145x75 feet, were platted. In April, 1875, Wm. M. Anderson's Addition was made to the town, and in September, 1875, his second addition was added. In 1876 Albert C. Shreve's addition was made.

It is located on White river, on the line of the Evansville & Terre Haute railroad, and is an important shipping point for both Decker and Johnson townships. A large area of the farming lands adjacent to the town is devoted to the cultivation of melons, and during the summer season Deckers is always a very busy place. It has a graded school, Methodist and Baptist church and several secret organizations. The business community is represented by the Farmers and Merchants Bank; D. L. Bonner, general store; John Briner, Jr., restaurant; James Brown, general store; Joe Carie, veterinary; Decker Milling Co., C. A. Chambers, manager; Decker Hardware Co.; Frederick & Son, restaurant; Humphrey & Purcell, general store; A. J. Jordon, elevator; John McCoy, blacksmith; Mrs. Ella McGowen, hotel; A. C. Sisson, drugs; J. D. Sisson, meat market; John Seibel, coal; Turner Bros., general store. The local physicians are Dr. Royse Davis, Dr. L. Hoover, Dr. E. F. Small.

PURCELL'S.

Purcell's, a station on the Evansville & Terre Haute railroad, is in the northern part of Johnson township, within a few miles of Deckers, and only a short distance from St. Thomas, a thickly settled community, which is adorned by a handsome Catholic church and parsonage, and a commodious two-story building, occupied by the Benedictine Sisters, who conduct a parochial school which is largely attended by the children of the parish. The church property is quite extensive and kept in splendid repair. Lease Werker is the merchant prince as well as the postmaster of the hamlet. Great quantities of melons are grown around Purcell's, which is also the receiving depot for grain—Albert Oexman having recently constructed capacious elevators there, which are now operated by John W. Emison and Wm. J. Nicholson.

PALMYRA TOWNSHIP.

Palmyra township, which occupies nearly the centre of Knox County, is shaped almost perfectly square, and embraces more than 20,000 acres, of which the greater quantity are under cultivation. The soil is capable of producing very large yields of wheat, corn, clover and timothy. It is strictly an agricultural centre, and while it was known as early as 1800 as a township, it has but one town—Frichtown, a busy station on the B. & O. S. W. railway. Some of the wealthiest farmers of the county are residents of Palmyra township. The Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern railroad penetrates its central part, separating it in two sections of almost equal division. The first settler was probably Isaac Purcell, who came to the county in 1790 from Virginia and subsequently settled on location 28 in Palmyra township. Noah Purcell, a brother, also settled on the adjoining donation about the same time. Andrew Purcell settled in the south part of Johnson township, the present site of Purcell Station, and George W. Purcell, who was murdered at his home on the night of December 26, 1862, by four masked men, who

drove through his brain a butcher knife he was using in mending baskets when the murderers entered his house, came to Palmyra early in the nineteenth century, and located on the (Fox) farm where he met his tragic death. William Williams, who was with Harrison at Tippecanoe, was one of the earliest settlers of the township, and came from Virginia to Knox County in 1800. Samuel Emison was among the pioneer settlers, and was a neighbor of George Purcell. He was a good surveyor as well as a practical farmer. John Hogue also lived in the same community with the Purcells, and David and John McCord were among the earlier settlers of Palmyra, as were Samuel Langdon, Truman Marks, John Parker, Jacob Ruble, Daniel Wampler, Martin Rose, Daniel Snyder, Joseph Hogue, Abraham Steffy, Sam O. Johnson, Henry K. Wise. Mr. Wise conducted a tan yard on the farm where George Patterson now lives, and subsequently on the McKinney farm, and manufactured saddles for the United States government. He took his products to Fort Dearborn, at Chicago, on pack mules. On one visit to Chicago he was offered a large tract of land in the Windy City for a few dozen saddles, but declined the offer.

THE UPPER INDIANA CHURCH.

The First Presbyterian church north of the Ohio river, and west of the Ohio State line, was organized in Palmyra township in the year 1806, and is known as the Upper Indiana Church.

In 1807 the Rev. Samuel Thornton Scott, who was pastor of the Mount Pleasant and Indian Creek churches in Kentucky, was commissioned by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church to go into Indiana Territory and labor at Vincennes and vicinity as a missionary for a period of three months. On October 10, 1808, he severed his relations as pastor with the churches named in Kentucky and came to Knox county to take charge of the Upper Indiana church. He was the first Presbyterian minister to settle in Indiana, and the only one of that faith who lived within the confines of the territory up to 1815, when Rev. John M. Dickey, a licentiate, removed to Washington, Daviess County, to take charge of a church which Mr. Scott had organized in August, 1814. Under the direction of the Upper Indiana church three preaching points were established—one at Vincennes, one six miles southeast of Vincennes, and the other six miles northeast. The court house at Vincennes for many years was a designated place for preaching. At the other two places log houses of worship were built, being the first Presbyterian churches erected on Indiana soil. The preserved records of the Upper Indiana church disclose that at communion services held in August, 1812, fifty-four communicants were present. In 1814 the entire membership of the church embraced seventy souls. Mr. Scott died on December 30, 1827, and in May, 1828, the Rev. Samuel R. Alexander became his successor. At the time of the induction of Mr. Alexander as minister but four members of the church lived in Vincennes, the great body of com-

municants belonging to what were known as the Upper and Lower congregations. About the year 1832, the membership having been materially increased at Vincennes, it was deemed expedient to organize a separate church. In 1836 the Upper Indiana congregation built a new brick church two miles nearer to Vincennes than the old log structure. The Upper and Lower congregations continued to worship as a unit until 1841, when they became separate organizations and were recognized by the presbytery under the titles of the Upper and Lower Indiana churches. Both congregations, however, remained under the ministry of Rev. Alexander, who continued his pastorate until 1857, when, owing to enfeebled health, he was relieved of his charge. The Upper Indiana church is located on the Bruceville road, about four miles north of Vincennes. The Lower church is on the Monroe City road, about five miles east of Vincennes. Both churches have jointly a membership of three hundred and thirty. Rev. H. M. Rogers is the officiating minister for both congregations, which worship in attractive churches, having beautiful surroundings.

FRICHTON.

Frichton, located five and one-half miles east of Vincennes, has not yet attained the dignity of a town, is one of the important small stations on the B. & O. S. W. railroad. It is in the midst of a rich agricultural district, is the receiving depot for the products of Palmyra township, which are shipped direct therefrom to the best markets furnished by the east and west. In its immediate vicinity are located quite a number of stock farms, among which are those of John Bierhaus, Lee Johnson and Langdon Bros. A capacious grain elevator is among the principal features of the hamlet, which also has a general store, conducted by Marshall Bowman, a blacksmith shop, a church, Odd Fellows and Modern Woodmen lodges, and a competent physician, in the person of Dr. L. O. Church. Within a quarter of a mile of the place stands the Palmyra Presbyterian church, at whose shrine many of the inhabitants are worshipers, and two and one-half miles north-east is the Royal Oak Presbyterian church.

STEEN TOWNSHIP.

This township comprises little more than 21,000 acres, consisting entirely of donations. It was established upon the petition of Andrew Berry and others, presented to the county commissioners March 5, 1857, from land appropriated from Palmyra township. The township was so named in honor of Richard Steen, one of the pioneer settlers of that locality. It is bounded on the west by Palmyra and Harrison townships, on the east by Daviess County, on the north by Washington and Vigo townships, and on the south by Harrison township. Its soil is very productive and nearly every acre is under cultivation. Richard Steen located in the township in 1806, acquiring

property on which the town of Wheatland has been builded. He was a native of South Carolina and made the trip from his native state to Knox County in a home-made wagon. He was accompanied by his wife and father-in-law, a Mr. Maxident, who lived to be more than one hundred years old. Among the early settlers of Steen township were Mr. Robinson, father of Richard Robinson, ex-county treasurer, Nathan and James Burriss, Simon Nicholson, Jesse and Simon Harbin, Peter Overbay, D. W. Ballow, James Young, John Donaldson and Abraham Westfall. Simon Harbin and Mr. Donaldson were the first millers of the township and operated horse mills.

WHEATLAND.

The prosperous village of Wheatland is situated near the centre of Steen township, on the Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern railroad, and is twelve miles east of Vincennes. It was laid out December, 1858, by William G. Long. On December 29, 1859, Richard E. Steen's addition was made part of the village, and Enoch R. Steen's addition was added on April 3, 1868. The name was chosen on account of the territory surrounding it producing large yields of wheat. James Green was one of the first merchants of the place, and dealt largely in grain and farming products. Thomas Brooks was a competitor of Green and began his commercial career about the same time as the latter. Horace Anderson, Thomas Brooks, Alex Barber, Emison & Evans, Fay & Byers became identified with the commercial interests of the town shortly after it was laid out. John W. Emison, of Bruceville, operated a grist mill there in 1865. Besides being in the centre of a rich agricultural country, Wheatland is also in the coal belt of Knox County, having a good producing mine, operated by the Washington Wheatland Coal Company, within its corporate limits, and another located just outside the town, controlled by Gilbert Lytton. The Farmers-Merchants Bank, of which H. H. Anderson is president, and Thomas Dunn, cashier, gives commercial tone to the place, which has diversified businesses, as follows: A. C. Nicholson, hardware and drugs; W. H. Hedrick, drugs; Roberson Bros., furniture; Joseph Myers, coal; W. P. Lett, hardware and implements; J. G. Courtney, dry goods and groceries; W. C. Sechrest, meats and groceries; S. B. Niblock & Sons, C. C. Corner, dry goods, groceries, boots and shoes; Farmers' Union, Walker & Chambers, grain elevators; Calvin Steen, real estate and loans; Jacob Dillion, baker; A. P. Langdon, John M. Buntin, livery and sales stables. Physicians—Drs. R. S. Wood, E. H. Tade. Lodges—Modern Woodmen, Red Men, Woodmen of the World, Odd Fellows. The last order was named DeWolfe, in honor of the late W. H. DeWolfe, of Vincennes. The Presbyterians, Methodists and Christians are well represented among the religious denominations. Rev. Laue is minister of the Presbyterian church, and Rev. Ragsdale pastor of the M. E. church. The Christians are at present without a regular minister, but nevertheless hold regular services in their house of

worship. The colored Baptists have maintained a church for several years and are said to be very attentive to their religious duties.

VIGO TOWNSHIP.

This township, named in honor of Col. Francois Vigo, is one of the largest in the county, its area being fifteen miles in length, while in width it varies from three to six miles, and contains about 40,000 acres. Nearly all of its fertile and productive farming lands are underlaid with coal, and the yearly output of "black diamonds" from its seven producing mines is enormous. On petition of Samuel Chambers and others the county commissioners laid out the township on February 2, 1837. Much of the territory belonging to Vigo was formerly part of Widner township. The farming lands along White river and Black creek bottoms, the first localities reached by the pioneers, are rich and mellow and very productive. Samuel Scamp, who came from Virginia, located in the vicinity of Black creek in 1819, and Thomas Anderson, who was a soldier at the battle of Tippecanoe, settled in the same locality in 1820. John Johnson, who was a soldier of 1812, settled in the northern part of the township at the close of the war. Philip and Fred Slaughter, John McMurray, John McCombs, George Williamson and Blan Ballard were prominent among the farmers who located at a later day in the Black creek settlement. Moses Slinkard was one of early settlers in the White river bottoms, where he built a horse mill in 1820.

BICKNELL.

The hustling town of Bicknell, with a population of about 4,000 souls, is located in the southwestern part of Vigo township, on the Indianapolis & Vincennes railroad, and was incorporated as a town April 1, 1907. It was laid out originally October 1, 1869, by John Bicknell, for whom it was named. George W. Fuller was a property owner of the place before it was laid out, and was one of the first men to engage in business there. The merchants to hang up their signs after Mr. Fuller entered the mercantile field were Bruce, Reel & Mitchell, Slater & Bicknell, Wm. Hollingsworth, Chambers Bros., Jones & Denton, Hugh Barr, J. L. Cox & Sons. Bicknell boasts of a first-class electric lighting plant, has two banks, a well-edited newspaper, fine churches and schools and handsome residences. Among its present merchants are: Ragsdale & Horn, Henry Holscher, S. W. Dunn, clothing; Brocksmith Bros., H. F. Winters, John Atkinson, J. L. Donaldson, F. Boston, Kich Steffy, general merchandise; Humbaugh & Volle, Kixmiller & Young, hardware and agricultural implements; Cornett & Fox, Getches & Son, Alf. Williams, Dallas Wells, Kensler & Horn, grocers; S. Humphreys, Humbaugh & Volle, furniture; J. C. Cox, John Hoover & Co., Harry Valentine, Richey & Cox, real estate; A. G. Craig, jewelry; J. G. Hart, J. S. Wells, Hugh McNair, drugs; Wm. Phillippe, Henry Goens, Lovell Henson, Frank Phillippe, Frank French, barbers; Drs. J. S. Hinkle, W. P. Boal, J. L.

Hutchens, W. E. Kessinger, F. L. Reese, T. M. Staley, L. B. Staley, physicians; Enterprise Milling Co., Jas. A. Padgett; Curtis Shake, N. C. Locke, Harry Valentine, lawyers.

The names of the mines in proximity to the town are the Freeman, Richard Freeman, manager; the Knox, a corporation; the Martin, operated by Martin Bros.; the Peewee, August Brocksmith, business manager; the Old Bicknell, Chas. Freeman and Thos. Byers, operators. When in full operation the output of these mines will aggregate many thousands of bushels daily. The amount of money paid to miners every two weeks when all mines run to their full capacity varies from \$70,000 to \$90,000.

The churches and pastors are: First Baptist, Rev. N. C. Smith; Methodist, Rev. F. A. Lester, who also holds Sunday day services at the M. E. chapel, two and one-half miles southeast of Bicknell, officiating at his home church at night; Christian, Rev. W. A. Conners, who officiates also at the Centre Oak church, three miles northwest of Bicknell. The Catholics are without a regular pastor at present, but have mass said once a month in their cozy little church by some member of the Catholic clergy of Vincennes.

The secret societies of Bicknell are in a very flourishing condition. Masonic Lodge, No. 535, which was instituted in 1876, claims among its large membership the representative citizens of the town. Its present officers are Dr. J. L. Hutchens, W. M.; J. C. Cox, S. W.; O. J. Bicknell, J. W.; Chas. A. Bainum, Treas.; T. E. Pierce, Secy. Oakhill Lodge, No. 529, K. P., was instituted November 12, 1906, its first officers being O. A. Cas-sady, C. C.; C. E. Hargan, K. R. S.; O. P. Barrois, M. F.; C. A. Bainum, M. E. The present officers are E. A. Harper, C.; Wm. Donham, V. C.; W. M. Buck, P.; Ira O'Hara, M. A.; Chas. Hirt, M. W.; Wm. Smith, I. G.; Rol Phillippe, O. G.; Wm. Cornette, K. R. S.; Scott Thompson, M. F.; S. W. Dunn, M. E.; Lee Buck, John Buck, C. A. Bainum, Trustees. Quindora Lodge, No. 368, I. O. R. M., was instituted in 1904, and its present officers are John Burch, S.; Wm. Gillan, Sr. S.; Wm. Messell, Jr. S.; Joe Cargell, C.; John Rice, C. R.; John Ford, C. W.; Ira Davis, K. W.; Zelda Craig, Sam Skomp, John McKinney, Trustees. Oddfellow Lodge, No. 527, was instituted May 18, 1876, and its charter members were George Rod-derick, N. G., David M. Bruce, V. G., D. M. Hollingsworth, S., J. H. Dut-ton, T., Wm. J. Trout, W. G. Davis, Dan Alton, Thos. Bicknell, Fred Win-ter, Jas. Richey, Steen Richey, Sam T. Lett, D. Bensinger, Lee Willis. The present officers—Enoch Johnson, N. G.; Ben Martin, V. G.; T. N. Walker, F. S.; John Gillan, R. S.; Chas. L. Hill, T.; W. S. Simpson, John S. Miller, G. W. Cummings, Trustees. Encampment No. 299, I. O. O. F., was or-ganized November 18, 1902, with the following charter members: G. W. Phillippe, C. P., W. S. Simpson, H. P., Frank McClure, S. W., J. R. Irwin, J. W., Frank Lenson, S., J. A. Cullop, T. The present officers—G. W. Cum-mins, C. P., Chas. L. Hill, H. P., Enoch Johnson, S. W., Wm. Martin, J. W., T. N. Walker, S., W. S. Simpson, T. The Modern Woodmen, who are

strong in numbers, hold semi-monthly meetings. There is also a goodly number in Bicknell belonging to the Ben Hur order.

SANDBORN.

Sandborn is another important town of Vigo township, and was laid out by George and James Halstead, in 1868, and named in honor of a popular civil engineer who was engaged in the construction of the Indianapolis & Vincennes railroad, on which thoroughfare it is now a shipping point of some prominence. Some of the best farming lands in Vigo township surround the town, and large quantities of grain and stock are received and shipped therefrom. The place lies about twenty-seven miles north of Vincennes, and is located on the southeast quarter of section 4, town 5 north, range 7 west. In 1869, by the erection of stave and lumber works by Dewey, Crane & Co., and the distribution of large sums of money for material and labor, an impetus was given to the growth of the infant village. Henry Houghland, Peter Hill, Alonzo Hays, Charles E. Crane, Lewis Bailey and Simon Kaufman were of the prominent early merchants of the place. Among the present business men are H. L. Renner, Rooksberry & Co., hardware; Geo. Cochran, harness; Gregory, Wood & Hungate, general merchandise; Mac Walker, grain; Roeder & Co.; J. D. McClary, drugs; Chas. Nierste, veterinary. The medical profession is represented by Drs. Lawrence, Johnson and Boal. The town contains also two banks, two dry-goods stores, two restaurants, three general stores, two hotels, three blacksmith shops, flouring and grist mills and a commodious high school building, and accords a liberal patronage to the Herald, a newspaper ably edited by Sam. L. Marsee.

EDWARDSPORT.

Edwardsport is the oldest town in Vigo township, and the first settler of the place was John Hopkins, a native of Kentucky, who took up his abode there as a "squatter," locating at a point which subsequently became the intersection of Water street and Carlisle avenue. A few years later he sold out to Edward Wilkes, who virtually became the first settler, and in whose honor the town was named, the last part of the name referring to the gateway (port) of White river, on which Edwardsport is located. Wilkes was a surveyor and came to the settlement in 1832, and did some surveying, although it was not until 1839 that the place was formally laid out by George Calhoun. In 1869 the town was incorporated, but after a few years the inhabitants, which numbered at that time 342, allowed the charter to lapse. Edwardsport is on the line of the Indianapolis & Vincennes railroad; and several years ago, before the discovery of coal at Bicknell, was quite a busy place. There is much wealth among its staid villagers and in the farming communities adjacent to the town. William Keith was the first merchant in Edwardsport. He also engaged in farming and flat-boating, supplying his neighbors with farm products and supplies secured on his trips

to New Orleans. Chambers & Roberson, who built the first steam and grist mill near the river, engaged also in merchandising. The earlier merchants, none of whom were successful, were James Goodman, Joseph Freeland, John Carwood, Jesse L. Davis and James P. Creiger. John R. Hadden was in business in 1845, making a success of his venture, which was launched on a capital not exceeding \$500. Alfred Simonson began business in 1846 and accumulated wealth. In 1857 he was conducting a mercantile establishment in the first brick house built in Edwardsport. In 1833, on the site of the present building, a log school house was constructed. In 1835 it was razed by a cyclone, and several years later Alfred Simonson, John B. Irving, Dr. Hilburn, Thomas Curry, David Killian and others were instrumental in having a frame building erected, which has since been supplanted by a handsome brick structure. The Christian church, builded in 1839, was the first church erected in the village. Rev. Dimmitt Jarvis was the minister, and John R. Hadden, Jackson Azbell, Thomas Curry, John Azbell and Simpson Hulen were among its prominent members. In 1850 the Baptists built the first church of that denomination; Murdock McRaye, John and Benjamin Hargis being instrumental in its erection. The Methodists built their house of worship at a much later date. Rev. Hogan is the present pastor of the M. E. church. Rev. Burdick and Rev. Buchanan, respectively, have charge of the Baptist and Christian congregations.

The Edwardsport Bank, with a capital of \$10,000, has individual deposits amounting to \$59,403.56. Samuel DeMoss is president and Chas. M. Wright, cashier of the institution. The present business interests are represented by DeMoss & Boyer, flouring mill and grain dealers; Steve Anderson, poultry; J. H. Crim, Carroll & Naugle, Chas. Ruby, Herman Traubandt, Butcher, Wallace & Corell, S. T. DeMoss, general merchandise; Samuel M. Reeve, hardware; John Hollingsworth, restaurant; J. F. Scudder, drugs; Wm. Lucking, meat market; W. V. Barr, livery. Physicians—Dr. J. L. Reeve, Dr. J. A. Scudder.

Edwardsport Lodge, No. 429, F. & A. M., was organized May 23, 1871. Its present officers are S. M. Reeve, W. M.; Chas. Cochran, S. W.; Oscar Lee, J. W. White Rose Lodge, No. 280, I. O. O. F., was chartered June 27, 1867, on application of Chas. Scudder, David Reeve, George Barber, M. B. Slawson and John Hargis. At present Harry Morris is Noble Grand and Dr. J. L. Reeve, secretary of the order. The Ben Hur and Modern Woodman lodges have quite a number of active members who kept alive the fraternal interest of Edwardsport.

WESTPHALIA.

In December, 1881, this peaceful little village, which has a population of about 180 souls, was laid out by Frederick Pohlmeire, Surveyor Robert P. Mayfield supplying the plat. As originally mapped out the lots were 75x150 feet, and the streets seventy-five feet wide. The settlement is composed largely of Germans, who form the most industrious community in the

county. The place was named after Westphalia in Germany, but whether in recognition of a superior quality of cheese it manufactures, or for other motives of pride, is not known. It lies in town 5 north, range 7 west, Vigo township, on the Indianapolis & Vincennes railroad, a short distance south of the former site of Wagner Station. In its vicinity are two churches—Presbyterian and Lutheran. Rev. J. B. Miller, of Vincennes, was instrumental in awakening interest among the faithful of the former church, whose spiritual welfare is now looked after by Rev. McKinney. Rev. J. Bruce is the officiating minister of the Lutheran church. The mercantile and industrious classes of the community are represented by W. W. Dowden, who is postmaster and dealer in hardware; John Kroggle, general merchant; H. B. Martindale, general merchandise and confections; Starland Hudson, dry goods and shoes; J. F. D. Berry, M. B. Robling, millers; Robt. Traubant, Chas. Schultz, blacksmiths and wagon makers; Frank Stoelting, hotel keeper; Fred. Wagner, poultry dealer; Otto Viehe, barber.

VINCENNES TOWNSHIP.

In the chapters preceding this one, and in those which are to follow, relative to Old Vincennes, appears the history of Vincennes township. While mention of its beauty and fertility has been made, and the contour of the land it comprises dwelt upon, its area has not been considered. The township including the city, comprises about sixty square miles. It varies in width from seven to fourteen miles. Its greatest length is about twenty-two miles along the Wabash river, which it follows from Washington township, its northwestern boundary line, to River Duchee, on the south, which stream divides it from Decker township. Its northeastern boundary is Palmyra, eastern Harrison, and southeastern Johnson township. Its proximity to Vincennes, the gravel and steel highways which traverse it, and the Wabash river, provide unsurpassed shipping faculties for the fruits of its soil and the large quantities of live stock raised by its progressive farmers. Some of the wealthiest and most influential citizens of the county own beautiful homes and extensive farms in Vincennes township.

WIDNER TOWNSHIP.

This township was named in honor of John Widner, who was the first settler, locating within its present confines in 1804. During the same year Andrew Wilkins, L. Ernest, William Taylor, Charles Carrico, Joseph Ramsford, Isaac McCoy and Thomas Quick took up their residence therein, and in 1808 William Polk, Edward Polk, John Lemmon, Alexander Chambers and Peter Hansborough located in the township. Two years later Levi Hollingsworth, Chas. Johnson, Jesse Hollingsworth and Wm. Drake became residents. Nathan Adams and Michael Starner went there to reside in 1812;

Thomas Piety became a resident in 1815, and Samuel and Abraham Miller in 1818.

OLDEST BAPTIST CHURCH IN COUNTY.

Widner township has the pioneer Baptist church of the county, if not in the state, in the Maria Creek Baptist church, which was established May 20, 1809. The organization was perfected on the date named at the home of John Lemmon, and was composed of the following members: Samuel and Phoebe Allison, Chas. Polk, Sr., Chas. Polk, Jr., Margaret Polk, Achsah Polk, Wm. Polk, Sally Polk, John Lemmon, Polly Lemmon, Wm. Bruce, Sally Bruce, and John Morris. Of the above named persons Samuel and Phoebe Allison and John Morris lived in Illinois, and the latter was a man of color. The first meeting house of the congregation was built in 1810, being a log structure, twenty-four feet square. In 1837 the old log church was supplanted with a brick building, and in 1859 a more modern structure was erected near the site of the first church, bearing the date of its founding, 1809, and is still standing on location 238.

FREELANDSVILLE.

Freelandville, which was named in honor of Dr. John T. Freeland, a practicing physician, and for many years a prominent citizen of the place, was laid out July 31, 1866, by John Ritterskamp, and is the only town in Widner township. In 1867 Dr. Freeland's addition was added; in January, 1870, Christian Baker's; Henry Heithecker's, in March, 1870; Chamber's addition in 1871; sub division of Christian church property, being an addition to the town, in 1871; Ritterskamp's addition, 1871; Baker's second addition, 1872. The late Edward Bierhaus, of Vincennes, began his business career in Freelandville in 1857, and was associated with Christian Baker until 1868, the style of the firm being C. E. Baker & Co. John Ritterskamp, was a merchant in the village in 1860. The first grist mill operated there was owned by Ritterskamp & Baker, and was erected in 1864. It afterward became the property of Jonas Nolting. The Freelandville Milling Co., a corporation of which Simon Kixmiller is president, Wm. Finke, treasurer, and Alex Berry, business manager, now controls it. The tile and brick manufacturers are Ben Hummerich and Chas. Meyer. G. F. Osterhage conducts a lumber and planing mill and manufactures lawn and porch swings and settees. The hardwood saw mill men are Ed. Mengedoth, Alf. Brocksmith. Blacksmiths—John Kahre, Roy Hurst, John Brandt. Harness—Chas. Heidenreich. General stores—Simon Kixmiller, Schaffer Bros. & Stoeling. Drugs—H. F. Albert, A. M. Berry & Co. Hardware—Herman Buchthal & Son, Henry Pielmeire, Chas. Volle. Butchers—Robt. Schlusler, Fred Pepmeire. Restaurants—John Wolfe, H. H. Osterhage. Merchant Tailor—Rudolph Weber. Florist—John Hummerich. Livery—Chester Stoten. Pool and billiards—Aug. Baker. Barbers—Harry Locum.

Chas. Smith. Millinery—Mrs. Minnie Rousch, Miss Lotta Albert. Chandeliers and fixtures—John M. Coffman. Picture frames—C. F. Volle. Dentist—Ralph Shepard. Physicians—Drs. L. C. McDowell, R. H. Fox. H. J. Schroeder is justice of the peace, and the sole owner and proprietor of the telephone system.

The population of Freelandsville, which is largely German, and embraces about eight hundred souls, is musically inclined, and about the only traveling shows which appear at the opera house are concert troops and musical organizations. The place is well supplied with fraternal societies all of which have large memberships. Widner Lodge, No. 328, I. O. O. F., is the older of the secret orders, and is officered by the following persons: John Deppe, N. G.; Rudolph Koch, V. G.; H. S. Pielmeire, Recording Secretary; Jos. V. Moffett, Financial Secretary; A. M. Berry, Treasurer. The officers of Rebekah Lodge, No. 663, are Miss Hulda Telligman, N. G.; Mrs. Martha Strate, V. G.; Mrs. Anna Heithecker, Secy. The officers of the Ben Hur order are: Chas. Bolle, Chief; Minard Bartlett, Judge; A. M. Robbins, Keeper of Tribute. The Modern Woodmen officials are Ed. Dellinger, Venerable Counsel; William Schulte, Worthy Advisor; Harry Locum, Clerk.

WASHINGTON TOWNSHIP

Washington township was so named in honor of George Washington, and was among the first townships in the county to be laid out. Its first settler is supposed to have been John McGowan, who came from Pennsylvania, but at what date is not authentically known. His first stopping place, however, after leaving his native state, was Vincennes, where he established himself as a gunsmith. He remained at the Old Post but a short while before removing to Washington township, where he located on what is known as the old Clark Willis farm. Subsequently he removed to Marein County, near Shoals, where in 1812 he was killed by the Indians. As early as 1790 George Balthus, a Virginian, was a resident of the township. Samuel Thompson, who came to Knox County from Kentucky in 1800, first took up his residence at Vincennes, removing to Washington township in 1802, on a tract of land he received from Governor Harrison in consideration of manufacturing brick to go into the construction of the Harrison mansion at Vincennes. Among the earlier settlers, who came to the township prior to the admission of Indiana to statehood were Robert Elliott, Daniel McClure, James McDonald, William Carothers, James Scott, Thomas Truman, Samuel Carothers, Thomas Baird, Thomas Emison, William Bruce and James McCord. In 1804, Thomas Emison built a horse mill on Maria creek, on the site where James Emison subsequently operated a mill before removing to Vincennes to engage in the milling business. Among other prominent pioneer citizens of the township were Noah Roberts, Dr. Robert Mayfield, Hugh Barr, Bradway Thompson, John W. Emi-

son, Hugh Ash Emison, John T. Simpson, Joseph H. Steffy, Jacob Bruce and John Karns.

BRUCEVILLE.

Bruceville was named for William Bruce, and was laid out by him on December 10, 1829, when he platted thirty-six lots. There was a settlement there, however, before the beginning of the nineteenth century. Fort Bruce, a palisaded fortification, around which clustered several houses, was built near the present site of the town in 1812. It was established for the prevention of incursions from Indians, who the year before had taken captive the grandmother of Dr. Geo. Mayfield, carrying her into Kentucky, where her release was soon after secured. The town is a part of donation 184 in Washington township, and is built on the line of the Indianapolis & Vincennes railroad. In 1870 John Bruce's addition of seventeen lots was added to the village, which is the home of progressive and intelligent people who enjoy the distinction of being residents of the "Boston of Knox County." John T. Simpson, grandfather of Assessor John T. Simpson, was Bruceville's first merchant, Thomas Alton the first tanner, Jacob Harper, the first blacksmith, William Hummer, the first wagon maker, Obediah Macy, the first physician, and John Green, the first tavern keeper. In 1820, Henry Wheeler built there the first wool carding mill in Knox County. About the same period an oil mill, for extracting the fluid from castor beans, a distillery, and an ox tread mill were in operation. Abraham Lincoln in 1844 spoke in a brick school house at Bruceville, in advocacy of the claims of Henry Clay, who aspired to the presidency of the United States.

The building in which the speech was made was torn down only a few years ago. The grove in which it stood has been preserved with jealous care, and is known as Lincoln Park. Prominent among the merchants of the last decade were Barr & Wills, Joseph Steffy, Willis & Roberts. The medical profession of the same period was represented by Drs. Fairhurst, Dinwiddie and Macy. Present representatives of the commercial, industrial and professional life of Bruceville are Townsley Elevator Co.; Thomas Trout, general merchandise; J. C. Stephens, Jacob Harper, blacksmiths; W. S. Root, livery; Wampler Bros., restaurant; C. M. Hill, general merchandise, hardware and implements; J. S. McClure & Son, furniture and undertakers; T. J. Trout, groceries and dry goods; D. G. Hill, shoes; Jacob Flint, contractor. Robt. Barr, who is postmaster is also a dealer in drugs and groceries. Physicians—Dr. Geo. Mayfield, Dr. Jas. McDowell.

The spiritual affairs of the community are looked after by Rev. Manwaring of the Methodist church and Rev. W. L. Dalton of the Christian church. Fraternal societies—Odd Fellows Lodge and Encampment, Ben Hur, Modern Woodmen, Royal Neighbors, Knights of Pythias.

The total acreage of Knox County, not included in cities and towns, is 316,982.69 divided as follows among the several townships: Busseron, 31,230.32; Decker, 27,910.90; Harrison, 49,506.35; Johnson, 31,970.90; Palmyra, 22,900.62; Steen, 22,820.40; Vigo, 39,974.10; Vincennes, 35,261.20; Washington, 30,180.60; Widner 25,226.80.



THE VINCENNES UNIVERSITY
(Established by Act of Congress in 1804)

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES OF CITY AND COUNTY.

THE VINCENNES UNIVERSITY—BRIEF HISTORY OF ITS TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS FOR NEARLY A CENTURY—FIRST AND PRESENT TRUSTEES OF THE INSTITUTION—AFTER A LAPSE OF YEARS THEIR EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A JUST CLAIM ARE REWARDED—THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF VINCENNES—PIONEER AND PRESENT SCHOOLS OF THE RURAL DISTRICTS, TOWNS AND HAMLETS—GRADED SCHOOLS OF OAKTOWN, EMISON, MONROE CITY, DECKER, FRICHTON, WHEATLAND, BICKNELL, EDWARDSPORT, SANDBORN, BRUCEVILLE AND FREELANDSVILLE.

Old Vincennes was the seat of learning of Indiana Territory very early in the nineteenth century—when the Vincennes University, the second institution of its character west of the Alleghany mountains, came into existence. Its establishment was really made a possibility by the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio river. Embodied in the wise provisions of that document was the following significant paragraph: "Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It was this expression of congress that set the tone for the future management of this territory, and the act passed March 26, 1804, governing the disposal of public lands thereon, provided that section numbered sixteen "shall be reserved in each township for the support of schools within the same." The same act provided that in each of the land districts (Detroit, Kaskaskia and Vincennes) an entire township was "to be located by the secretary of the treasury for the use of a seminary of learning." In obedience to this act Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, chose township number two south, range eleven west, as the seminary township in the Vincennes district; i.e., in the Territory of Indiana. This land comprises now Patoka township in Gibson County, on a portion of which the town of Princeton is located. The legislature of Ohio, on January 9, 1802, had previously laid the basis of the first college in the northwest—the university at Athens. With this example before it, and following out the same policy, the Indiana Territorial Legislature at its first session passed "An act to incorporate a university in Indiana Territory to be called and known by the name and style of

Vincennes University." This act was approved by Governor William Henry Harrison, November 29, 1806, whereupon a board of trustees composed of the following members—with Mr. Harrison as president—was chosen: John Gibson, John T. Davis, Henry Vanderburg, Waller Taylor, Benjamin Parke, Peter Jones, James Johnson, John Badolette, John Rice Jones, George Wallace, William R. Bullit, Elias McNamee, Henry Hurst, General W. Johnson, Francis Vigo, Jacob Kuykendall, Samuel McKee, Nathaniel Ewing, George Leach, Luke Decker, Samuel Gwathney and Geo. Johnson. The trustees were authorized to found a university "within the borough of Vincennes and to appoint to preside over and govern it a president and not exceeding four professors for the instruction of youth in Latin, Greek, French and English languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and the law of nature and of nations." Provision was also made for the granting of degrees to students and eminent scholars—a power which in the whole history of the institution has only been exercised in favor of a few persons. It was also made incumbent on the trustees to use their best endeavors to induce the attendance at school of Indian children, who were to be "maintained, clothed and educated at the expense of the institution." The act further provided for the establishment of "an institution for the education of females," as soon as possible. The seminary township which Gallatin had located was conveyed to the trustees, who, by authority of an act of congress, offered 4,000 acres thereof for sale. And, as a further means for providing funds for the maintenance of the institution, the board established a lottery, with headquarters at Indianapolis, and for which tickets were sold at Washington City and in the states of Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. The Vincennes University Lottery, which had previously passed from under control of the trustees, flourished in Indianapolis until 1880, when it was put out of business by law. The date of the beginning of the school is fixed on the same date as the first meeting of the trustees, December, 1806, which makes it one hundred and five years old. The first university building was an unpretentious frame structure, erected on land purchased by the trustees in 1806 of Henry Vanderburg and Francis Vigo, two adjoining parcels, bounded by Fourth, Sixth, Perry and Hart streets. In the center of this plot, in 1811, a commodious two-story brick building was constructed, and Rev. Samuel Scott, Presbyterian minister, who made provision for the teaching of the elementary branches as well as those prescribed by the charter, was the first president. Revenue from sale of lands, and other sources, having been exhausted by buying lots and erecting buildings, the trustees, on April 16, 1816, asked congress for permission to sell the remaining 19,000 acres in Gibson county. Congress having refused to grant the request, the board repitioned the august body, in 1818, for the privilege of selling at not less than \$10 per acre the said lands, which petition was also denied. On January 20, 1820, the State University at Bloomington was chartered, and three days later the Legislature, assum-

ing, no doubt, that the state owned the lands which had been donated by a special act of Congress to the Vincennes University, authorized a board of commissioners to take possession of and rent said lands, and turn the proceeds into the state treasury. The 19,000 acres of unsold lands belonging to Vincennes University were thus forcibly wrested from the hands of the trustees of that institution, and, subsequently, to give the nefarious act the semblance of having some legality, a legislative measure was adopted virtually ignoring the university's existence. This piece of legislation was followed in 1824 by another act, providing for the absorption of the university by the "Knox County Seminary." By this last feat of legislative juggling the Vincennes University was deprived of all its earthly possessions, including lands, lots, buildings, furniture, and even record books. There was no meeting of the new board of Knox County Seminary trustees until October 3, 1828, four years after the old board had been dispossessed. During this interim the school building, which was not fully completed, became very much dilapidated. The state had diverted the funds for its maintenance to the Bloomington University, and the building "contained a pandemonium, where blue, black, gray and white spirits often held high carnival." The premises were used for grazing horses, hogs and cattle, and the basement was evidently utilized for sheltering these animals, because, on January 22, 1831, one of the trustees introduced a resolution that it would not be allowable "for any horse, cow or hog, or any other animal whatsoever, to run at large in said seminary lot, or be kept in any of the lower rooms, called the cellar, to the injury of the lot or cellar rooms."

During the administration of the first board of trustees of the Knox County Seminary little or no progress was made by the institution along educational lines. The board held no meetings from 1832 to 1835, and in the year last named only met once. The surviving members of the original board of trustees of the Vincennes University, encouraged by the inactivity of the trustees of the Knox County Seminary, who had usurped their powers in 1824, and believing that the state had no legal right to confiscate property of the Vincennes University which had been bestowed by Congress, in 1838 reorganized by electing Rev. Thomas Alexander president and George R. Gibson secretary. The resuscitated board at once became assertive and demanded of the trustees of the borough of Vincennes to render an account of funds arising from the sale of commons lands (which Congress had donated the university in 1818) less the amount required for expense of draining a pond adjacent thereto. This demand resulted in Judge Abner T. Ellis coming forward, in 1839, on behalf of the trustees of the Knox County Seminary, of whom he was one, and relinquishing all claim to the ground and buildings of said institution to the Vincennes University, thus acknowledging that his board had no legal right to the property. In the fifteen years of dispossession, an indebtedness of \$1,830.40 had accumulated against the university, the property was

in a wretched state of repair, and the assets of the Knox County Seminary were worse than nothing. Hence, the university trustees concluded that the only plan to adopt to liquidate the debts against the establishment was to sell the property. The buildings and grounds were accordingly sold for \$6,500 to St. Gabriel's College board, and became the possessions of the Catholics of Vincennes diocese. From funds realized by the sale the university trustees purchased another lot, in 1840, at Fifth and Main streets, and erected thereon a smaller building in which a grammar school was established, with Rev. B. B. Killikelley, an Episcopalian minister, as principal, and Prof. Chestnut as assistant. In 1841 lot 191, corner Fifth and Busseron streets, whereon the present building now stands, was purchased of Dr. Hiram Decker for \$500. In 1843 the Indiana legislature passed an act authorizing the Knox County commissioners to seize the assets of the university, but no attempt was ever made to execute the mandate. During the same year the trustees employed Samuel B. Judah and Abner T. Ellis to prosecute the university's claims to the Gibson County lands, and suits were instituted for possession against the occupants thereof who were innocent purchasers, and swore vengeance against the lawyers if they persisted in prosecuting the cases. The threats of personal violence of the land owners were so strong that a halt was called on the litigation before the court had an opportunity to pass on the merit of the case. In fact the cases were withdrawn and opposing counsel entered into a compromise whereby it was agreed to solicit the legislators of Gibson and Knox counties, in both branches of the general assembly, to have a law enacted authorizing the trustees of the university to institute suit in the Marion County circuit court against the state of Indiana to test the rightful ownership of the lands aforesaid. The bill was duly passed at the session of 1846, and suit immediately brought, resulting in a jury trial and a verdict in favor of the university for \$30,096.66, the amount of judgment being based on the lands which had been sold by the state. An appeal on the verdict was taken by the state to the supreme court, which tribunal at its spring term, in 1850, reversed the decision of the lower court. From the decision of the Indiana supreme court the attorneys for the university took an appeal to the supreme court of the United States, and the latter, in 1852, reversed the judgment of the former, by ruling that the lands in question were the property of the university. Referring to the township reserved for seminary purposes, which confiscation by the state made impossible, the United States supreme court said: "If these reservations had been judiciously managed, they would have constituted a fund at this time (1852) of at least \$200,000." Following the foregoing decision the state of Indiana issued bonds to the university for \$66,585.

In 1856 the lot at the southeast corner of Fifth and Busseron, on which the postoffice has been built, was purchased by the university for \$2,300, and a frame building was erected thereon as a department for female students. It was successfully conducted for many years, until all departments



HIGH SCHOOL AND AUDITORIUM, VINCENNES

were consolidated in the brick building, across the street. In 1878 the present structure was built at a cost of \$14,616. In 1889 an addition to the south and west ends of the building, costing \$4,180, was made.

The Indiana legislature, in 1895, appropriated \$15,000 to the university, for which a receipt in full of all claims was demanded from the trustees, who very promptly objected to a settlement in full on such terms. In 1897 the general assembly introduced another bill providing for the appropriation of an additional sum to liquidate the state's indebtedness to the university, but the measure failed to carry. In 1899 the Sixty-first general assembly passed an act authorizing the issue of \$120,000 four per cent bonds for the liquidation of said indebtedness. The senate voted almost unanimously for the measure, which subsequently passed the house by a large majority. Governor Mount, however, vetoed the bill upon the ground that it had passed too late in the session for him to fully investigate its merits, at the same time recommending that a committee of three hold-over senators be appointed a commission to investigate the claim and report to the next general assembly. This was accordingly done, and the commission reported the facts (just as the trustees had always contended they were) to the general assembly of 1901, together with the conclusion that the university had been very inadequately compensated for the wrongs which had been inflicted upon her by the state. Upon the basis of this statement the senate, when the bill was presented, immediately passed the same by practically a unanimous vote; but in the house action on bill as well as other bills bearing heavy expenditures was indefinitely postponed. The bill was again introduced in the session of 1903, too late to secure action upon its passage, but in time to result in the adoption of concurrent resolution—unanimously adopted by both houses—providing that secretary, auditor, treasurer of state, and Winfield T. Durbin, governor, be appointed a commission to audit the account between the state and the university. The result of such an investigation was a report from the commission to the effect that the state owed the university the sum of \$120,548. The report, however, was submitted so late in the session of 1905 that, by concurrence of both houses, action thereon was deferred until the session of 1907. At the meeting of the general assembly in the year last named a bill was drawn providing for payment by the state to the university for \$120,548, and passed both houses by an overwhelming majority. Governor Hanly vetoed the measure, whereupon it was promptly taken up again and passed over his veto. The bill provided for the issuance and delivery by the state to the university bonds in the sum of \$120,548. The bonds were properly prepared by the auditor and presented for his signature to Governor Hanly, who took possession of them and placed them in his office under lock and key until the expiration of his term as governor. Thomas R. Marshal, who succeeded Hanly as governor, in 1908, after giving thirty days' notice of his intention, signed the bonds, declaring that the debt was a just one and should be paid. Mr. Hanly thereupon sought to enjoin the secretary of

state from signing and the auditor from delivering the bonds, by filing suit in the Marion superior court, Carter, judge. The university then employed James Wade Emison, Addison C. Harris, Benjamin M. Willoughby, James M. House and Judge Harrison Burns to defend, which resulted in Judge Carter delivering a very able opinion, sustaining the university. Hanly then appealed to the supreme court of Indiana, which sustained Judge Carter, holding the law passed by the legislature in favor of the university constitutional and valid. Hanly then petitioned for a rehearing, which was promptly denied by the court. Immediately thereafter Lemuel Ellingham, secretary of state, signed the bonds, Wm. H. O'Brien, auditor of state, delivered the same to the trustees of the university, and Wm. H. Vollmer, treasurer of state, on March 22, 1911, paid Joseph L. Bayard, treasurer of the board of trustees, \$14,468.76, being four years' interest on the bonds—from April 10, 1907, to April 10, 1911. And thus the great state of Indiana, after all these years, has partially made restitution for a wrongful act committed nearly a century ago.

The present board of trustees, who expended money and lost valuable time, without desire of reimbursement, in attending sessions of the legislature, to impress members of that body with the justness of the university claim, is composed of the following well-known gentlemen: W. M. Hindman, Royal E. Purcell, Wm. B. Robinson, Joseph L. Bayard, Sr., Hiram A. Foulks, Wm. P. Gould, Wm. R. Gardiner, Edward Smith, George R. Alsop, John T. Oliphant, Charles Bierhaus, Wm. C. Johnson, Thomas H. Adams and James Wade Emison.

The present faculty consists of Horace Ellis, A. M., Ph. D., president and professor of Latin and Greek; Mary Ellis Purcell, A. M., professor of English; Gertrude Haseman, A. B., professor of Mathematics; Wm. McAndrew, teacher of English; Sara Adelaide Fleming, A. B., professor of Modern Language; Thomas Marshal Smith, professor of Biology, Physics and Chemistry; Sarah I. McConnell, teacher of Music; Chester A. McIlvain, instructor Vocal Music; Elsie Dawes, violin instructor; Mary Katharine Shank, professor of Oratory; Lucina Harsha, instructor in Drawing; Grace V. Ellis, librarian. Some of the rarest volumes are to be found in the library, to which there is a sentimental and historic value attached far beyond their intrinsic worth. Little did the donors realize when they presented the university with these rare old books, which are conspicuous among hundreds of others, the pleasure and profit future generations would extract therefrom and how helpful their contents would be to the faculty, students and patrons of the institution. Among the collection of books are many volumes which were on the shelves of the first public library established in Vincennes, which had an existence before the university.

ST. GABRIEL'S AND ST. ROSE'S ACADEMIES.

In the year 1837 Rev. Father John Augustus Vabret, who came from Rennes, France, accompanied by a small colony of Eudists, established St.

Gabriel's College, a Catholic institution, which was conducted in a building on Cathedral Square until 1839, when the reverend gentleman purchased the "seminary grounds" of the Vincennes University and used the buildings thereon for school purposes. He was succeeded as president of the college in 1840 by Rev. Father John P. Bellier. The latter remained as head of the institution until 1845, when it was closed by direction of the superior of the Eudist order. The property was then converted into an orphan asylum, and subsequently passed into the control of the Sisters of Providence, who established St. Rose Academy, a school for girls, which is to-day among the worthy educational institutions of the city, where higher branches and the sciences and arts are taught to young ladies. The buildings are costly and attractive, and the property covers an entire block. St. Rose is a boarding school, and among its large number of pupils are many from abroad who have come from remote distances to secure the benefit of its superior facilities and advanced methods of imparting instruction.

The Cathedral school for boys, located at Church and Third streets, is also under the direction of the Sisters of Providence. It is a modernized building with large rooms and is provided with a commodious exhibition hall.

St. John's school, located on the same block as the church of St. John the Baptist, is another Catholic educational institution. The building, which is modern and substantial, has very attractive surroundings. It is under the supervision of Rev. Father Fleischman, pastor of St. John's, and its corps of teachers consist of four Sisters of Providence, who have an enrollment of more than two hundred pupils.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF VINCENNES.

There are but few cities in the country that can boast of the educational advantages possessed by Vincennes. The common school system, of which Indiana is the parent, with its manifold facilities for fitting the pupil to more readily enter the battles of life, or more fully equip him to invade the fields that lead to a higher education, is not only admirably carried out by an army of proficient instructors within the city, but its beneficent workings have been introduced into the district schoolhouses of the county, where antiquated methods of "training the young idea how to shoot" have been discarded for modern ways.

The school buildings of Vincennes, as well as those of the smaller towns of the county, are handsome and modern structures which stand as monuments to the intelligence, progress and liberality of the people of the community. The schoolhouses of Vincennes are notably attractive, and the schools, ably directed by Prof. I. R. Hamilton, superintendent, under the management of a board of education composed of John Downey, Mason J. Niblack and John Wilhelm, are second to none in the state. The following

are the names of teachers having supervision of the various departments: Miss Eleanor M. Beach, physical culture; Miss Lucy Williamson, drawing and art; Miss Rosetta E. Epperson, music; Miss Helen T. Schwartz, manual training.

The public school system may be said to have been inaugurated at Vincennes in 1853 by George D. Hay, John W. Cannon and Lambert Burrois, who composed the first board of trustees elected by the people. Funds were inadequate at this period, and for several years subsequent thereto, for much progress along educational lines; and as late as 1855 it was only possible to acquire sufficient revenue for tuition purposes to conduct a three months' school term out of the twelve. In 1857, when Anson W. Jones became principal of the school at an annual salary of \$50 per month, five months constituted the school year. In 1860 the first school building (now known as Central) was erected at the corner of Seventh and Buntin streets at a cost of \$19,000, under the supervision of John D. Lander, William Williamson and Gherard H. Duesterberg, trustees. The building has withstood well the ravages of time, and presents a very good appearance to-day.

The first superintendent of this school was Prof. H. P. Hall, with A. W. Jones, assistant; there were also three other teachers. In 1860, after the building was completed, the school term was lengthened to ten months. In 1863 Mr. Jones was made superintendent, and held the position up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1873. This was the year of the establishment of the Vincennes high school, which was held in the old building until the erection of the present elegant and costly

HIGH SCHOOL AND AUDITORIUM,

corner Fifth and Buntin streets, which cost, with the addition recently completed, \$52,000. The corps of teachers in this building at present is as follows: Harry G. Newton, principal, art and gymnastics; O. F. Fidler, natural science; Miss Margaret C. Holland, assembly room; Miss Della Wall, history; Misses Blanche Turrell, and Rena J. Dunn, English; Miss Blanche P. Noel, Latin; Miss Lillian G. Carter, Latin and history; H. M. Monroe, mathematics; D. E. La Duke, science and mathematics; R. A. Walker, commerce; Miss Maybelle Alexander, English; R. M. Hogue, history and mathematics; Miss Rosalie W. Ullmann, German.

SCHOOL NO. I.

The teachers at present employed in this building are R. E. Rielag, principal, 8th grade; Mrs. Vina Soudriette, 8th grade; H. F. Burton, 8th grade; Mrs. Alice S. Emison, 7th grade; Mrs. Maude W. Beckes, 7th grade; Miss Minnie N. S. Southard, 6th and 7th grades; Miss Rosa M. Stalkamp, 6th grade; Miss Ethelyn E. Keith, 6th grade; Miss Edith Scott, 5th grade; Miss Malvina N. Keith, 5th grade; Miss Mary W. Brittain, 4th grade; Miss Ida B. Willhite, 3d grade; Miss Orpha F. Purdy, 2d grade;



Graded School, Wheatland, Steen
Township



Graded School, Edwardsport, Vigo
Township



Graded School, Decker, Johnson Township



Graded School, Sandborn, Vigo
Township



Graded School, Bicknell, Vigo Township



Graded School, Bruceville, Washington
Township

Miss May Avery, 1st grade. School No. 1 is located at the corner of Seventh and Buntin streets, and is the first building erected in the city as a graded school.

SCHOOL NO. 2.

This house, located at Second street and Indianapolis avenue, was completed during the summer vacation months of 1885, and is still a modern structure. Its original cost was about \$12,000, and when first built it was considered a handsome structure. The grades here run from one to six, and are in charge of the following teachers: C. W. Prather, principal, 6th grade; Mrs. Lulu M. Prather, 5th grade; Miss Lyle G. Colglazier, 4th grade; Miss Eva M. Davis, 3d grade; Miss Margaret E. Potter, 2d grade; Miss Ethel N. Culver, 1st grade.

SCHOOL NO. 3.

For many years the colored pupils of the public school have been taught in a commodious building at the intersection of Twelfth and Seminary streets. R. L. Anthony, who has attained an enviable reputation among colored educators, has been the principal of this school for ten years, and has done effective work, especially in the high school of No. 3, from which quite a few have graduated. Mr. Anthony also teaches the 8th and 7th grades; C. T. Hyte has charge of the 6th, 5th and 4th grades, and Miss Eurys Ray Carr of the 3d, 2d and 1st grades.

SCHOOL NO. 4.

This building is known as the "Frenchtown schoolhouse," and is located on the corner of Seventh and Barnet streets. Its architectural design is patterned after the style of No. 2, the cost of its construction is about the same, and it was built about the same time. Its teachers are: John Zehner, principal 4th grade; Miss Mary S. Caney, 3d grade; Mrs. Effie T. Zehner, 2d grade; Miss Grace E. Burba, 1st grade. Quite a number of pupils of this school are non-residents of the city, but live in the township.

SCHOOL NO. 5.

The accompanying illustration will convey an idea of the nice appearance of the average lower graded schoolhouses. This building, located at the intersection of Upper Eleventh and Hickman streets, while more

EAST SIDE SCHOOL (NO. 5).

elaborate, perhaps, is hardly a distinct type from the ones which were erected prior to the construction of the North and South Side schools, all of which are attractive structures. G. W. Morris is principal of No. 5 and teaches the 5th and 4th grades. His assistants are Miss Ida Stalkamp, 4th grade; Miss Mary B. Tougher, 3d grade; Miss Nola E.

Williams, 3d and 2d grades; Miss Ida L. Schaller, 2d and 1st grades; Miss Delia B. Leeds, 1st grade.

SCHOOL NO. 7.

This handsome structure, built three years ago, at a cost approximately of \$25,000, occupies an elevated plot of ground at the intersection of Second street and Eberwine avenue, and harmonizes with the attractive buildings of that locality, of which several are of recent construction. Among them is the parochial school of the Sacred Heart Catholic church, which is within a block of the public school. The Sacred Heart School is under the supervision of Father Becker, pastor of that church. Its teachers are Benedictine Sisters, who live in a beautiful home hard by the school. The principal of No. 7 is J. S. Tasswell, who also has charge of the 7th grade. He is ably assisted by the following named teachers: J. F. Borden,

NORTH SIDE SCHOOL (NO. 7).

6th grade; Miss Goldie R. Helsel, 5th grade; E. W. Stolling, 4th grade; Miss Corrinne C. Rielag, 4th and 3d grades; Miss Wilhelmina Shively, 3d grade; Miss Ethel L. Dixon, 2d grade; Miss Nannie B. Dunn, 2d grade; Miss Mamie J. Meyer, 1st grade; Miss Lola E. Ritter, 1st grade.

SCHOOL NO. 8.

The most attractive among the public graded schoolhouses is No. 8. The building, which was completed about two years ago at a cost of \$27,000, stands in the center of an acre of ground at the intersection of Main and Fifteenth streets. It can be seen at a great distance from any of the

SOUTH SIDE SCHOOL (NO. 8).

avenues leading into the city from the southwest or northeast. The principal of the school is Mord F. Cox, teacher of the sixth grade. His assistants are Miss Laura A. Scott, 5th grade; Mrs. Lucile J. Bruat, 4th grade; Miss Ora M. Presnell, 3d grade; Miss Grace P. Powell, 2d grade; Miss Edith P. Presnell, 1st grade.

THE KINDERGARTENS.

In schools Nos. 5, 7 and 8 the forenoons are devoted to kindergarten work, and in the afternoons the little ones of school No. 1 receive the attention of competent teachers. Miss Emma F. Robertson is kindergarten director and has for her assistants Miss Lena L. Kixmiller and Miss Claire H. McCarthy.

THE HIGH SCHOOL AND OTHER SCHOOLS.

The course of study in the Vincennes high school is very complete and embraces English, History, Mathematics, Natural Science, German, Latin, Political Science, Vocal Music, Orchestra Practice, Free-hand Drawing, Mechanical Drawing, Physical Culture, Manual Training, etc. In con-



EAST SIDE PUBLIC SCHOOL, VINCENNES

structing this course of study, it was recognized, say the school authorities, that each line of study has a value not possessed by the other lines—that each line gives its own peculiar and important culture. An attempt has been made to secure to each student a just and proportionate amount of each of those cultures and disciplines. While this high school course has a connection, continuity, and completeness as a whole, it is believed by the instructors that should a student find it necessary to discontinue his studies after one, two, or three years, the training that he shall have received will be the best that could have been given him in that time. The course was built up for those who cannot go to college. It includes more work than the average college preparatory course; but the student who cannot go to college should have the opportunity to pursue his school education beyond a mere preparatory course in the high school at his home. The trustees make it known that every child in the city is entitled to all the public high school can give him, and no false ideas of life should be permitted to rob him of this right.

The Vincennes high school is a commissioned high school, and its diploma admits the possessor to the University of Indiana, Purdue University and the State Normal School without examination. Should a student upon entering the high school express or desire to fit himself for college as quickly as possible, the course can be modified so that he can prepare himself for college in three years or earlier.

The parochial schools, under the auspices of the Catholics, Lutheran and Evangelical churches, respectively, teach the English as well as the German languages, and are all very ably conducted, having fitted for the commercial and professional world men and women who reflect much credit upon their alma mater.

The business colleges are in the hands of capable instructors, among whom are graduates from the high school and university. The large number of their pupils holding lucrative positions at home and abroad is an evidence of their ability to teach the branches of which they make a specialty.

The total number of pupils enrolled in the Vincennes public schools is 2,851. At the close of the last term the report placed the figures at 2,828—1,368 white males, 1,362 white females, 35 colored males, and 63 colored females. The number of teachers employed was seventy-one, of whom eighteen were males and fifty-three females. The salaries of teachers will approximate \$5,000 per month. The value of all buildings and property in the city used for public and private school purposes will exceed a half million dollars.

PIONEER AND PRESENT SCHOOLS OF KNOX COUNTY.

The high character of district schools of Knox County and the graded schools in towns and villages of the several townships are the pride of the

people and a true index of their progressive citizenship. Prof. E. A. Has-kins, who was formerly of the faculty of the Vincennes University, was chosen as superintendent of public instruction of Knox County on May 20, 1909, and under his supervision the schools of the county have materially advanced toward perfection. Immediately upon assuming the office of superintendent he inaugurated a system whereby it was made incumbent on each township to provide a standard education for its pupils, which would enable them to enter the higher institutions of learning, or qualify them to engage in the occupation of teaching.

At present there are about 8,305 pupils actually enrolled in the public schools of Knox County, of which number 750 are students in the high schools. In the various townships, exclusive of the city of Vincennes, the number of pupils attending schools is 5,477, of whom 2,819 are white males, 2,616 white females, 21 colored males and 21 colored females. The number of teachers employed in the district schools is 179, of whom 75 are males and 104 females, whose aggregate salaries are \$73,034.10. The total amount of special school revenue expended in Knox County during the year 1910, exclusive of salaries, was \$152,263.21, of which \$63,122.66 was for permanent improvements.

SCHOOLS OF BUSSERON TOWNSHIP.

Perhaps to Busseron township belongs the distinction of having the first "regulated" school, outside of Vincennes. This, however, was not a public school, having been built by the Shakers, who founded Shaker Prairie about 1810. In the year 1825 a schoolhouse was built on the farm of John Sproatt; later another was erected on the Ochiltree farm, and still later one was built on Hogg's Hill. Judge Latshaw taught school at Oaktown in 1830. Among the other pioneer teachers of the township were James Polk, James Carnahan and Joseph Shaw, who taught in primitive school-houses in Oaktown. There is quite a contrast between the schools of to-day at Oaktown and those of a decade ago. The present school building was erected in 1898. The attendance has increased so rapidly since its construction as to necessitate its enlargement, for which Trustee Thomas Huffman has planned. J. V. Masters is superintendent of the Oaktown schools; Myrtle J. Polk, principal; Noah E. Helderman, assistant; Hattie Latshaw, music instructor. The other teachers are Faye Bartley, Lorin Schumard, Beulah Winemiller, Ethel Bland, Bessie Ashby, Estella Bond.

EMISON HIGH SCHOOL.

The splendid schoolhouse at Emison was built in 1910, and it is an institution in which the entire populace of the little village take a personal pride. The building was erected under the supervision of Trustee Huffman. The principal of No. 8 is Bert B. Clark; Jesse Ford Robbins, assistant principal; May Beers and Inez Sartor, teachers.



NORTH SIDE PUBLIC SCHOOL, VINCENNES

The following are the names of teachers of Busseron township having charge of schools in the several districts: Bertha Enley, Love No. 2; Claude H. McClure, Ford, No. 3; Nellie McClure, Busseron, No. 4; Marie Sprinkle Ridge, No. 10; Lestor Sartor, Black, No. 11.

SCHOOLS OF DECKER TOWNSHIP.

Decker township, which was until recent years but sparsely settled, never enjoyed the advantages of schools until a late date. Until Robert Jacobus, James A. Dick and members of the Decker and Anthis families moved into that locality, the educational opportunities were meagre. Samuel Goodwin and Thomas Jones were among the first teachers in the township. Decker, while not having a graded school, has nine modern district schools—one being the counterpart of the other in architectural design.

DISTRICT SCHOOL NO. 2, DECKER TOWNSHIP.

Arthur T. Cain, trustee of the township, takes a lively interest in the schools, all of which are supplied with competent teachers, whose names, with the number of the school over which each presides, are here given: Henry Emmons Crow, No. 1; Shirley Leveron, No. 2; Adron Decker, No. 3; Gertrude Guiler, No. 4; Blanche Purdy, No. 5; Carl Catt, No. 6; Harry Smith, No. 7; H. McCrillus, No. 8; Homer Ray, No. 9.

SCHOOLS OF HARRISON TOWNSHIP.

The first schoolhouse in Harrison township was built on the farm of James Junkins, and its teacher was Benjamin Doty, an irritable man, who, it is said, "ducked" obstreperous pupils in Nelson creek, a small stream flowing near the school. The exact date of the erection of this house is not given; but it was very early in the eighteenth century. Tradition says it was very primitive, having an earthen floor and no windows. Light was admitted and cold excluded by means of greased paper, which was made to answer the purpose of a window, and covered an opening sawed out of the logs. In Harrison, as in other townships, many of the early schools were taught at private houses or in barns. In the number of schools Harrison leads all other townships, having twenty outside of Monroe City, in which J. B. Hannah, the present township trustee, manifests great interest. The Monroe schoolhouse, the construction of which was begun in 1910, has just been completed.

MONROE CITY HIGH SCHOOL.

The building cost about \$15,000, and is very commodious and well arranged. Bartlow Slater is its superintendent; Benj. F. Shafer, principal;

Jesse E. Adams, assistant principal. The other teachers are Anna Myers Wallace, Minnie Robbins, Bertha Reel, Edward E. Cockerham and Lemuel Edwards.

The names of the teachers and schoolhouses, and the numbers of the schools in the several districts are as follows: Thomas G. Crandall, Pond creek, No. 1; W. L. Johnson, Antler, No. 2; Alex Dillon, Reel, No. 4; Mabel Kirk, Junkin, No. 5; Norma Allen, Small, No. 6; John D. Bartlow, Freeland, No. 7; Thomas E. Martin, McRay, No. 8; Ora Summit, Baldwin, No. 9; Abbie J. Myers, Ray, No. 10; Joseph Myers, Sand Hill, No. 11; Icel Hawkins (graded), No. 12; Oliver P. Martin, Johnson, No. 13; Charles E. Whalen, Myers, No. 14; Lella Devin, Dellinger, No. 15; Harry Huffman, Prairie Creek, No. 16; Lois Maxedon, Verne, No. 18; Bell Ray, Oak Leaf, No. 19; Bessie Adams, Beeman, No. 20.

SCHOOLS OF JOHNSON TOWNSHIP.

On a farm then owned by St. Clair Minor in 1820, was built a house designed to answer the dual purpose of school and church. It was called the "Township House of Learning and Worship," and marked the establishment of the first school and church in Johnson. Its first teachers were Rev. Benjamin Hall and Samuel Martin, who were succeeded by Mason Wallace and Garret Cochran. The township now has a graded school at Deckertown, besides nine district schools in the rural settlements. The

DECKERTOWN HIGH SCHOOL.

first graded school was built at Deckertown in 1877. The present building, which is as handsome as any in the county, was completed in 1910. Its superintendent is Lawrence Maher; principal, Oscar Frederick. Elsie V. Martin is instructor in music and drawing, and the following are teachers in the several grades; Cora Wheeler, Etta E. Harrell, Carrie Haskins, Ethel Bedell.

The various schools in the districts are taught by the following persons: William Lagenour, Iona, No. 1; Fannie Elder, Mail, No. 3; Jesse Hughes, Deem, No. 4; Minnie Myer, Vollmer, No. 6; Hope Henry, Chimney Piere Hills, No. 7; Thornton Stuckey, Bluebaum, No. 8; Flossie Keith, Rodermel, No. 9; J. D. Manning, Cain Ridge, No. 10; Blanche Sisson, Tadpole, No. 12. Cleve C. Harrall is Johnson township's efficient trustee.

SCHOOLS OF PALMYRA TOWNSHIP.

The first schoolhouse in Palmyra was built on the southeastern border of the township, close to the line which divides it from Harrison township, and was a very crude structure. George Brewster, William Gambel and Mr. Black were among the early teachers. The late Samuel T. Langdon built a more modern school on his farm at a later date. For a time Indiana



SOUTH SIDE PUBLIC SCHOOL, VINCENNES

church answered the purpose of a township school for children living in its vicinity, and the Purcell, Hollingsworth and McClure families were among its patrons. A modern two-story, brick and stone building, which will supplant No. 6 has just been completed. Its location is Frichton, and there is not another settlement its size in the state that can boast of a finer schoolhouse. The building has five graded rooms and a high school department, to none of which teachers have as yet been assigned. The names of teachers, locations and numbers of schoolhouses in the township are as follows: Laura Wampler, Green's Corner, No. 1; Edith Hill, Royal Oak, No. 2; L. C. Campbell, Lucy E. Myers, Welton (graded), Nos. 3-7; Minnie Wampler, McClure, No. 4; Clem Tade, Root, No. 5; Edgar M. McClure, Palmyra, No. 6; Selma Schumacher, Boyd, No. 8; Lizzie Welton, Holy Hill, No. 9; Elenora Owen, Thorne, No. 10. Willis S. Russell, whose home is at Frichton, is the trustee of Palmyra township.

SCHOOLS OF STEEN TOWNSHIP.

Steen township, being originally a part of Harrison and Palmyra townships, formed a triumvirate sharing in the benefits of the earlier schools. The Steens, who were the pioneers of this township, which bears the family names, were also among its pioneer educators. Nancy, or Mary, Steen not only had the distinction of being the first teacher of Steen but, in all probability, the first female teacher in the county. She was a painstaking instructor, and taught for many years in a modest little schoolhouse which stood on the present site of Wheatland. John Steen set aside one room in his small house for a school, which Harrell Wathen taught successfully for a number of years. Later, James Prather and Moses Dunn became prominent as teachers. Steen has now eight district schools and a graded school, the latter being located at Wheatland. The building

WHEATLAND HIGH SCHOOL.

was erected in 1907, is artistic in design, and has all modern improvements. Its corps of teachers are S. A. Lahr, superintendent; Charles Zimmerman, principal; Elizabeth Purcell, assistant principal; Edith Wallace, drawing; Nannie B. Dunn, Oscar M. Farley, Bessie Cain, Nellie Jones, Kathryn Anderson. The names of teachers and names and numbers of schoolhouses are as follows: Sadie Robinson, Apraw, No. 1; Fleda McElroy, Apraw, No. 2; Ruth Williams, Stephenson, No. 3; Claude Swope, Prather, No. 4; Harry Lett, Ruth Helen Smith, Oak Grove, No. 5; Lula Johnson, Bottom, No. 6; Ray Baltinghouse, Cain, No. 7; Lizzie Wright, colored, Wheatland, No. 8; Dr. Ellis H. Tade is the trustee of Steen township.

SCHOOLS OF VINCENNES TOWNSHIP.

Vincennes township has fourteen district schoolhouses, all of which are comfortably built. Full terms are taught in all of them, the attendance is

quite large, and an able corps of instructors, whose needs are liberally supplied by Trustee Frank Krack, get good results from the pupils who attend them. The names of the teachers and schools taught by them and the number of each school is here given: Blanche Beckes, Beal, No. 1; W. H. Johnson, Cathlinette, No. 2; Glenn Scott, McKee, No. 3; Mabel Freshour, Potter, No. 4; Anna C. O'Flynn, Emison, No. 5; Katharine Rogers, Bunker Hill, No. 7; Addie Simpson, Sievers, No. 8; Ida M. Stalkamp, Brevoort, No. 9; Emma Ingram, Horse Shoe Pond, No. 10; Catharine Stangle, Coleshouse, No. 11; Cora S. Wall, Big Thicket, No. 12; Bert S. Leech, Band Mill, No. 14.

SCHOOLS OF VIGO TOWNSHIP.

Log houses, with dirt floors, puncheon seats, paper windows and mud chimneys were Vigo's first schools, and they were pretty well distributed throughout the township. Marion Johnson was one of the first male teachers, and Anna Rollins the first female teacher. They taught in the territory lying between Black Creek and White river, where the Slinkard family settled. The pioneer teachers in other localities were John Frost, Adam Golden, Samuel Anderson, John Donaldson, and others. James Polk is said to have been the first teacher in Edwardsport and taught in a log house which was destroyed by a wind storm in 1834. The first substantial school building was built in Edwardsport in 1859, and contained three or four rooms. The present structure was built in 1909, and is a model schoolhouse. Daniel McCarver is the superintendent of the school;

EDWARDSPORT HIGH SCHOOL.

Reed A. Letsinger, principal; Pearl Phillippe, assistant principal; Lennie Engleman, instructor in music and drawing. The other teachers of the various grades are Bonnie Scott, Delia Algood, Ivy Anderson, Alice K. Reeve, Susie Culbertson. The teachers of the other schools in the township are Cyrus Wampler and Hazel Staley, Brick No. 1; George Hilburn, Jones Gap, No. 6; Roscoe Reeve, Black creek, No. 7; Wm. Menke, Rose M. Woodruff, Nellie Wagner, Westphalia, No. 8; Homer Algood, Edwards, No. 9; Mollie Warner, Sanders, No. 12; Wm. Phillips, Harper, No. 15; Jane Hargis, Hulen, No. 16.

Sandborn also has a fine graded school, the number of which is thirteen. Soon after the town was laid out there was a public schoolhouse erected therein. The present pretentious building was erected in 1903 and remodeled in 1909. It is a house of splendid proportions, and is presided over by A. M. Wheeler, superintendent; Esther Shively, principal, who are assisted by an able corps of teachers, as follows: Emma Villwock, Oscar C. Dunn, Ethel Reeve, Myrtle Anderson, Susie Cain, Bess Campbell. Miss



Graded School, Oaktown, Busseron
Township



District School, No. 1, Decker Township



Graded School, Emison, Busseron
Township



Monroe City Graded School, Harrison
Township



Graded School, Freelandville, Widner
Township

Lennie Engleman, who gives lessons in music and drawing in the Edwardsport graded school, imparts instruction in these studies at No. 13.

The first schoolhouse built in Bicknell along modern lines was constructed in 1883, in the shape of a brick building. The structure was two stories high and contained six rooms. In 1903 the present building, which has been subjected to minor changes since its construction, was erected. Outside of Vincennes, it is the most commodious schoolhouse in the county, and is the only one, aside from those located at the Old Post, that is under the supervision of a board of trustees, which board is composed of H. J. Gates, Charles Bainum and H. M. Buck. John S. Hoover, however, the trustee of Vigo, who has at heart the welfare of all schools in the township, makes it a point to give to this institution his official consideration, in connection with the town board. The school's superintendent is W. A. Davis. The teachers in the high school are Clara Stevens, principal; Clay H. Arterburn, Arleigh Bunting, and the teachers in the intermediate and primary grades are Mrs. Pearl B. Davis, grade 7; Mae House, grade 6; Edith House, grades 5 and 6; Agnes F. Cox, grade 5; Helen Ballou, grade 4; Inez Bryant, grade 4; Fannie L. Green, grades 2 and 3; Olive Phillippe, grade 3; Walter Lemen, grades 3 and 4; Beulah Berry, grades 2 and 3; Ida Hoover, grade 2; Cordelia F. Jones, grades 1 and 2; Isola Wallace, grade 1; Reba Barr, grade 1.

SCHOOLS OF WASHINGTON TOWNSHIP.

Among the early teachers of Washington township was James Polk, who first came into prominence as a pedagogue in Vigo township. The first schools were built at Maria creek, in the vicinity of the old Emison mill, and were patronized by families living in the northern end of the township. The Indiana church was the early schoolhouse for Washington as well as Palmyra, and children living in the southern end of the former township enjoyed the same privileges accorded to those residing in the latter township. As a rule the teachers were ministers of the Presbyterian faith, who applied themselves to educational work to increase the meagre salaries which were paid in those days. Goodspeed's History of Knox County says that a Methodist minister named Richard Posey was also a pioneer teacher of Washington township, and that others were Johnson, Willard, Thompson and Montgomery. The same authority states that Horace and William Polk were widely known as teachers. In the vicinity of Bruceville log schools made their appearance as early as 1820. The first schoolhouse of enlarged proportions built in the town was erected in 1873 at a cost of about \$7,000. It was a two-story brick, the furniture and apparatus with which it was amply supplied being paid for from proceeds of entertainments given by teachers and pupils. In 1879 a normal school was conducted at Bruceville in which Hon. W. A. Cullop was one of the teach-

ers. This school was organized by Messrs. John W. and E. B. Milain, W. H. Pennington and Miss Eliza Currie—the latter being a resident of Vincennes. C. B. Kessinger was also a teacher in the normal, which was very successfully conducted for many years. The present schoolhouse was built in 1909, and cost approximately \$11,000. Lyman J. McClintock is superintendent; Charles B. Fowler, principal; Elsie V. Martin, instructor in music and drawing. The intermediate and primary departments are in charge of Elizabeth Kackley, Lottie Roberts, Mary Hollingsworth. The teachers in the district schools are Ellis Hogue, Center Oak, No. 1; Jessie Reeve, Barrows, No. 2; Bessie Lee Scott, Huddle, No. 4; Edna Pare, No. 5; Edna Kirchoff, Hoke, No. 9; Luna W. Sellers, Green, No. 10; Louis Kyle, Miller, No. 11; Nellie Hill, Sartor, No. 12. Trustee Stacy S. Hollingsworth takes deep interest in the schools of Washington township.

SCHOOLS OF WIDNER TOWNSHIP.

The homes of the pioneers in Widner township were used for school purposes; and as early as 1808 John Widner converted one of the small rooms in his fortified domicile into a schoolroom, wherein Joseph Helt held sway as teacher. It is believed that Widner's was the first school and Helt the first teacher in the township. The old Maria Creek Baptist church in 1809 was used as a schoolhouse. In 1816 Titus B. Willard and John Lemon were teaching in the vicinity of the ancient house of worship, and two years later an active schoolmaster came into the township in the person of James Gray and taught in different sections, until 1820. From the date last named until the introduction of the public school system, many able teachers have plied their vocation in Widner township, establishing schools generally at private houses. In the year 1850, before the laying out of the town, a substantial school building was erected in Freelandville, and in 1874 a more pretentious structure was built. In 1900 the present building, which was remodeled and enlarged in subsequent years, was constructed.

FREELANDSVILLE HIGH SCHOOL.

The schools of Widner are well conducted and carefully supervised by Trustee Dr. R. H. Fox, who meets with much encouragement from his constituents in his efforts to maintain them on a high plane. The Freelandville schools, of which Ellis I. Thompson is superintendent, ranks with the best in the county. The principal of the high school is J. Robert Overman, and Ethel E. Byrum is instructor in music and drawing. The intermediate and primary grade teachers are Rudolph Koch, H. E. Green, Hannah Wolfe, Lydia Schulte, Vina Hollingsworth. The teachers in the schools of Widner township outside of Freelandville are Ora Robbins, Starner, No. 1; Leah McCormick, Light, No. 2; Ruth Simonson, Chambers, No. 3; Walter Pielemeire, Tweed, No. 4; W. C. Unverferth, Dickman, No. 6; Mattie Harber, Sanhedrin, No. 8; Otto C. Stoelting, Ruble, No. 9; Eva Hollingsworth, Strate, No. 10.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROGRESS ALONG THE RELIGIOUS HIGHWAYS.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FIRST CHURCH AND FIRST FORT OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—THE OLD ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CHURCH—ITS FIRST BISHOPS AND PRIESTS—ITS PRESENT PASTORS—THE RARE AND PRICELESS COLLECTION OF ANCIENT VOLUMES IN THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARY—BRIEF SKETCHES OF THE CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF VINCENNES, WHERE THE LAITY LOOK WITH FAVOR ON ALL FAITHS—PICTURES OF ST. XAVIER'S, ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, SACRED HEART, METHODIST, BAPTIST, ST. JAMES, CHRISTIAN, FIRST AND BETHANY PRESBYTERIAN, ST. JOHN'S EVANGELICAL AND ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

Vincennes could well be called the city of churches, for nearly every denomination has a house of worship, many of which are beautiful and costly edifices, typifying the modern styles of architecture and indicating the advanced ideas and tastes of the people composing the various congregations. Historians contend that as early as 1680 priests of great learning, zeal and piety were proclaiming the Word to the Children of the Forests beneath "God's first temples." In 1712 Father Mermet, a French missionary sent from Canada, was the spiritual adviser of the inhabitants, whose place of worship was on the site of the present Cathedral—a very crude building with rough exterior, and built of upright posts "chuncked and daubed," to use an architectural provincialism of the west. Before this date, however, from the far-away shores of southern France, came the Jesuit Fathers to teach the Catholic religion to savages in a howling wilderness, over-run with wild beasts. The ritual and prayers of the church of that day were manuscripts in Indian and French, executed by the Jesuits of Ouiatanon, a settlement at the mouth of the Wea, just below the present city of LaFayette, and a conversational dictionary in the same language (the Miami) made at a very early period. For a time these ancient documents were preserved in the library of St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral, but no doubt disappeared with other church papers from among the innumerable volumes of old books that give to the Cathedral library a priceless value.

The first St. Francis Xavier's church was built in 1702 on the site of the present Cathedral, by the priest who accompanied from Canada Sieur

Juchereau, the builder of the first fort, many Indian converts assisting in its construction. The church and fort were built about the same time, in close proximity to each other, and were both the scenes of incidents that form important chapters in the history of our common country. The fort, before it fell into the hands of the English, bore the name of St. Francis Xavier. From the little church the faithful flock of Father Gibault went to the fort to assure Capt. Helm of their fealty to Virginia, and to acknowledge him as its commandant. From the fort General Hamilton went to the church to discuss with General Clark articles of capitulation under which the wily Briton subsequently surrendered to the gallant American, Sackville, by which name the fort is popularly known.

The first church was built of rough timbers, set in the ground perpendicularly, the interstices filled with adobe. A single door afforded the only entrance to the building, which was devoid of other openings save a hole in the roof, to allow smoke from log fires to escape. There were no windows in the house, the only light obtainable issuing from tallow candles used on the altar, which cast faint shadows on the earthen floor and across the puncheon benches provided for the worshipers. Divine services were conducted in this crude structure until 1785, the year Father Gibault came to Vincennes for the third time to administer to the spiritual wants of the faithful of his flock, when the second church was built under his supervision. In a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, dated May, 1785, he writes: "A new log church, 90 x 42 feet, has been built and the old church has been fitted up for my use as a pastoral residence." The second church, which had been materially modified, was maintained as a place of worship up to 1830, or until the present imposing edifice, on the interior of which many thousands of dollars have been expended, was under roof. The present church was founded by Rev. J. B. Champomier, who personally solicited funds for the purpose, and its corner stone was laid in 1826. The walls of the church were completed by the time of the coming of Bishop Simon Gabriel Bruté, in 1834. The work of construction, which continued through the reign of several Bishops, was not accomplished until 1850.

Bishop Bruté was the first Bishop of Vincennes. He was a man of scholarly attainments and a theologian of profound learning, whom President John Quincy Adams classed as "the most learned man of his day in America." He was a graduate of the most celebrated medical school of Paris, from which he received class honors in 1803. After his graduation he was offered the position of chief physician in the Dispensary of Paris, but refused the flattering offer because he had determined to take up the study of theology, in which his mental resourcefulness and great brilliancy were at once recognized. Time and again he was tendered honored and profitable positions, which he repeatedly refused. He came to America with Bishop Flaget in 1810 and was made the Professor of Philosophy in the Seminary of Baltimore. He was transferred to St. Mary's Col-



ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CATHEDRAL

lege, near Emmitsburg, Md., in 1812, where his fame as instructor in classical and theological learning won for the institution an eminent place among the first schools in America. He was a man of letters in the full significance of the term. His ancestors were printers to the Kings of France, and he brought with him from his native country a large collection of valuable books, some of which were written (not printed) in the fifteenth century. These ancient publications are among the priceless possessions of the Cathedral, and comprise the rarest and most valuable literary productions to be found in any library in the country. The collection consists of 6,000 or 7,000 volumes, one-half of which were issued, or printed, before the beginning of the eighteenth century. Many of the others were published before the dawn of the nineteenth century, and quite a number were in circulation three centuries earlier, as indicated by the dates they bear, which range from 1476 to 1480. A casual glance at these antiquated volumes, some of which are written on parchment and bound in wood and metal, disclose that the subjects treated are biblical, ascetical, didactical, philosophical, descriptive and narrative, canon and civil law, patrology, dogmatic theology, moral theology, biographical, philology, science, governmental reports, historical, apologetical, controversial, bibliography, heretical, liturgy, ceremonies, literature, classics, homelitics, voyages, guides, conversational and polemical works. There are also here to be found without number maps, pamphlets and smaller books, which would be attractive on account of age did they possess no other interest. In the biographical section is a volume on Mohamet, published in 1685. Other pig-skin or board-covered, parchment-bound volumes bear dates as early as 1537. Rare historical works are numerous, such as the Jesuit missionaries' letters from China and Japan, 1536-1565; those from France, Canada and America are of many dates, reciting the labors of those pious, brave and heroic men among the Indians of North America; the *Voyages and Discoveries in New France*, by Sieur de Champlain, 1619. In *Recueil de Voiages au Nord* is recounted the explorations of Pere Hennepin. The second edition of Louis de Pont's *Meditations* is dated 1689; *Mademoiselle Nabonne* is of 1552; an Aristotle, 1606; the *Philosophy of Rene Descart*, 1650, 1673, 1679; Navarri, 1587. A quaint book is *Novum Lexicon in Quo Universi Orbis*, printed in 1677. In the philology section may be found dictionaries and grammars in Arabic, English, German, Italian, Hebrew, French, Irish and Latin. An English dictionary, with the queerest of letters and orthography, bears the date of 1633. In the apologetical, polemical, controversial section is a most interesting work, bearing on its title page the following: "The Opening of the Controversies lately handled in the Low Country's Concerning the Doctrine of Predestination, of the Death of Christ, of Nature and Grace, by Peter Movlin, Pastor of the Church of Paris—Carefully translated out of the original Latin Copy, 1620." Hundreds of bibles are on the shelves, among them Bible Sacred Hebrew Basil, 1535; Munsteri,

1534; and others dated 1522, 1523, 1551; Bible Holie Douay, 1609; ten volumes in the original text of Syric, Arabic, Greek and Hebrew, with translations of each in Latin. Miss Anna C. O'Flynn, who recently made an inspection of the Cathedral library, in an extended notice of her observations, says: "Here we found the bible of the famous Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton. This one we presume is the same that she took with her when she went to Rome to convert the pope. She was known as Mother Seton after her conversion to the Roman Catholic church, as she then founded a religious order. Her bible is dated 1813, and it states that it was in her possession from 1819 to 1835. For carefulness we give the laurels to the Foundation des Monastries, whose bound volumes date from 1639 on. These show that when the mother superior could afford she had the records printed, when otherwise they were most neatly written. The printed pages here and there are worn and torn, yet with great skill they have been mended with patches no larger than a thumb nail, and the missing words are written with minute care on each side of the patched pages.

"The scrapbook of Bishop Bruté contains many a fine old engraving and pen sketches, one of which is an *Ecce Homo* made with one stroke of the artist's pen. He began at the tip of the nose and finished one of the wonders of the penman's skill without raising his pen, shading with photographic beauty. Here we find the missale or Mass Book of the patriotic priest of the Northwest Territory, Rev. Father Gibault, who aided George Rogers Clark in capturing the British in the old French forts on the Mississippi and Wabash rivers. The Mass Book of Rev. Gibault may be called the nucleus from and around which the oldest library gathered her treasures. It was from this old book Rev. Gibault intoned his prayers for the success of the ragged American troops before they started on their long march against the British, who greatly outnumbered them. Father Gibault's missale was published in 1668, and he used it in 1778. To the missale of Rev. Gibault the successive priests who ministered to the spiritual wants of the members of St. Francis Xavier's church in Vincennes have added their quota of books; but to Bishop Bruté belongs the title of founder. To the fact that Bishop Brute's ancestors were printers to the kings of France no doubt is due the richness of this valuable collection of books."

Bishop Bruté died in 1839. His death was deplored by Protestants as well as Catholics, for all admired him for his great piety, unbounded charity and scholarly attainments. He was succeeded by Rt. Rev. Celestine Rene Lawrence Guinemere de la Hailandiere, who officiated as the second bishop of the diocese of Vincennes from 1839 until 1847, when he brought his successful administration to a close by resigning the bishopric and returning to his native France. It was during his administration that the large bell now suspended in the cathedral steeple was purchased. The soft and pleasing tone of the bell is said to be occasioned by the large

quantity of gold and silver entering into its composition, which were furnished by the women of Bishop Hailandiere's native town, who voluntarily threw their jewelry into the mass of metal from which it was cast. John Stephen Bazin was the third bishop of Vincennes. He was consecrated as such shortly after the retirement of Bishop Hailandiere, October 24, 1847, being relieved by death of his office on April 23, 1848. Right Rev. James M. Maurice de Long d'Aussac de St. Palais, who was educated at the celebrated seminary of St. Sulpice, in Paris, upon the death of Bishop Bazin was appointed the fourth bishop of Vincennes. His greatest care was the welfare of orphan children, for whom he provided modern asylums. He died very suddenly while on a visit to St. Mary's Academy, a Catholic educational institution for young ladies, near Terre Haute, June 28, 1877. His funeral was very largely attended by people from all walks of life, representing every denomination, and his body was laid to rest in the chapel under the church, where are entombed the remains of bishops Bruté, Bazin and de la Hailandiere. The latter, before leaving Vincennes, expressed a desire to be buried here and, in compliance with that request, several years after death his body was brought back from France for final interment. The fifth and present bishop of Vincennes is Francis Silas Chatard, who has been relieved of much official work by the recent appointment of a coadjutor bishop in the person of Right Rev. Father Chartrand. Bishop Chatard is an American by birth and was born in Baltimore, Md., December 13, 1834. He graduated from St. Mary's College, near Emmitsburg, Maryland, in June, 1853, while in his eighteenth year. In 1857 he was accepted as a theological student by Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, who subsequently gained him admission to the Urban College of the Propaganda in Rome, where, after pursuing his studies for six years, he was honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In November of the same year he accepted the office of vice-rector of the American College at Rome, a position he filled until the rector in 1868 was elevated to the American bishopric, when Dr. Chatard succeeded to the rectorship, which place he held for ten years. He was consecrated bishop in Rome, May 12, 1878, by Cardinal Franchi. On August 11, 1878, he was installed in office by Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, who performed the ceremony in St. Francis Xavier's church. Soon after his installation Bishop Chatard announced that the bishopric residence would be removed from Vincennes to Indianapolis. The announcement fell like a pall on his hearers, who seemed for a long time disconcerted by the change, and with difficulty reconciled themselves to the new order of things.

The first regular priest of St. Francis Xavier's church was Father Mermet. The date of his arrival is set forth in a letter written from Kaskaskia, November 9, 1712, by Father Marest, in which he writes: "The French having lately established a post on the Wabash, demanded a missionary, and Father Mermet was sent them." Father Senate was the

pastor in charge in 1736. He accompanied Morgan de Vinsenne on his expedition against the Chickasaws in that year, and with the gallant commander was burned at the stake by the Indians in an Arkansas wilderness. From 1736 the church was without a regular pastor until 1749, when Father Sabastian Louis Meurin, a Jesuit priest, came to take charge. The first record of his administration is dated April 21, 1749, which was the occasion of the marriage of Julien Troittier, of Montreal, Canada, and Josette Marie, daughter of a Frenchman and an Indian woman. The last act he performed in the discharge of his priestly duties was to officiate at the burial of the wife of a corporal of the garrison, March 17, 1753. Louis Vivier was the immediate successor of Father Meurin, who had been called to labor in a more extensive field, and was here from 1753 to 1756. The church records disclose that his first official act was the performance of a marriage ceremony, May 20, 1753, and four days later he performed the burial services over the body of Pierre Leonardy, the lieutenant who accompanied Juchereau to Vincennes in 1702, and who was officer of the garrison at the time of his death. The date of the last entry of Father Vivier in the records is August 28, 1756. Father Julien du Jauny was pastor from 1756 until 1763, and during an interval, extending from the date last named until 1770, the parish was without a priest, authority having been vested in a Frenchman named Philibert dit Orleans, a notary public, who had the custody of the records and was permitted to administer baptism. Father Jauny was the last Jesuit in charge of the pastorate of St. Xavier's. Father Gibault came for the first time in 1770, and, during intervals, was in charge from that year until 1778. His later visits were in 1784, 1786, his last appearance being in 1792, when he installed Pierre Mallet, a layman, to guard the church and property until the arrival of Rev. M. Flaget, who came during that year, remaining only a short time, when he was succeeded by Father Levadoux, and the latter by Rev. John Francis Rivet, who died in 1804, his death being the first to occur among the priesthood. Father Donatian Olivier, who was pastor of the church at Prairie du Rocher, made pastoral visits to St. Xavier's in 1804. In 1805 he took up his pastoral residence here, but was relieved for a short time in 1806, by Father Charles Nerinckz, and by Father Urban Guillet, a monk, in 1808. In 1809 Father Olivier returned and stayed until 1810, when he was succeeded by Father Etienne Badin, who came in 1810. In 1813 Father Olivier again returned, and in 1814 Bishop Flaget paid two visits to Vincennes, when the pastor in charge was Rev. Ignatius Chabrat. Rev. Joseph Rosati came from Louisiana in 1817 and officiated as pastor of St. Xavier's. In June, 1818, Rev. Augustus Jeanjean and Rev. Anthony Blanc, came to Vincennes, the former for the purpose of founding a college and the latter to assume the duties of parish priest. Father Jeanjean performed his first office June 21, 1818, in the baptism of a convert, and on January 11, 1819, as his last official act, he did a similar service. Rev. John Aquaroni baptised an in-



ST. JOHN'S GERMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND PARSONAGE,
VINCENNES

fant at St. Xavier's on April 12, 1818, and his last official act was a baptism on the 19th day of the same month. Rev. Andrew Ferrari was the parish priest in 1819-20; Rev. Francis Xavier Dahmon, 1820-21; Father Champomier, 1823-31; Rev. Elisha J. Durbin, 1826; Revs. Simon Fouché and Robt. A. Abel, 1829; Rev. Louis Picot, 1831-33; Rev. Nicholas Petit, 1833-34; Rev. Felix Matthew Ruff, 1831-33; Rev. John Claude Francois, 1835; Rev. Stanislaus Buteaux, 1836; Revs. Julian Benoit and Anthony Deydier, 1837; Revs. Maurice Berrel and Anthony Perret, 1838; Rev. August M. Martin, 1840; Revs. Julian Delaune and John J. Corbe, 1840-41; Rev. A. Couljault, until 1846; Rev. Ernest Audran, until 1860; Rev. John Coutin, 1860-1876; Rev. John Gueguen, 1876-79; Rev. Hugh Peythieu, 1879-90; Rev. Jas. Stremler, March to November, 1890. Rev. Louis Gueguen, who celebrated his golden jubilee in December, 1909, was pastor from 1890 until 1907. Rev. Andrew Oster, who was one of Father John Gueguen's assistants in 1876-79, is the priest of the parish at present, assisted by Rev. Father Jas. Gregoire. The congregation of St. Francis Xavier's consists of more than five hundred families, embracing over fifteen hundred members.

ST. JOHN'S GERMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

It was not until the year 1840 that German Catholics began to arrive in Vincennes in noticeable numbers, and being a naturally religious people craved accommodations for the practice of their religion according to their national customs. Appealing to Rt. Rev. Bishop de la Hailandiere, at that time Bishop of Vincennes, and residing therein, he made provision for them by setting apart a special time and a priest who could speak the German language—Rev. Roman Weinzoepfel—who administered to their spiritual wants in St. Francis Xavier's Cathedral. As the number of German families increased the necessity of a separate church edifice naturally presented itself. They repeatedly petitioned Rt. Rev. Bishop de la Hailandiere to allow them the privilege of erecting a church of their own, to which he turned a deaf ear, thinking the small congregation unequal to the struggle. The Bishop finally acceded to their wishes, in so far as he allowed them to plan a small frame church on Fifth Street in the rear of the lot which now contains what is known as the Bishop's Block. The corner stone was laid, when work ceased on building, as it was even then apparent that it would not accommodate the rapidly increasing members of the congregation. At different times, from different persons, and by degrees, was purchased the beautiful site on Main street between Eighth and Ninth streets. This block now contains a large and handsome church, a beautiful and commodious rectory, and a fine school building of several rooms with a large hall above. The congregation was poor and a great struggle ensued, but under the guidance of the Rev. Nicolaus Stauber, who was then pastor, inspired by his determination and indomitable perseverance and energy, priest and people working as one man,

the plans of the first church, drawn by Mr. Marsille, were accepted. The dimensions of this building were 40 x 80 with a sanctuary 20 feet, the whole surmounted by a lofty steeple, and the corner stone was laid on the 17th day of July, 1851, Rt. Rev. Maurice de St. Palais presiding. The Reverend J. B. Chasse delivered the sermon to a large gathering of various creeds and nationalities. The work continued as rapidly as possible and the building was completed in July, 1852. The trustees at the time were Gerhard Reiter, Henry Soete, Andrew Laugel and Henry Bultman, all of whom have gone to rest from their labors. These faithful German Catholics worshipped in this church for fourteen years, when it was found to be too small to accommodate the congregation. It was therefore decided to enlarge the church by adding a building across the end in the form of a cross, with a Sanctuary, a more spacious Sacristy and an Oratory. These improvements were made in 1866-67 at a cost of \$13,554. A few years afterwards, a generous benefactor, Mr. John Ebner, Jr., following in the footsteps of a most generous father—Mr. John Ebner, Sr.—presented the church with a magnificent chime of bells, weighing 4,000 pounds, necessitating a larger and stronger belfry. Plans were made which resulted in the present imposing front containing two large towers, a spacious vestibule and Baptistry. This improvement was completed in 1890 at a cost of \$13,673, a bequest of \$2,600 left to the church by Theo. Huslage giving an incentive to the project. The first schoolhouse was a small brick building which was replaced by the present handsome structure in 1872. The attendance averages 250 children. In July, 1902, St. John's celebrated its Golden Jubilee with great pomp and ceremony, and fervent prayers ascended from grateful hearts that the efforts of these faithful people, after years of struggle had been crowned on earth and in heaven. During this time, six pastors, with eight assistants have ministered to the spiritual wants of the congregation. The present Parish Consellers are John Weiler, Charles Scheefers, Anthony Risch, Henry Bergmann, Frank G. Reiter, Anthony Kiefer, John Geschke, Emil Frey. The first person baptized in St. John's Church was Herman Henry Bultman. Mr. John F. Miller served the first Mass in the new church. The present statistics show that St. John's congregation contains 350 families or about 1,500 souls. The present rector is Rev. Meinrad Fleischmann, assisted by Rev. Charles Kaby.

THE SACRED HEART CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In 1901 Father Louis Gueguen, then pastor of St. Xavier's, and Father Meinrad Fleischmann, pastor of St. John the Baptist congregation, purchased a lot at the intersection of Day and Reel avenues. At this time in that locality there were, exclusive of manufactories, few pretentious buildings, and the territory adjacent to the property contained only a small number of dwellings. The priests, however, anticipated the wonderful growth in that direction, and in order to accommodate the large number

of Catholics who subsequently built their homes on the North Side, began preparations for the erection of a church three years after the ground had been purchased. On April 24, 1909, the corner-stone of an edifice which had been designed for a church and school was laid. On September 25, 1909, the building was dedicated, in the presence of many thousands of people, Protestants as well as Catholics seeming to enter with zest into the spirit of the impressive ceremonies which the event occasioned. The plans for the structure, around which many handsome and substantial homes have been buildd, were drawn by Campbell & Osterhage, architects, who were also contractors. The building is very attractive and adds materially to the nice appearance of that part of the city, which is a comparatively new settlement. The original cost of the structure was \$25,000. Since its erection, the pastoral residence and a modern dwelling, the latter occupied as a residence by the Sisters, have been built on the lot, which now contains improvements representing about \$37,000. The priest and parishioners contemplate at an early day the erection of a new church in view of converting the present building to school purposes, exclusively. The increase in the number of pupils, who are taught by Sisters of the Benedictine Order, has called for additional buildings sooner than the projectors had anticipated. The actual number of families belonging to the Sacred Heart congregation is one hundred and twenty-five, while the membership of the church is more than five hundred. The pastor in charge is Rev. John Becker, formerly assistant of Father Fleischmann of St. John's. The present trustees are John Birkofer, Thos. Kilfoil, John Freisz, Thos. Reily, William Wensel, Antone Bey.

ST. JAMES' EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

St. James Episcopal church had many struggles in its pioneer days, when it was not very well known west of the Alleghanies. In the year 1835 Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper was consecrated Bishop of Indiana and Missouri, and during his administration substantial work began. Bishop Kemper relates the following incident which occurred while he and his friend and co-laborer were at a small town in the southwest. "For more than a day we enquired in vain for an Episcopalian. One faithful son of the church we at last found, whose name and appearance and zeal I can never forget. He heard after dinner, on a bitter cold day, that I was to officiate that night in a Presbyterian meeting house. Although in his 78th year, and living eight miles from town, he mounted his horse, and arrived in time to participate in the service." This town was Vincennes, and this devoted churchman was Daniel Langdon, whose descendants are still faithful members of the parish, and have erected a beautiful memorial window in the new church. Following this visit of the Bishop occasional services were held but no permanent organization formed until October 7, 1839, at a meeting of churchmen held at the residence of George Davis, Esq., presided over by Rev. B. B. Killikelley, when it was resolved to or-

ganize a parish in accordance with the doctrines, rites and usages of the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States.

The following gentlemen were the first to be appointed vestrymen: George Davis, John Cruikshank, James W. Greenhow, Samuel Langdon, A. T. Ellis, Joseph Somes, George Cruikshank and George W. Rathbone. At their first meeting the following resolutions were adopted: "Resolved, That the Church now organized be called St. James Church of Vincennes. Resolved, That the Reverend B. B. Killikelley be and is hereby chosen Rector of the Church. Resolved, That the Chairman of this meeting appoint a committee of four to petition the President and Trustees of the Borough of Vincennes for the use of the Town Hall as a place of public worship for this congregation, and if consent is obtained to have the same properly fitted up with stoves and seats; and, further, that they correspond with Gen. W. H. Harrison in relation to a lot heretofore donated by him to this church on condition that the church be built thereon, asking his consent that said lot might be sold, and the proceeds used to purchase a more desirable location."

The use of the Town Hall was readily granted and through the untiring efforts of the women of the parish properly equipped. A Guild had been formed, composed of the following women: Mesdames B. B. Killikelley, Shaw, Langdon, Greenhow, Somes, Rathbone, Ellis, Leroy, Martin, Bishop, Cruikshank, Woolverton, Ryan, Misses Martin, Rathbone, Ryan, Shaw, Leroy, Jane, Sarah and Amelia Langdon. So zealously did they labor that they succeeded in raising the sum of \$117.21, which they expended upon the Town Hall.

It was soon discovered that the Town Hall was inadequate and in December, 1840, a lot on the corner of Fourth and Busseron streets was purchased for \$400, the Ladies' Guild supplying \$200 and the Vestry giving a note for the remainder payable in one year.

After the purchase of the lot ways and means were provided to build a permanent edifice for the use of this congregation, and in February, 1841, the Rev. B. B. Killikelley was requested by the Vestry to visit the principal cities in this country and England to obtain funds for this purpose. He was supplied with a letter of instructions, also a letter of recommendation to his Excellency William Henry Harrison. His traveling expenses were to be borne by the Parish. Rev. Killikelley succeeded beyond the hopes of the most sanguine, and in 1841 the plans for the new church, drawn by Charles Dawes, were accepted. The building was English Gothic in design—dimensions 40 by 60 feet—with a tower at the west front and an organ loft across the west nave, but no chancel. The basement was to be used for Sunday school and parish work. The plans were modified somewhat—the tower was omitted and was added only during the years 1859-1868, while Rev. W. H. Carter was rector. The corner stone of the building as accepted



ST. JOHN'S GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH



SACRED HEART CHURCH

was laid in 1842 by Rt. Rev. Jackson Kemper, and the church consecrated on August 2, 1843. Dr. Carter was a man of great energy, and during his administration the tower was not only built, but stained glass windows were placed in the church, gas was introduced and a furnace placed in the basement, a rectory built adjoining the church, and Mission Chapel erected in North Vincennes. This was quite a drain upon the little band of faithful people and involved the congregation in debt for several years, but through devotion and energy they were finally relieved. The Rev. Peter McFarlane, who became rector January 1, 1885, was a man of indomitable energy—inspiring everyone with his own zeal and enthusiasm. One of his great desires was to possess an organ for his church, and he accordingly started an organ fund. A choir room was built and furnished. The Mission Chapel, which had been sold to the city for school purposes, was repurchased and a day as well as Sunday school established. This was owing to the generosity of Major W. P. Gould, who maintained all the expenses of a parochial day school, Sunday school, and free reading room, as well as a girls' industrial school, for some years, until it was again bought by the church, Major Gould making a liberal donation.

In 1887 the Rev. A. A. Abbott was appointed rector and at this time a pipe organ was purchased at a cost of \$2,000. The organ fund at this time amounted to \$700, Major Gould donated \$500 and the parish soon acquired the remaining \$800. In this building the congregation worshiped for sixty-three years, and much honor and credit is given to the Reverend B. B. Killikelley. The church is justly proud of its list of generous donors, among which are many illustrious names—a President of the United States being the first to aid in the building of the church by his donation of a lot, and a Queen of England is the first name on the list of subscribers, followed by Archbishops, Bishops, Priests; members of the Peerage and gentry; statesmen such as William E. Gladstone, and churchmen such as Pusey, Newman and Bickersteth. At the end of sixty-three years this building being very old and beyond repair much money having been spent upon it in vain, the congregation could not but face the necessity of a new building. Accordingly, the Rev. Wm. E. Morgan being in charge, it was decided to sell the old church and with the proceeds purchase a new site on the corner of Sixth and Perry streets. With his usual generosity Major Gould offered \$4,000, provided the church raised \$8,000. A committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions and through the untiring efforts of the Rector the necessary amount was subscribed and a most picturesque stone building, comprising both church and rectory soon gratified the hearts of these zealous church workers. St. James Church up to the present time has had twenty-one pastors. Among its parish members are descendants of some of the oldest and most aristocratic families of the city.

Reverend Forrest H. Blunt is present rector. Since he has been in charge the Sunday school room, kitchen, toilet and other improvements

in the basement of the church property have been completed, and Major W. P. Gould has placed in the chancel a beautiful carved oak altar and reredos in memory of his niece, Miss Grace Allen. The present Vestry consists of Heathcote R. McIlvaine, Senior Warden; H. W. Alexander, Junior Warden; R. J. Greenhow, Guy McJimsey, John B. Wise, John C. Watts, T. F. Palfrey and Napier Dyer.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

It was on the third Sunday in June, 1833, that the Christian church was organized at Vincennes, but by whom is not definitely known, the list containing the names of the organizers as well as those of the charter members not being preserved among the archives. It is known, however, that Henry D. Wheeler and wife and Samuel Piety and wife were among the charter members. The church for fifteen years after its organization was without a house of worship. During this period services were held in the courthouse, town hall and private houses. In May, 1846, a plot of ground was purchased of Judge Blackford by Henry D. Wheeler, Alpheus Draper and Dr. John R. Mantle, trustees, on which the erection of a church was begun the same year, on the present site of the Crystal laundry, in Second street. On October 19, 1848, the church was dedicated. Among its early pastors in the order named were Michael Combs, Morris Palmer, Maurice Trimble, David Worfor, James Mathes, Elijah Goodwin, John O'Kane, L. H. Jameson, P. K. Dibble, O. A. Bartholomew, Prof. Amzi Atwater, J. H. Speer, Stephen Burnet, Dr. Eccles, J. H. Harrison. Alexander Campbell paid the church a visit in 1861.

In 1869 Thomas Holton was installed as pastor to conduct all services. In 1871 the Rev. T. J. Clark, who was a teacher in the high school, accepted a call and remained as pastor for twenty-one years. He was succeeded by J. W. Jessup, he by G. M. Weimes, who was followed by Rev. William Oeschger, who continued in charge for twelve years, having resigned in the summer of 1910. Rev. Oeschger was largely instrumental in having the present handsome church built at the corner of Third and Broadway streets, and in augmenting the membership of the congregation, which now exceeds six hundred souls. Rev. Edgar F. Daugherty, the present pastor, assumed his duties in December, 1910. On his arrival in the city, Hon. Clarence B. Kessinger, an active worker in the church, tendered Rev. Daugherty the free use of a handsome ten-thousand dollar dwelling that had just been completed, which Mr. Kessinger subsequently presented to the church to be occupied as a pastoral residence. The house is located in the same block as the church, in Broadway street, and is one of the prettiest homes on that fashionable thoroughfare.

The Second Christian church is located at the intersection of First street and Reel avenue. The building is commodious and artistically de-



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH



ST. JAMES EPISCOPAL CHURCH

signed, and was erected about four years ago. The congregation is quite large, and is presided over by Rev. James I. O'Neal.

THE FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The year 1810 is fixed as the date of the establishment of Methodism in Vincennes, the period at which the Rev. William Winans came to the city. He was at this time appointed a circuit rider of a territory which embraced eight or ten counties of southwestern Indiana. In all this vast scope of country he only found forty-two Methodists, who had made their way into the then sparse settlements from the south and east. From this handful of John Wesley's disciples the powerful organizations of Methodists existing to-day have grown. Rev. Winans' first religious services were held in the old fort, and his congregation was composed of government officials, militiamen and a few English and French settlers. Conspicuous among his auditors was General William Henry Harrison, who held a lighted taper near while the preacher read the scriptures and announced the hymns. From within the walls of that dimly-lighted fort the words of the minister, and the enthusiastic spirit which they kindled in the hearts of his hearers, went forth, and in a comparatively short time converts to the Methodist faith all over the state became numerous. So readily did the people embrace the new religion, and so rapidly were organizations of Methodists formed in the settlements, that in 1815 it was deemed advisable to divide the territory into separate charges. In 1827 Vincennes was made a distinct station. In 1828 a modern church was built on the corner of Third and Buntin streets. In 1854 the house was wholly inadequate to comfortably accommodate the congregation, and a more substantial church building was erected. This house, too, eventually became too small for the growing congregation and a new location was sought. A beautiful lot was purchased on the corner of Fourth and Perry streets, and in April, 1899, Rev. H. C. Clippinger, then pastor of the church, laid the foundation of the present handsome structure, which was erected at a cost of \$25,000. The building was dedicated on April 1, 1900, by Bishop McCabe, during the pastorate of Rev. T. H. Willis, D. D. It is among the handsomest churches of the city, and is a monument to Methodism in which every one of the five hundred members of the congregation feel a conscious pride. Since the establishment of the church over seventy pastors and junior preachers, nearly all of whom have gone to their long reward, have been associated with it. Such illustrious Methodists as Edward R. Ames and Peter Cartwright, who filled with distinction the office of bishop, were among the early pastors of the church. Rev. John Ward, who succeeded Rev. Doddridge January, 1911, is the pastor at the present time.

The Second Methodist church, Rev. G. E. Bennett, pastor, is located at First and Sycamore streets, where Epworth League sessions and prayer meetings are held every Thursday evening.

Bethel Chapel Methodist church (colored) is at the intersection of Tenth and Buntin streets. It has been an organization for many years. Its present pastor is Rev. Robt. H. Williamson, who conducts regular Sabbath service and Sunday school and holds prayer meetings every Wednesday night.

THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

The year 1833 is the date when Presbyterianism in Vincennes had its second rise, because it was at this period when a certain number of persons withdrew from the Indiana church. As has been previously stated, the Indiana church, of which Vincennes Presbyterians were communicants, was organized in 1806—such an organization having been perfected in a barn owned by Col. Small, about two miles northeast of Vincennes and about midway between the courthouse and the site now occupied by the Upper Indiana church. The courthouse was for many years prior to 1833 used as a place of Divine worship by Vincennes Presbyterians, who were of the congregation and, hence, a part of the original church organization.

The oldest record book extant of the sessions of the Indiana church, from August 12, 1812, to September 29, 1844, shows that previous to the organization of the Vincennes church the meetings of sessions were held at Lower Meeting House, Upper Meeting House and Vincennes, and as often, or oftener, in Vincennes than either of the other places, which were located in the country. The synod met at Vincennes and held their meetings and the Lord's Supper here as early as 1828.

On the site occupied by the present handsome edifice, corner Fifth and Busseron streets, the first church was dedicated April 16, 1831—nearly two years before the withdrawal or organization of this part of the church.

The earliest roll of the church (Indiana) shows that of 188 members forty belonged to Vincennes.

The lot on which the present church stands was given to the congregation by John Bruner for the nominal sum of \$80, with the condition that it be always used for church purposes. A building was erected and dedicated April 13, 1831. Quite an amount had been subscribed but not sufficient to pay for the building and raise the mortgage. However, through untiring energy, religious zeal and extreme liberality of its members the congregation were able to come into undisputed possession of its church building.

The country and town congregation was divided by Vincennes Presbytery on April 6, 1842, and the church of Vincennes was organized Saturday, January 5, 1833. Rev. William Martin was pastor and Dr. James Kuykendahl and Mr. John D. Hay were ordained and installed ruling elders. In 1834 the Rev. W. W. Martin received and accepted a call to Hanover, Ind., leaving the church vacant, which state of affairs continued

until April, 1835, when the church was placed in correspondence with the Rev. John McNair, who signified his willingness to accept the call. Rev. John McNair took charge of the church May 1, 1835, at a salary of \$400 per annum. The congregation were well pleased with their minister, who labored zealously, and the church improved in every way. Rev. McNair remained with the congregation until his health demanded a change and rest and he returned to his old home, leaving the congregation without a pastor, and much discouraged, as they did not know where to apply, until 1836 a call was extended to Rev. Thomas Alexander, of Alabama, who accepted the call, at the same salary, and having arrived with his family took charge October 1, 1836. He fulfilled all the duties of his office satisfactorily until 1847, when he received and accepted a call to his old home in Alabama. The connection between pastor and church was dissolved January 23, 1847. On February 17, 1847, the Rev. John F. Smith, of Bardstown, Ky., was invited to take charge, and arrived March 15th and entered upon his work.

In 1849 the officers of the church, after serious discussion, agreed to dispense with the services of deacons and elect four additional elders instead. The reason given was that they found it impossible to fulfill the duties of both boards satisfactorily from so small a number of male members. The congregation being willing, and due notice having been given, the following persons were elected elders, viz.: H. P. Brokaw, J. M. Cooke, H. T. Roseman and Dr. H. M. Smith.

On January 27, 1856, Rev. Smith presented a petition to the church to raise his salary or accept his resignation. After mature deliberation the church agreed to accept the resignation. Accordingly the Rev. Smith, having severed his connection, in April, 1856, the congregation invited the Rev. J. W. Blythe of Cranberry, N. J., to take pastoral charge. This was accepted and Rev. Blythe continued to fill the pulpit until March 8, 1858, when he resigned and on May 1, 1858, the pulpit was declared vacant and continued so until November 1, 1859, when the Rev. J. F. Jamison was invited for one year at a salary of \$800. At the end of the year a meeting was held to consider the matter of retaining Mr. Jamison, which resulted in his remaining. As the congregation was very much divided—the vote being 24 to 25—it caused much dissatisfaction among the members and resulted in the withdrawal of Rev. Jamison. In 1861 the Rev. Eli B. Smith of Louisiana, Mo., was invited to visit the church for several Sundays. This he did so satisfactorily that a call was extended to him, and on May 11, 1862, was installed pastor of the church at a salary of \$1,000 per year. In 1862 the church was divided into First and Second churches and so continued until 1873, when they were re-united. On October 28, 1866, the Rev. E. B. Smith severed his connection with the church, the pulpit was declared vacant, to be filled February 2, 1868, by Rev. J. F. Hendy, who closed his pastorate October 23, 1872.

At a meeting of the Presbytery in Princeton, Indiana, April 16, 1873, a call was extended Rev. Joseph Vance, who accepted and served from April 10, 1873, to July 2, 1874. Rev. H. B. Thayer took charge March 15, 1875, and served until 1877. The church did not succeed in securing a pastor until 1878, when a call was extended to Rev. E. P. Whallon, of Liberty, Ind., who accepted and was installed September 10, 1878. Rev. Whallon's salary was increased in 1886 to \$1,500 per year, and he continued to serve until January 1, 1888, when he resigned to remove to Indianapolis. On March 28, 1888, at a meeting of the Board Rev. T. S. Scott was unanimously elected pastor.

In 1896 Rev. T. S. Scott requested the congregation to unite with him in a request to the Presbytery to accept his resignation, which was done, and the Rev. George Knox was installed pastor in 1897. For some time after the churches united it was found that the Fifth church was inadequate to the wants of the growing congregation, and by unwearied diligence a new church building was erected from a plan that would give the church an apparently finished structure, and sufficient for a while until money enough could be raised to complete the building. During the process of erection of the new church, services were held in the Main Street church. At the end of fifteen years some very expensive repairs were needed, and as they had no difficulty in raising the amount of \$15,000 from twenty-six members, upon inquiry it was found that many were in favor of finishing the church. At a called meeting March 18, 1898, it was decided to complete the building, and a committee composed of James Wade Emison, Royal E. Purcell and Earl H. Buck, with Rev. George Knox, ex-officio member, was appointed to solicit subscriptions. The committee met with so much success that at a meeting, June 24, 1898, it was decided to appoint a building committee of five—the soliciting committee with the addition of John Bierhaus and James A. Plummer—and to begin work immediately. Before the church was fully completed and ready for dedication Rev. George Knox resigned and it was decided not to call another pastor until all indebtedness was paid—not to close the doors absolutely, but to have devotional exercises every Sabbath morning. October 30, 1901, it was agreed unanimously to extend a call to Dr. W. A. Hunter, which was accepted, and Dr. Hunter signified his intention of coming to Vincennes. He entered upon his pastoral duties December 1, 1901, and continued to serve the congregation faithfully until the early fall of 1906. He was succeeded by Rev. A. W. Sonne, who temporarily filled the pulpit during the remainder of 1906, assuming full charge the first of the year 1907, and continuing as pastor until the fall of 1910, since which time the church has had no regular minister.

THE BETHANY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

Bethany until recently bore the name of the First Cumberland Presbyterian church. Its organization, which dates from April 28, 1890, was



BETHANY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH

perfected by Rev. H. Clay Yates, the pastor, who was assisted by Rev. Alonzo Yates, of Monroe City. Those who subscribed their names as charter members were Mrs. Sallie Setzer, Nannie Setzer, Alfred Reel, W. H. Wilson, Lee Milam, Emma Presnell, John S. Sawyer, Cassada Pinkstaff, N. E. Medcalf, Wm. A. Reel, Mary A. Mass, Emma Setzer, Lucinda Watson, Mrs. Mary Underwood, Elizabeth Ingram, Joseph Roseman, Hannah Presnell, Jennie Hazen, Lucinda Sawyer, Ella J. Medcalf, Emma McCarrell. In 1890 the first Bethany (Cumberland) church was built. At the time it was constructed the growth of the congregation was anticipated, and it was so planned that by an addition its capacity would not only be increased, but its symmetry and beauty enhanced. The addition, which was made about four years ago, makes the church one of the most attractive in the city. It is located in Shelby street, near Eighth, and since its establishment has had five pastors, viz.: Rev. H. Clay Yates, April 28, 1890, to April 1, 1895; Rev. F. A. Grant, from July 1 1895, to January 1, 1896; Rev. J. N. McDonald, from March, 1897, to April, 1901; Rev. J. B. Miller, who accepted his charge May 5, 1901, tendered resignation in the fall of 1910, to take up evangelistic work, and was succeeded by Rev. Elijah A. Arthur, the present pastor. The church has a membership of about three hundred with a Sunday school enrollment of two hundred and fifty.

The Presbyterians also have a church on the North Side, known as the McKinley avenue church, which is presided over by Rev. Alonzo Yates and attended chiefly by members living in its vicinity.

ST. JOHN'S LUTHERAN CHURCH.

The organization of St. John's Lutheran church, which was originally St. John's Evangelical church, took place simultaneously with its withdrawal from the latter society in 1859. At this time both congregations, which had been as one, worshiped in a modest church at the corner of Eighth and Scott streets, to which property the Evangelicals relinquished all claims to the Lutherans for a consideration of \$400. Prior to the building of the church services were held in the town hall. The first pastor was the Rev. Peter Seuel, who was ordained and installed October 26, 1859, and continued to officiate until 1866, when he was succeeded by Rev. J. D. F. Myer, who served until 1869, at which date Rev. F. R. Tramm assumed the pastorate and continued in the discharge of duties pertaining thereto until 1880. During his administration the old church was torn down and a new brick structure, costing \$11,000, was erected, the dedicatory ceremonies taking place December 10, 1876. Rev. Tramm was succeeded by the Rev. C. F. Huges, September 26, 1880. The latter's successor was Rev. G. Goesswein, who was installed January 11, 1885, and served until June, 1897. The present pastor, Rev. Carl Kretzmann, assumed his pastoral duties September 12, 1897. The church has a large congregation, many of whom became communicants after the inaugura-

tion of Rev. Kretzmann, who is very popular with the members of his flock.

Since the date of its organization the church has maintained a parochial school, and as early as 1866 had a commodious two-story brick building erected for school purposes on a lot adjoining the church. The pupils, who number more than one hundred, receive instruction from Mr. August Fathauer, who is ably assisted in his educational work by his accomplished daughter, Miss Bertha.

The present trustees of St. John's Lutheran church are Emil H. Yung-hans, Henry Steffen, John Kirsch.

ST. JOHN'S GERMAN EVANGELICAL CHURCH.

The German Evangelical St. John's Church, is located on the corner of Fifth and Hart streets. It has stood on this spot, seemingly favored by Providence for upwards of sixty years. In August, 1849, Reverend C. Tomson, a German theologian, crossed the waters with the avowed purpose of becoming a citizen of America and enjoying its freedom, and came to Vincennes. As soon as it was known that a German minister was in the city, a committee of Germans, composed of Messrs. Bieber, Hoffman, and Watjen called upon him to pay their respects, and request him to remain and conduct a service in the German language. This he readily consented to do, and conducted the first German Evangelical service ever held in the city. Reverend Tomson, signifying his willingness to locate in Vincennes, a second service was arranged for the second Sunday in September. At this service final arrangements were made, and the organization perfected under the name of German Evangelical Protestant Church of Vincennes, and an invitation extended all German Protestants to become members. The salary was the most serious consideration, as the members consisted of a few laboring men who were receiving only 35 or 40 cents per day. Nothing daunted, they circulated a subscription list and succeeded in securing \$150 for the pastor for one year. Reverend Tomson had consented to remain conditionally, with the privilege of bettering his condition if an opportunity presented itself. In April, 1850, he was called to Louisville, Ky., and left Vincennes, after eight months' successful labor in the service of the church. After a few years the congregation desired to own its place of worship, and when Mr. Cochran, a resident of Cincinnati, Ohio, presented the congregation with two building lots on the corner of Eighth and Scott streets, it was decided to attempt to build a church. The treasury, however, was soon depleted and work was compelled to cease. Almost discouraged, the congregation resolved to appeal to the English churches for assistance. Accordingly a committee composed of William Busse, John Hamm, Henry Hauser and D. Watjen was appointed to solicit the help of the other churches. They responded promptly, and arranged a supper for the benefit of the German church. This supper was so well organized and attended that the sum of



FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH



FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

\$450 was realized. This enabled the Germans to complete their church. Another difficulty presented itself at the dedication. They were left at this time to deplore the departure of Reverend Schlundt, who had been their pastor through many vicissitudes for several years. Ministers were very difficult to obtain at this time and they were obliged to elect a Lutheran pastor, who naturally dedicated the church according to the ritual of the Lutheran church, with the inscription: German Lutheran Evangelical St. John's Church, above the door. This occasioned a deplorable church war of several years' duration, during which time the church suffered in every way—spiritually and financially. Latterly, through an error, the congregation, while accepting the two lots from Mr. Cochran, had built the church on a third, for which Mr. Cochran demanded payment. Realizing, however, to what straits this faithful congregation had been reduced, he generously offered the lot at quite a moderate price. The tension between pastor and congregation was so strained that the congregation was finally divided, and a separate church organization formed with the faithful Evangelicals. The only survivors to-day are John Hamm and Peter Ritterskamp. On the seventh of December, 1862, a second small frame church, which had been erected at the corner of Fifth and Hart, was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. In 1886 the present elegant church was built at a cost of \$12,000; a new organ was purchased for \$2,000 and a handsome parsonage erected at a cost of \$5,000. To further enhance the beauty of the surroundings, a handsome Memorial Hall was erected by two members of the congregation, Mr. L. A. Meyer and Mr. Wm. H. Vollmer, in memory of their deceased sons, to be used for church purposes. The church has had thirteen pastors. The Reverend Louis Hohmann is in charge at the present time. He has under his care a large, prosperous congregation, with all the church property free of debt.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH.

In all probability the Baptists enjoyed religious services at Vincennes at a date very early in the nineteenth century, inasmuch as the Rev. James McQuaid, a missionary of that faith, was in this community in 1809, and aided in the organization of the Maria Creek Baptist church in Widner township. However, there is no record of a movement towards a church or organization being made at Vincennes until 1860, at which date Mrs. W. J. Heberd, grandmother of William J. Heberd, Jr., took the initiatory in this direction by an effort to secure the services of a minister, which resulted in the Rev. J. S. Gillespie putting in an appearance in September, 1861. He held a series of meetings in the Methodist Episcopal church, after which he went back to Greencastle to attend his flock. He returned to Vincennes in 1862, resigning his prosperous church at Greencastle, and refusing tempting offers from Terre Haute, in order to complete the work he had inaugurated here. Services were held in the city hall for

a time and prayer meetings at the residence of Rev. Gillespie, corner Sixth and Perry streets. At the home of the reverend gentleman on May 1, 1862, an organization was accomplished, the following persons constituting the charter members: Mrs. W. J. Heberd, Mrs. David Buck, Mrs. William Flora, Mrs. Eliza Wise, Miss Lou Duree, Mrs. L. Gillespie, Miss Gillespie, Rev. J. S. Gillespie and Christian Raller. A Sunday school organization was perfected shortly after at the city hall with an enrollment of eighteen members. The question of building a church was agitated in the face of discouraging circumstances, and before a great while, contrary to expectations, the congregation had raised funds sufficient to pay Judge James C. Denny \$1,200 for a lot at the corner of Broadway and Sixth streets. Soon after a frame church, costing \$4,600, was erected on the lot, and in 1868 a bell and other furnishings had been added. Mrs. Heberd and Rev. Gillespie were most prominent in perfecting the plans for building the church, and the former active in equipping the structure after its completion. Conscious of having performed a good service towards his congregation, Rev. Gillespie resigned its pastorate in 1867, and was succeeded by the Rev. L. B. Robinson, who remained two years. In 1871 Rev. B. F. Cavens became pastor, remaining for two years; Dr. Stinson, of Terre Haute, from March to July, 1873. Rev. John Bradenburg accepted the pastorate on July 1, 1875, and remained until 1881. Rev. J. H. Butler was pastor from 1881 until 1883, and his successors were Revs. Patterson, B. F. Keith, William Thomas, Thomas Walford, W. G. Law and J. H. Rodes. The latter resigned his charge December, 1910, since which time the congregation has been without the services of a regular minister. Three years ago the old frame church was torn down, and upon its site began the erection of an imposing edifice, the magnificent proportions of which are shown in the accompanying picture, from a drawing. Work of construction, owing to a scarcity of funds, was abandoned after the completion of the sub-structure. The partially-built house, which will be a monument to the Baptists as well as an ornament to the city when finished, was temporarily roofed and nicely furnished, and affords to-day, even in its unfinished condition, a comfortable place for worship.

The Second Baptist church (colored) is located at the intersection of Twelfth and Seminary streets, Rev. Henry Green, pastor. The General Baptist Church of the Flat Creek Association, has a house of worship on the corner of Chesnut and Minneapolis avenues, and is in charge of Rev. F. M. Everett. The Primitive Baptists worship in a building on Eberwine avenue, near Terre Haute street.

THE APOSTOLIC HOLINESS CHURCH.

The Christian people of this denomination formed themselves into a body at the beginning of 1895, and selected Rev. T. J. Keith as pastor. Mr. Keith was called to other fields, and Rev. E. F. Partridge, an ener-

getic worker, was chosen in his stead. After several years of incessant work, notable for "the propagation of scriptural holiness, and a bold stand for aggressive missionary work among the neglected at home and abroad," Rev. Partridge resigned his charge to Rev. Keith, who became his successor as well as predecessor. After assuming the pastorate the second time Rev. Keith, by dint of hard labor personally collected a sum of money sufficient to erect a neat and cozy little church on the corner of Twelfth and Broadway streets, where the Apostolic Union hold religious services Sabbath morning and evening and prayer meeting on every Thursday night.

OTHER CHURCHES.

The B'Nai B'rith is the name adopted by a congregation of Israelites, who are at present without a rabbi, the functions of which office are performed by Daniel Oestreicher, who is secretary of the order.

The Christian Scientists have a growing congregation, and meet in the Church of Christ, at 125 North Second street, holding Sunday-school in the forenoon of the Sabbath, and services on Wednesday morning and evening.

The Vincennes Society, which is also composed of adherents to the Christian Science faith, meets in LaPlante building, at No. 221, on Sunday and Wednesday.

The Free Methodist church is located on the corner of Fourth and Sycamore, Rev. Wm. V. Miller, pastor, where regular Sabbath services are held.

The Salvation Army, whose barracks have been established in this city for many years, are ensconced in the Zuber building, corner Seventh and Shelby streets. The corps, under command of Capt. Walter W. Hinshaw, is doing much charity work.

The United Brethren hold services on Sunday morning and evening at No. 126 North Seventh street, but are at present without a regular pastor.

The commercial value of the church property in Vincennes, including the buildings thereon and those in contemplation of erection, will aggregate over a million dollars. The larger churches are handsomely furnished and equipped with powerful and expensive organs. All of them are located in the residence portions of the city, and their imposing presence lends an additional charm to the handsome homes and beautiful lawns by which they are surrounded. The population in its entirety is church-going in its tendencies. Many who are not communicants of any church, who do not accord with any creed, or affiliate with any sect, are quite liberal with subscriptions for the maintenance of all, which in a measure accounts for the many handsome and costly structures. As an evidence that the community is one of church-goers it is only necessary to cite that during a recent protracted revival at one of the Protestant

churches more than five hundred souls were converted. One will find here, whether within the folds of the Catholic or Protestant churches, whether among the Jews or Gentiles, a liberality of thought that sectarian ties can not stay. It is the exemplification of the religious sentiment of the twentieth century, which permits the brethren of one church to see the good that may be in the brethren of another, no matter how far dogmas or creeds may separate them. Therefore, admirable progress is being made along the avenues of spiritual as well as material affairs. Social obligations are not permitted to suffer because religious duties are imperative; and the average churchman has come to consider that there is no more harm in taking an automobile spin after church, down the pike, in heaven's pure air, with cheerful presence, than there is to stroll leisurely along the boulevard in the light of God's glorious sunshine with solemn mien.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SOCIAL AND FRATERNAL SIDE OF VINCENNES.

TWENTIETH CENTURY SOCIETY AT THE OLD POST—BEAUTIFUL AND HOSPITABLE HOMES—BRIEF MENTION OF SOME UP-TO-DATE CLUBS—THE FIRST MASONIC LODGE IN INDIANA—ITS DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS, AND THE IMPORTANT PARTS THEY PLAYED IN THE HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—AN ARRAY OF SECRET SOCIETIES, FRATERNAL AND INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, HISTORICALLY AND POLITICALLY CONSIDERED—SOLDIERS OF CITY AND COUNTY TO BE HONORED WITH A FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLAR MONUMENT—THE UNIVERSITY CADETS IN THE SPANISH WAR—REMINISCENCES OF MEN AND THE ORDERS THEY FOUNDED.

The social life of Vincennes is made congenial by the beauty and picturesqueness of the country which surrounds the old town, by its easy accessibility to the larger cities of the north, south, east and west, its healthfulness and cleanliness, its historic importance, the excellency of its schools, and the multiplicity and high plane of its churches. Society here now is swayed by the same impulses of loftiness, the generous hospitality, the strict propriety which were prevalent in colonial times, when courtesy, candor and honor ruled. While it has conformed itself to twentieth century modes, it has retained all the gentleness, beauty and virtue that characterized it in the days of chivalry. An insight of its character is best obtained by a glance at its club life, a peep into the elegant homes of the intellectual men and women who find time to withdraw from the routine duties of every-day life to examine into and discuss subjects which pertain to the warp and woof of the whole social fabric. Art, music and literature, religion and education, economics, as well as hygienic questions, constitute the food for thought upon which quite a number of feminine clubs, organized for the ostensible purpose, subsist. The women of Vincennes are progressive along these lines, but not to a degree to distract their attention from exactions of a domestic nature which make home life heavenly. The beauty of their pretentious homes, over which they preside as queens, has been enhanced by Nature, who has set out with lavish hand stately forest trees on the avenues along which they are builded. The beautiful lawns, laid out in every variety of style known to landscape gardening, and em-

bellished with choicest specimens of the flowery kingdom, appeal to all lovers of nature and those having an eye for the artistic and beautiful. The abodes of those whose worldly circumstances will not permit them to be so lavish with display—within the walls of which happiness and contentment reign just the same—are none the less attractive for the lack of greater elaboration. The rich and well-to-do, as well as those who occupy the intermediate stations along life's social highway, are all comfortably domiciled. No pronounced lines of demarcation are drawn between the rich and those whose limited means do not permit them to live as luxuriantly as their neighbors. Worth, not wealth, is what weighs in the social scale of this community. Whether one enters a mansion, in aristocratic quarters, or a modest cottage, in less favored localities, he will be confronted with unmistakable evidences of refinement, intelligence and progress of a people who believe in the sacredness of home, and who employ their energies, labor and education in providing comforts for a home which will cement firmer the ties that bind families in the endearing embrace of love, duty and fidelity.

The so-called aristocracy boasts of many, very many, handsome residences in Vincennes, having architectural beauty that is unique, costly and artistic, in localities that are the centre of art, culture and education, wherein wealth and elegance sit enthroned, whose occupants are never too exclusive to accord their neighbors attentions and courtesies not permitted by the more precise rules governing the conventionalities of the elect.

The social and fraternal orders, and the other numerous organizations, which provide entertainment, recreation and instruction; the parks, theatres, and the beautiful river, splendid drives leading out of the city in all directions, fishing and hunting preserves not far away, fine boating, are some of the features which contribute toward making existence in Vincennes happier. The ladies have been particularly active in the organization of societies for the improvement of the mind, for the advancement of religion and education, and the cultivation of art, science and literature, as well as for out and indoor amusement and recreation. Among the more prominent feminine societies is

THE FORTNIGHTLY CLUB.

This organization was formed at the home of Mrs. Helen B. Bayard, November 11, 1881, at which time it was decreed to limit the membership to fifty. At the initial meeting Mrs. Helen B. Bayard was chosen president and Mrs. Alice J. Clarke, secretary. The following ladies, who were present, signed their names as charter members below the signatures of the newly-elected officers: Mrs. Ellen Gould, Mrs. E. A. Bryan, Mrs. Ruben G. Moore, Mrs. J. S. Horton, Mrs. Ruth Davenport, Mrs. Wm. Glover, Miss Lloyd Allen, Miss Ray Berry, Miss Sabra Cather, Miss Katharine McIlvaine, Miss Clara DeWolf, Miss Ida Lusk, Miss Anna DeWolf,

Miss Albertine Moore. The society began holding meetings twice a month, immediately after organization, although it was not until June 23, 1901, that the Fortnightly Club was incorporated. Those who signed the articles of incorporation were Mrs. Helen B. Bayard, Mrs. Alice J. Clarke, Mrs. R. G. Moore, Mrs. J. S. Horton, Miss Albertine Moore, Miss Ida Lusk and Miss Katharine McIlvaine. The first series of meetings were held at the homes of different members. Later one of the rooms belonging to the public library in the City Hall building was fitted up, and for several years the club conducted their semi-monthly exercises there. The administrative affairs of the local government having undergone a change in the meantime, the edict went forth that the rooms assigned for library purposes must not be used for any other, and the Fortnightly folks were forced to return to the original practice of holding their sessions at the homes of members. The Fortnightly, however, is now perfecting arrangements for the erection of a handsome home of its own.

The club was originally intended as purely a literary organization, but as the years sped by the advanced thinkers took up different lines of work. Economics, political and domestic, civic improvements, and a variety of other subjects, have recently engrossed the attention of members, with the result that the club is wielding a powerful influence for good in the community by bringing these important questions prominently and persistently before the public. The demand for the recognition of women in educational matters relative to the selection of trustees for public schools, and for the enactment of more humane laws affecting the employment of children, are measures through the advocacy of which the Fortnightly Club has won enviable distinction. Its present officers are: Mrs. A. M. Sheperd, president; Mrs. Katharine Morse, vice president; Miss Anna Thuis, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Frank M. Curtis, recording secretary; Mrs. A. F. Pielmeire, treasurer.

THE VINCENNES ART ASSOCIATION.

The initiatory step towards the formation of the Vincennes Art Association was taken when Mrs. M. F. Johnston, President of the Richmond Art Association, came, by invitation, to talk upon a "Democratic Art Movement," which was on February 22, 1907. To defray the expenses incidental to the appearance of the distinguished woman it was necessary to raise a guarantee fund, to which the following named ladies and gentlemen subscribed, thus becoming charter members of the association: Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Bierhaus, Miss Helen Bierhaus, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Bierhaus, Mr. and Mrs. D. D. Aldrich, Mr. and Mrs. Ed. Sheperd, Mr. and Mrs. S. H. Isaacs, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Reed, Mr. and Mrs. Alvin McClure, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Lyons, Mr. and Mrs. Ike Lyons, Mr. and Mrs. Ike Kuhn, Dr. and Mrs. George Knapp, Dr. and Mrs. R. G. Moore, Dr. and Mrs. M. G. Moore, Dr. and Mrs. T. H. Maxedon, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Glover, Mr. and Mrs.

Frank Reiter, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Robeson, Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Alexander, Mr. and Mrs. R. I. Hamilton, Dr. and Mrs. Horace Ellis, Mrs. Alice Judah Clarke, Mrs. Mary F. Ewing, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Baker, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Foulks, Dr. and Mrs. B. F. Ridgeway, Mrs. Catharine LaPlante, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Curtis, Misses Margaret Holland, Eleanor Beach, Antoinette Andrus, Ida L. Lusk, Messrs. Jesse Foulks, C. B. Kessinger, John St. John, P. J. Burns, Steve Eastham, W. C. Mason, William Ewing and Louis J. Simon.

Mrs. Johnston's talk was given at the high school on the date named, and those present unanimously resolved to form an organization similar to that discussed by the speaker. A committee was appointed to draft a constitution and by-laws and present the same at a meeting to be held on March 1, 1907, called for the purpose of electing officers. The constitution was adopted and the following officers elected: Mrs. Chas. Bierhaus, president; C. B. Kessinger, first vice president; Mrs. Sam Lyons, second vice president; John St. John, recording secretary; Miss Ida L. Lusk, corresponding secretary; Frank Curtis, treasurer. The following named persons were chosen as directors: Messrs. W. C. Mason, Mrs. Mary F. Ewing, Prof. A. R. Bailey, Mrs. H. W. Alexander, Miss Margaret Holland, Prof. J. G. Organ, Perry D. Green, Miss Eleanor Beach, W. H. Vollmer, Mrs. Wm. Reed, Rev. W. E. Morgan, Miss Estelle Dalbey (Mrs. Julius Hack). The association was incorporated in June, 1910, and the ladies and gentlemen named above attached their signatures to the articles of incorporation.

The first exhibition, as were those subsequently held, was given in June, 1907, in the high school building, all the rooms of the third floor being utilized for the purpose. On this occasion the association purchased a beautiful picture, which attracted among the many hundreds of others, universal attention, the title of which was "The Cloud," done by S. C. Steele.

Mr. Herman Wessell, a Vincennes artist, had a number of fine paintings displayed, conspicuous among which was "The Dutch Admiral," a production much admired by the instructors and pupils of the Cincinnati Art School, from which institution Mr. W. graduated with high honors. The artist very generously donated this specimen of his skill to the association, and it is to-day as highly prized as any work comprising the valuable collection embraced in the annual exhibit of this infant art society. Mrs. Sheridan H. Isaacs (formerly Miss Lizzie Clarke), was another generous donor, and presented a beautiful painting in oil, entitled "Roses." The second exhibition, the third and fourth, which were attended by thousands of visitors, were also held in the high school building, in June, 1908-9-10, respectively. On each occasion, in the years as set forth in the order above, many purchases were made of the most desirable prints, etchings, masterful and praiseworthy executions in oil and water.

The Vincennes Art Association, which is a member of the Indiana Art Circuit, has the largest and best selection of paintings, prints, worthy bronze and plaster casts of any city in Southern Indiana, which are housed for the

present in the commodious and well-lighted assembly rooms of the Vincennes high school building, where they afford not only pleasure and delight to the students, but are objects of great interest to teachers, visitors and educators from abroad. The prints and casts are part and parcel of a collection presented by the Alumni Association of the Vincennes high school. The paintings have been purchased, year by year, out of the collections sent here for display, and include those referred to above as donations.

From time to time the Vincennes Art Association has some of the most celebrated art advocates and lecturers in the country visit the city to regale its members and their friends with up-to-date discussions of art, glimpses of the places where it is encouraged, its devotees, and the beneficence of its culture. All told, the patrons of the association at the close of the year 1910 numbered more than eight hundred, its active membership being about seventy-five. The present officers of the association are Mrs. Chas. Bierhaus, president; C. B. Kessinger, first vice president; Mrs. Wm. Glover, second vice president; Albert Heinekamp, recording secretary; Miss Ida Lusk, corresponding secretary; Frank Curtis, treasurer. Directors, Mrs. H. W. Alexander, Mrs. Edward Pielemeire, Mrs. Mary F. Ewing, Miss Margaret Holland, Miss Eleanor Beach, Miss Lena M. Robinson, W. H. Vollmer, R. I. Hamilton, W. C. Mason, Jake Gimbel, James Wade Emison, Horace Ellis.

THE COLUMBIA READING CIRCLE.

Back in the late fall of 1889 Mesdames Jos. L. Bayard and Wm. Berry began to enquire concerning the kind of books some of their intimate friends were reading. The discussion resulted in a pre-arranged meeting at the home of Mrs. Bayard, in January, 1890, which terminated in the organization of the St. Francis Xavier branch of the Columbia Reading Circle. "Is it not a glorious thing to live for the best?" was the motto selected by the club, which thereupon proceeded to the election of the following officers: Mrs. Wm. Berry, president; Mrs. J. L. Bayard, secretary; Miss Katharine Greene, Miss Anna C. O'Flynn, Mrs. John B. LaPlante, directors. The other members present, who signed the charter, were Joseph L. Bayard, Mr. and Mrs. John Burke, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Breivogel, Mr. and Mrs. Thos. Crosson, Mrs. Schuyler Beard, Miss Anna Beckes, Mr. and Mrs. Henry S. Cauthorn, Mrs. Orlando H. Cobb, Mrs. W. M. Hindman, Miss Margaret Holland, Mr. and Mrs. J. D. LaCroix, Mrs. Edward Smith, Miss Clementine Weisert, John B. LaPlante, Rev. Father Dennis McCabe. It was decided to limit the membership to twenty-five and hold semi-monthly meetings of the club at the homes of members. The organization was formed for the purpose of cultivating and fostering a taste for literature, especially that of Catholic authors, as shown by the order of business, which obtains at all meetings, and, briefly summarized, consists of selections from the Catholic World; selections from the Catholic Reading Circle Review; a chapter from book under discussion; original paper on review; discussion of

current events. At the conclusion of the evening's program a social round-table hour is employed, "where words that have had mighty portent have been spoken," said a member in referring to one of these round-table sessions held "on a February evening, in the year 1901; when the sleet and cold were intensely disagreeable, we recalled the hardships endured and sacrifices made by our Vincennes heroes—George Rogers Clark and Father Pierre Gibault. Sympathy for these great characters heightened a desire on our part to honor their memory. A monument was suggested as a testimonial of our appreciation of their worth and services, and for two or three meetings the subject was freely agitated, the conclusion being reached that a monument should not only serve to perpetuate the memory of these men, but it should be made beneficial to humanity. The hope grew that the sum of money sought to be expended in the erection of a marble shaft could be better utilized in securing rooms for the shelter of homeless toilers and a refuge for the sick. The membership of the circle was small, but the energy and enthusiasm of the workers were great; and in October, 1901, a movement was inaugurated for the purpose of raising funds to carry the plans into execution. The projectors met with such hearty encouragement, that they enlarged on their original ideas, and organized as the Clark-Gibault Hospital Association. A committee was appointed, which secured from the Knox County Commissioners a promise to build a hospital, provided that the Columbia Reading Circle would guarantee the furnishings and the City of Vincennes would purchase the site. The City Council subsequently bought a whole block of the Poulet heirs, and an amount almost sufficient to furnish the rooms was raised. The Clarke-Gibault Memorial Hospital Association, after originating the plans and paving the way for the erection of the building, was partially forced to step aside. At any rate their identity was lost by the substitution of another name—Good Samaritan Hospital Association, which later took the title of the Hospital Aid Society. Into the latter came the good workers in the cause of charity from all over the city, regardless of creed, thus exemplifying the true spirit of brotherly love and humanity. Soon were opened the School for Graduate Nurses and the District Nurse Department, all working to bring health and happiness to the afflicted." In the midst of this humane work, through removals, terrestrial and celestial, the membership of the Columbia Reading Circle had been reduced to fifteen. It was this number which selected Mrs. Edward Smith, Mrs. J. L. Bayard and Mrs. J. B. LaPlante, to go before the County Commissioners, with a number of prominent citizens and urge the commissioners to establish a hospital, reluctantly consenting that the name of the institution be changed from "Clark-Gibault" to "Good Samaritan." "For seven years," said the member, "did the Columbia Reading Circle labor to achieve success; then, not alone Leah, but also the Rachel, of our dreams were our reward. Leah was the building, lot and money for furnishing the institution and paying its running expenses. Our Ruth is the alleviation of suffering, the sympathetic co-operation of the Hospital Aid Society, the gratitude of the graduate nurses—



THE HOME OF THE PASTIME CLUB
(Former residence of Abner T. Ellis)

all laboring in unison to bring comfort to the afflicted. We are justly proud of the result of our efforts, and feel that no monument could reflect greater honor on our heroes, although costing more money than the one originally contemplated. In the life of the club there have been no dissensions, such as sometimes occur in the election of officers. As the band of membership has grown small, the bond of unity has grown strong, and to this harmony much of the club's success is due—each member striving to be true to the motto, 'Is it not a glorious thing to live for the best?'

The St. Francis Xavier's club is a branch of the National Columbia Reading Union, and is therefore subject to regulations from the latter. The present officers of the local circle are Miss Clementine Weisert, president; Miss Katharine Greene, secretary and treasurer.

THE PASTIME CLUB.

The Pastime Club, the membership of which is composed largely of business and professional men, is one of the most exclusive social clubs in the city, and has its home in a colonial building on Second, between Broadway and Busseron streets. This old mansion was formerly the residence of Judge Abner T. Ellis, one of the most distinguished citizens of his day, and was built nearly a hundred years ago. The materials entering chiefly into its construction are brick and sandstone. There has long been a dispute as to whether the stone was quarried from Wind Mill (La Plante's) hill, or taken from the Wabash river, in the vicinity of Fort Knox. The stone, however, has withstood many storms and is still in a very good state of preservation, the massive pillars, which support the roof of the vestibule, and the floor and steps, all being of like material, giving no more evidence of the ravages of time than if they had been built of oolitic, instead of sandstone. Directly across the street from this property is the building which served the purpose for many years of a branch of the first State Bank of Indiana. This old landmark had also a brown sandstone front, was constructed on the same plan as the Ellis mansion, and set back on the lot about the same distance from the sidewalk as the latter. The original house was completely transformed, however, nearly thirty years ago, when an addition was put on the front of the building to bring it flush with the inside line of the sidewalk. The stone columns, removed from the bank edifice during the process of remodeling, were worked into stepping stones, and are to be seen to-day in different parts of the city.

The Pastime's rooms are handsomely furnished, and have been the scenes of many brilliant social functions of a private and semi-public character. The organization of the club took place on December 4, 1885, and its incorporation on December 23, 1889, the charter list containing the names of fifty of the most prominent citizens. The first officers were: Robert B. Jessup, president; Mason J. Niblack, vice president; H. J. Foulks, secretary; E. J. Julian, treasurer; board of directors—C. B. Kes-

singer, P. M. O'Donnell, E. P. Busse, R. B. Jessup, Jr., H. J. Foulks. The Pastime is a prosperous organization and has established an enviable reputation by its hospitable treatment of strangers and by the enforcement of rules calling for decorous conduct on the part of visitors and members. The card, billiard and music rooms, and the reading room, which is provided with all important metropolitan newspapers, leading weekly publications, and monthly magazines, are comfortably and tastefully arranged and liberally patronized. The New Year's reception, which is a regular annual event, is always looked forward to with the fondest anticipation. For many years the recurrence of the anniversary of the capture of Vincennes from the British by George Rogers Clark has been celebrated with much ceremony and patriotic fervor by the members of the Pastime. The last celebration, commemorative of this event, was held at the club on the evening of February 25, 1911, on which occasion Elbridge G. Gardner, aged 91 years, and William Green, aged 99 years, gave some interesting reminiscences of early days, Mr. Green relating an experience he had as a stage driver while transporting Col. Francis Vigo, Clark's true and trusted friend, to Terre Haute from Vincennes. The orators on this occasion were Hon. Robt. G. Cauthorn and Hon. Samuel W. Williams.

The present officers of the Pastime Club are: C. C. Winkler, president; F. M. Bond, vice president; Harry V. Somes, Jr., secretary; Robt. G. Cauthorn, treasurer; C. B. Kessinger, P. M. O'Donnell, Guy A. McJimsey, Chas. L. Haughton, F. W. Quantz, directors.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The Francis Vigo Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, in pursuing a mission along lines that is purely patriotic, has at the same time increased the fund of social gaieties. The series of colonial balls and operas given under their auspices recently for the purpose of procuring funds for the Francis Vigo monument and with which to purchase the Harrison mansion have been notably delightful events. The chapter, however, was not organized to fill a sphere in the social world, but for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence, by the acquisition and protection of historical spots, and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution and publication of its results; by the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots; and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries.

Francis Vigo Chapter was organized on April 20, 1908, at the home of Mrs. William Allen Cullop, who was the real instigator of the movement leading up to that result. The roster of officers selected at that time was as follows: Regent, Mrs. William Allen Cullop; Vice Regent, Mrs. H. W. Alexander; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Wm. A. Spain; Corresponding

Secretary, Mrs. Joseph Jones; Treasurer, Miss Katharine McIlvaine; Registrar, Mrs. Chas. L. Haughton; Historian, Mrs. H. L. Gregory. The charter list was signed by fifteen ladies, including Mrs. R. E. Brooks, an original Daughter of the Revolution, who has since died, and the following names appear thereon, together with those of the officers above: Mrs. A. E. Hennis, Mrs. Chas. McClure, Mrs. W. C. Reed, Mrs. J. C. Watts, Miss Mary Haughton, Mrs. Lloyd Allen Johnson, Miss Mary Love. The other members of the chapter are: Miss Mabel Alexander, Mrs. D. L. Bonner, Miss Mary Brittain, Mrs. Florida Davy, Miss Margaret Haughton, Mrs. Geo. W. Parrill, Miss Antoinette Andrus, Mrs. T. H. Maxedon, Mrs. Chas. B. Judah, Miss Bonnie Bierhaus, Miss Bernice Bonner, Mrs. W. F. Calverley, Mrs. R. I. Hamilton, Mrs. David Padgett, Miss Blanche Turrell, Mrs. Frank W. Curtis, Mrs. Ed. Townsley, Mrs. A. Hayhurst, Mrs. Wilfred Reep.

Monthly meetings of the chapter are held at the homes of members, at which programs of a historical character are usually rendered, and an hour of pleasant social intercourse enjoyed. Besides contributing its full quota toward Colonial Hall, the chapter has set a handsome shaft at the grave of Col. Francis Vigo, built a monument on the site of Fort Sackville, and recently closed negotiations, and partially raised funds for the purchase of the Harrison House. The patriotic zeal with which the members are imbued is displayed in their enthusiastic observance of Flag Day, Memorial Day, Washington's birthday, the anniversary of the capture of Vincennes, and other seasons the recurring anniversaries of which suggest demonstrations of patriotism. The present officers of Francis Vigo Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, are: Mrs. W. A. Cullop, regent; Mrs. H. W. Alexander, vice regent; Mrs. Clarke E. Stewart, recording secretary; Mrs. Jos. Jones, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Chas. Haughton, registrar; Mrs. T. H. Maxedon, historian; Miss Katharine McIlvaine, treasurer. Mrs. Cullop is a member of the committee, recently appointed by the National Congress, D. A. R., to have the portrait in oil of Mrs. Caroline Scott Harrison removed from the basement of the White House, Washington, to the Indiana room of Continental Hall.

THE HARMONIE VEREIN.

This organization was founded July 8, 1888, largely through the efforts of E. W. Determann and Louis A. Meyer, who issued invitations to about twenty prominent German citizens to meet them at the law office of Mr. Meyer, where the advisability of forming a club whose primary object was sociability, and where the German tongue would be spoken and the songs of Fatherland sung, was discussed, resulting, as stated, in the formation of the society. The first officers were: Louis A. Meyer, president; Edward Lindner, vice president; E. W. Determann, secretary; Frank Liebermann, treasurer; Edward Bierhaus, Sr., Eugene Hack, Henry J. Hellert and Fred

Samonial, directors. The following gentlemen, in the order named, have filled the office of president: L. A. Meyer, H. J. Hellert, Albert Zepf, George Reinbold, Edward Lindner, Anton Bey, E. W. Determann, Joseph Schmitt, Benoit Fritsch, E. W. Determann, John Friesz, August G. Meise, Mathias Zaepfel, Henry Schwartz and Frank A. Thuis, (incumbent). The secretaries since the organization of the society have been: E. W. Determann, Edward Lindner, Fred Eageler, Jos. Scheefers, Jos. Clausman, (incumbent).

On September 10, 1890, the Harmonie Verein was incorporated under the laws of the state. The articles of incorporation were signed by twenty-nine members of which number nine have since died. In the incorporated articles it was set forth that the object of the association was to encourage and propagate musical and social culture, indicating that in conversation and song the German language was to be employed.

The first place the society held regular meetings was in the Greater building, corner Third and Main streets. In 1890 the verein leased the upper floors of the LaPlante building, which it still retains, corner Third and Busseron streets, and fitted them up in splendid shape, by providing the club rooms with all modern conveniences and comforts, and placing a roomy stage in the large assembly room, which has been the scene of innumerable dances which only Germans know how to enjoy. Within its ranks the society has some fine dramatic talent who have given worthy renditions of difficult German plays.

Several years ago, in order to stimulate an interest and encourage pupils in taking up the study of German, the verein offered handsome gold prizes as awards in all the schools for the best German scholars.

Harmonie Park, which fronts on Fairground avenue and adjoins the beautiful country home of Noble B. Judah, is a very attractive place and is utilized by the club for picnics, dances, etc. It was purchased by the verein in 1896 of James I. Kelso for \$12500. At the time the price was considered high for five acres of ground, two miles from town, but it is doubtful if it could be bought to-day for ten times that amount. The park is equipped with three large handsome and substantial pavillions, one of which is used for dancing purposes, and a number of smaller ones for refreshments, etc. It is the intention of the verein to have erected in the park before celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, in 1912, a commodious club house.

Harmonie Verein is affiliated with the German American Alliance of America and sends two representatives each year to the annual convention of that organization. Since the law providing that applicants for membership must be thoroughly German has been repealed, the already large membership of the society will no doubt rapidly increase. All that is required now to insure the eligibility of an applicant providing he is a desirable fellow in other respects, is to be the son of a German father, or German mother, or the fortunate possessor of a German wife, and like "the way the Germans do." The present officers of the verein are: Frank A. Thuis, presi-

dent; Wm. Bey, vice president; Jos. Claussman, secretary; John Weiler, treasurer; Matt. Zaepfel, Anton Bey, Jos. Duesterberg, John Nestlehut; Wm. Baker, Jr., directors.

THE TEUTONIA CLUB.

The Teutonia is one of the many private societies which provides entertainments of a public character. The organization has been in existence for more than a quarter of a century. As the name implies, the Teutonia is composed of Germans, its members being all young men of that nationality. It is a thespian as well as social organization, and its entertainments, usually given in St. John's Hall, over which it has supervision, evince that the Teutonians are well versed in the art dramatic and possess a high order of histrionic ability. Its present officials are: Rev. Carl Kabey, president; F. P. Hans, vice president; M. J. Boeckman, secretary; Leo Schulties, treasurer.

THE OLD POST COUNTRY CLUB.

While the members of this organization, which was formed in 1904, are of the male persuasion, their ladies are not denied the comforts and pleasures afforded by its hunting and fishing preserves, and the excellent accommodations of its commodious club house, located on Robeson's Lake, from which stream large quantities of game fish are taken annually. Not only are the families of members (numbering 100) privileged to go at will and take possession of the premises, but they are permitted to invite lady friends who are without representation in the membership to join them on these expeditions in quest of pleasure, fresh air and delightful rural scenery. The officials at present in charge of this famous club and its splendid property are: Robert Robeson, president; Steve Eastham, vice president; John T. Boyd, treasurer; William Simpson, secretary; William Propes, Guy McJimsey, Myron Rindskopf, directors; John Brown, warden.

THE FIVE O'CLOCK SWIMMING CLUB.

This institution which was organized in 1909, is composed of a *coterie* of unselfish young men who believe in the healthfulness and delights of beach bathing. The two brief seasons in which they disported in the waters of Hack and Simon's Lake has convinced them that there is much to be gained physically and mentally in taking a swim; that for one not to acquire knowledge of how to swim is to disregard one law of self-preservation; that women as well as men should learn to swim, not alone for the pleasure it affords, but for the advantages it gives in protecting themselves and others who may be so unfortunate as to encounter mishaps while traveling on the waters. For the purpose of giving the ladies an opportunity of learning how to swim and enjoying at the same time the delights of

bathing, the swimming club has arranged to admit the fair ones to membership at the opening of the coming season, when it is expected to fit up bath houses on the banks of the Wabash. The swimming club's officers are: James Garrard, president; Harley P. Presnell, vice president; Chester Weems, secretary and treasurer. Besides these officials the executive committee consists of Joseph Meuntzer, Edward Kixmiller and Robert G. Cauthorn. The club will be incorporated under the state laws before the beginning of the bathing season of 1911.

THE TECUMSEH BOAT CLUB.

The splendid facilities afforded by the Wabash river for regattas, the delightful scenery to be enjoyed in lengthy boat rides, many years ago suggested the formation of the Tecumseh Boat Club—but not as far back as when the great Indian warrior, from which the club takes its name, was here, although rowing in the Wabash was a popular diversion even in those days. The Tecumseh club was organized about thirty years ago. Capt. Joseph Schmidt, the retired snuff manufacturer, was the real promoter of the enterprise, and among his trusty lieutenants were Fred Harsch, W. M. Hindman, E. J. Julian, Alfred Crotts, Henry Eberwine, and many others. In 1897, a feature of a monster Fourth of July celebration was the unique and costly float the club rigged up for the street parade, in which many others were entered, the incentive being a handsome prize for the most elaborate and appropriate representation. The club's effort represented the battleship "Vincennes," the name of one of the first men-of-war in Uncle Sam's navy. The design was a marvel of beauty, taste and accuracy, necessitating the employment of much time and labor for the expenditure of which the builders felt amply repaid in receiving the first prize. In naval battles, which have always been made a prominent feature of all big pyrotechnical displays on the Wabash, the Tecumseh Club has furnished all the "men-of-war" and provided the vessels with marines from among its own members, having the satisfaction of fighting on three different occasions subsequent to the year 1897 in the presence of more than 20,000 spectators—the last event taking place on the final night of home-coming week, October, 1908. The club maintains a boat house at the foot of Main street, on the river wharf. Its officers are John N. Bey, president; John L. Baker, secretary; Chas. L. Robinson, treasurer.

THE EUTERPERAN SOCIETY.

The matinee, driving, whist, bridge and all other clubs have representation in the Euterperan Society, and yet it is a youthful organization, and considered the least bit exclusive. The society, which has for its purpose the correlative study of all the arts, is a flourishing federation composed of the recognized leaders in the various lines of arts and those who take chief delight in the study of the artistic. In its motto, "Each of the fine arts is

but a refraction of one and the same ray of light," is expressed the real aims and objects of the society, whose members seek to justify the quotation by analyzing the poet, painter, sculptor and musician simultaneously with the subject under discussion. The officers of the organization are Hammet D. Hinkel, president; W. C. Mason, vice president; Miss Margaret McJimsey, secretary.

THE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS CLUB.

The Health and Happiness Club is one of those helpful organizations that has its highest expression in true happiness as the resultant factor of right and sane living. The club, which is yet in its infancy, is destined to wield a power for good in the community, not alone by the exercise of principles laid down for the government of its members, but by providing for non-members a series of lectures by expert authority on hygienic subjects and all questions pertaining to household economics, as is being done by the Fortnightly Club, which gives the public occasional opportunities of listening to dissertations along these lines by such talented domestic economists as Mrs. Sarah Tyson Rorer. The officers of the Health and Happiness Club are Mrs. Ida B. Zener, president; Mrs. Mabel Clarke, vice president; Mrs. Eliza Morgan, secretary and treasurer; Miss Gretchen Crook, corresponding secretary.

THE VINCENNES CIVIC FEDERATION.

Not least among the many commendable societies exerting an influence for the public good is the Vincennes Civic Federation, an organization of recent birth. The purpose of the association is to unite all organizations of the city, and all public spirited citizens thereof, into an organization for the purpose of inaugurating, encouraging and sustaining social improvement work of all kinds, such as civic cleanliness and public health, beautifying the city, establishing day nurseries, labor employment bureaus, and all other social improvement work. Already nearly every social and fraternal order has representation in the federation, which has thus early in its career been responsible for the adoption of municipal measures which will eventually lead to the abolition of the pole and sign nuisances on the business thoroughfares of the city. The common council, harkening to the voice of the federation, has enacted laws providing for the removal of telephone, telegraph and electric light poles and overhead signs, from the commercial centres, and requiring all wires in the business districts placed underground. The officers of the Federation are: Robt. G. Cauthorn, president; Frank Oliphant, vice president; Miss Ida L. Lusk, recording secretary; Mrs. T. H. Maxedon, corresponding secretary; Miss Eleanor Beach, treasurer.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIETIES.

Prominent among the other societies entering into the social, fraternal, educational, religious and commercial life of Vincennes, are the following:

Old Post Court of Honor, No. 432, Bessie Presnell, recorder, meets every Monday evening at Noble's Hall.

The Good Samaritan Hospital Association, Clarence B. Kessinger, president; Mrs. J. L. Bayard, secretary; meets at Court House first Monday in each month.

The High School Alumni Association, Harley Presnell, president; Raymond Rielag, treasurer; Miss Emily Keith, secretary; meets at high school auditorium monthly.

The Vincennes Board of Trade, No. 116 Main street; Wm. H. Vollmer, president; B. F. Harsha, secretary.

Home Defenders of America, No. 45, Joseph Scheefers, Jr., financial secretary, meets first Monday of each month at No. 30 South Fourth street.

Knights and Ladies of Honor, Review Lodge, No. 362, Alice Bicknell, protector; I. E. Townsley, recording secretary; Mrs. Ella Wood, treasurer; W. E. Wood, financial secretary; meets first and third Tuesdays of each month.

The Home Missionary Society meets second Friday of each month; Mrs. Thos. Campbell, president; Mrs. C. E. Purdy, secretary; Mrs. Jno. Wagner, treasurer.

Independent Order B'nai Brith Etz Chain Lodge, No 205; Ike B. Kuhn, president; Daniel Oestreicher, secretary.

The Indiana Retail Merchants Association, Thomas F. Paltry, secretary.

The Knox County Agricultural and Mechanical Society, whose beautiful fair grounds are located on Fairview avenue, at the edge of the city's eastern corporate limits, is officered by Eph. Gilmore, president; James House, secretary; B. M. Willoughby, treasurer. The offices of the secretary and treasurer are in the Bishop building.

The Ladies Aid Society of the M. E. Church meets on alternate Wednesdays; Mrs. George Gardner, president; Mrs. Park Colenbaugh, treasurer; Mrs. Paul Ritterskamp, secretary.

The Knox County Medical Society meets the second Tuesday of each month in the city hall building; Clark E. Stewart, president; Charles S. Bryan, secretary.

The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of Vincennes is officered by Herman Brokhage, president; T. F. Palfry, secretary; James Emison, treasurer.

The Mutual Protective League, Vincennes Council, No. 451; Olive Donaldson, secretary and treasurer.

The National Association of Letter Carriers, Branch No. 112, of which Edward Ritterskamp is president, and Wilford Reep, secretary, meets in postoffice building on call of latter official.

St. John's Benevolent Society, Gerhard Bergman, president; Joseph Clausman, secretary; Benoit Fritsch, treasurer; meets on Sunday of each month in St. John's Hall.

The Round Table Club of the First M. E. Church meets on the third Friday of each month; Mrs. Martha Gilkey, leader.

The Standard Bearers, of which Miss Orpha Purdy is president; Miss Alice Hall, recording secretary, and Miss Grace Crabbs, financial secretary, meets on first Monday of each month.

The Travelers' Protective Association, Post H, L. P. Colenbaugh, secretary, meets at Masonic Hall, on the second Saturday in each month.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Mrs. Matthew Fields, president; Mrs. J. D. Roof, treasurer; Miss Alice Bell, secretary; meets first Tuesday of each month.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the First M. E. Church. Mrs. J. N. McCoy, president; Mrs. J. T. McJimsey, treasurer; Mrs. Chauncy Olin, secretary; meets on the first Friday of each month.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Second M. E. Church meets on the first Tuesday in each month, Mrs. Chas. V. Wathen secretary.

FRATERNAL AND BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

MASONIC LODGE NO. 1—ITS NOTABLE MEMBERS.

A lodge of Masons was instituted at Vincennes at a time when, it is presumed, the Masonic order was the only secret fraternal organization in existence. In November, 1806, a petition was sent from the Old Post, through Abraham Lodge, No. 8, of Louisville, Ky., to the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, praying for a dispensation to form a regular lodge at Vincennes, in Indiana Territory. On August 27, 1807, the Grand Lodge of Kentucky granted a dispensation to install officers and set the craft to work. The dispensation was allowed to lapse, but was renewed at a session of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, September 1, 1808. On March 13, 1809, Jonathan Taylor, P. M., of Abraham Lodge, No. 8, installed the first officers of Vincennes Lodge, with William Jones as Worshipful Master. Besides the gentlemen above named there were present at the organization the following members: John Caldwell, W. M., late of Union Lodge, No. 92; Chas. Firsher, W. M., late of Brownsville Lodge, No. 60; John Gibson, F. C., of Lancaster, Pa., Lodge; Henry Vanderburg, W. M., Army Traveling Lodge, New York.

The first business transacted was on March 14, 1809, when John Gibson, F. C., was raised to the degree of Master Mason. On March 17, 1809, Parmenas Beckes was initiated, passed and raised, which gave him the distinction of being the first man in Indiana to become a Mason. Mr. Beckes had the misfortune to lose his life in a duel, fought with Dr. Scull, on the morning of July 15, 1813, and was buried two days later with Masonic ceremonies, the first to be performed in Indiana. Whenever the name of Beckes is mentioned the celebrated duel is recalled, which was brought about by Beckes calling Scull to account for giving expression to an indecent remark in which the honor of his (Beckes') step-daughter, a beautiful and

pure girl, was assailed. When questioned, Scull acknowledged that he had said, "If she's as good as she's pretty, she's a jewel." The altercation became personal, resulting in the duel and its attendant result.

When Vincennes lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Kentucky, on August 31, 1809, it was assigned No. 15. After Indiana Territory was admitted as a state to the union, the first steps toward the organization of a Grand Lodge of Indiana were taken in Vincennes lodge, by the appointment of a committee which called a meeting for a conference of lodges at Corydon, July 17, 1817, where General W. Johnson appeared as the representative of the local lodge. At this convention, which adjourned to meet at Madison on January 13, 1818, the plans were formulated for the organization of a Grand Lodge. Capt. Benj. V. Beckes (brother of Parmenas Beckes) was in attendance as a delegate from the local lodge and was elected Grand Junior Warden. As such officer he surrendered the charter of Vincennes Lodge, No. 15, receiving in its stead the new charter of Vincennes Lodge, No. 1, bearing date of January 13, 1818, under the Grand Lodge of Indiana. The new lodge was instituted by General W. Johnson, who was not only the most distinguished Mason of No. 1, but also the moving force which brought Masonry to Indiana. He was appointed proxy of the Grand Master by the Grand Lodge and in the performance of the duties of that high office installed the following officers, making a profound impression on all who witnessed the ceremonies: Elihu Stout, W. M.; John B. Drennon, S. W.; John Decker, J. W.; Henry Ruble, treasurer; Volney T. Bradley, secretary; Jacob Catt, S. D.; Henry Dubois, J. D.

The late Dr. Smith, who was a member of No. 1, in a lengthy account of the personnel of the lodge in his *Historical Sketches of Vincennes*, says:

* "Among the important events connected with the early history of Vincennes lodge was a visit by the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the State of Kentucky, Col. Joseph H. Davies. He presided at the meetings of the lodge on September 18, 19, 21, 1811, and conferred the second and third degrees upon many of the brethren, which work was probably the last lodge work of this distinguished Mason and soldier. He was then in command of a corps of mounted rangers, on their way to help the Indiana troops under Governor Harrison, who was preparing to settle the Indian question with the Prophet, Tecumseh's brother. At the battle of Tippecanoe he was killed in leading a brilliant charge on his savage foes. With him fell Thomas Randolph and Colonel Isaac White, both members of Vincennes lodge, and for whom the lodge members wore crepe for thirty days in token of their sorrow for their patriotic brethren. If the members of the Masonic lodge distinguished themselves as patriots upon the field of battle in behalf of their country, those in the civil walks of life were none the less famous. General W. Johnson, the founder of Vincennes lodge, a native of the State of Virginia, was one of the most distinguished members of the order. He was the first attorney-at-law admitted to practice before the Territorial bar;

* H. M. Smith, *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes*, pp. 206, 207, 208.

was the first postmaster of the Northwest Territory, which embraced Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan. He was auditor of Indiana Territory in 1813; was afterwards commissioned treasurer, which office he held until a state government was formed in 1816. He and John Rice Jones compiled the first revision of the laws of Indiana, which was bound and published in the city by Elihu Stout, who was at the time conducting the *Western Sun*. He was several times elected legislator, and was chairman of a committee to give answer to a petition of the pro-slavery element of the population of the Territory, who memorialized Congress to legalize slavery in the territory. This committee advised against said grant and the whole subject was then and there buried forever.

"Col. Thos. H. Blake, a member of this lodge, was prominent in military circles, and became a member of Congress, and Alexander Buckner, another member, was Grand Master of the state in 1818, and after emigrating to the State of Missouri he became a member of the United States Senate from that state. John Gibson, another member, was a distinguished citizen and was secretary, by appointment, at the same time General Harrison was appointed Governor of the Territory, from the State of Pennsylvania, by Thomas Jefferson. He arrived here in July, 1800, and in the absence of Governor Harrison (who did not reach here until January, 1801), he set about organizing the Territory, it having been created an independent one. He continued his duties until 1812, when he then became Governor, *ex-officio*, after Harrison's resignation, and held the office until Thomas Posey became Governor in 1813, when he again assumed the duties of secretary, and held that office until the state was admitted into the union in 1816. Governor Gibson retired from office with the love and esteem of all the factions then in the Territory, having kept aloof from all entangling alliances that might hinder him from dealing out justice to all citizens alike.

"Benjamin Vincennes Beckes, who is said to have been the first native born citizen of this town in 1786, was of American parentage, a soldier at the battle of Tippecanoe, and commanded a company in the Black Hawk war; he was a member several times of the Territorial legislature, was elected twice as sheriff and was generally popular with the people.

"Walter Taylor was elected by the first session of the legislature as a United States Senator from Indiana. He was a major in Harrison's army at the battle of Tippecanoe. The gallant John Davies and Thomas Randolph, who fell in this battle, were, under the direction of Taylor, buried side by side; and he took a pin from Randolph's bosom, clipped a lock of his hair and transmitted them to Randolph's wife; he also cut the initials of the dead soldiers' names upon a tree beside the grave so that it might be known, should occasion occur, to locate and remove the bodies.

"Thomas Randolph, born at Roanoke, Va., who fell in this same battle, was Attorney General of the Territory, having been appointed by Governor Harrison.

"William Prince, another member, was a representative in Congress, and a member of the committee which located the capital at Indianapolis.

"Elihu Stout, who was Grand Master of the state in 1827, was born in Newark, N. J., April 16, 1782, and emigrated to Lexington Ky., when quite young; learned the printer's trade and came to Vincennes in 1804, and issued the first paper in the Northwest, July 4th of that year, called the Indiana Gazette. He was one of the able men of the new empire just forming.

"Henry Vanderburgh was a captain in the regular army of the Revolutionary war and became a member of the legislative council of the Northwest Territory, appointed by President Adams, in 1779, and was elected president of the council. He was subsequently one of the Territorial judges and Vanderburgh county was named after him. He was the grandfather of Harry V. Simes, Sr.

"Robert Buntin was a captain of the United States army and participated in the Indian wars of the Northwest. He was clerk and surveyor of this county and Buntin street was named after him. He married Mary Shannon, the heroine of Maurice Thompson's romance, 'Alice of Old Vincennes.'

"Robert Evans was a Territorial attorney, a member of the state legislature, and a general in the Territorial army.

"Ephriam Jordon was a distinguished officer in the War of 1812; and he and two other magistrates, James Johnson and Antoine Marichall, laid off the first township in 1801; and many others of equal distinction to the foregoing might be mentioned, who were Masons and who played an important part in the early settlement of Indiana Territory."

The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Masonry in the Northwest Territory was celebrated by Vincennes Lodge No. 1, on March 13, 1909, with great pomp and ceremony, the occasion bringing together members of the Masonic order from all parts of the country, who formed a marching line over a mile long. Among the list of distinguished speakers were M. W. Mason, J. Niblack, Past Grand Master, Indiana; M. W. Charles M. Mikels, Grand Master, Indiana; R. W. Calvin Prather, Grand Secretary, Indiana; M. W. Virgil P. Smith, Grand Master, Kentucky. The address of welcome was delivered by Dr. Horace Ellis, Ph. D., President of the Vincennes University.

Lodge No. 1 has completely transformed the upper floors in the Graeter building by refitting and furnishing the rooms, which are used by all the fraternity, from Commandery to Blue Lodge, in the most sumptuous, commodious and magnificent manner, and providing banquet and reception halls, kitchens, and all the comforts and conveniences with which modern homes are supplied. It is said that no other lodge in the state has quarters superior, in point of elegance and convenience, to these, which were dedicated on Ascension Day, 1899, many lodges from adjoining cities and towns participating in the ceremonies. The present officers of Blue Lodge, No.

1, are Thomas Dixon, W. M.; James N. McCoy, S. W.; Geo. E. Henry, J. W.; John L. Boyd, Treasurer; A. M. Willoughby, Secretary; Herman F. Piel, S. D.; Edward Henry, J. D.; Louis F. Meise, James A. Rush, Stewards; Wm. Gobbel, Tyler; membership, 241. Vincennes Chapter, No. 7, which has a membership of 125, was instituted May 20, 1857. Vincennes Council, No. 9 was instituted May 20, 1857, and has a membership of sixty-six. Vincennes Commandery, No. 20, was instituted February 8, 1869, with the following charter members: Gardener H. Plummer, Samuel R. Dunn, John T. Freeland, John Kyger, Albert Hayward, W. F. Pidgeon, Hubbard M. Smith, James R. Baird, Charles Temple and A. J. Colburn. The following are the present officers: Frank D. Foulks, E. C.; Thos. F. Palfrey, G.; Wm. M. Willmore, C. G.; Thos. Dixon, S. W.; Geo. E. Henry, J. W.; Horace Ellis, Prelate; A. M. Willoughby, Recorder; O. W. Willis, St. B.; Wm. N. Robeson, Sw. B.; J. H. Henkes, W.; W. F. Hinds, S.; membership, 107. Vincennes Chapter, No. 291, O. E. S., was organized in 1904 and has a membership of seventy-six. Its present officers are: Claudia L. Foulks, W. M.; Earle H. Buck, W. P.; Ella W. Gardner, A. M.; Florence A. Willmore, T.; Clara L. Hinds, S.; Nannie B. Cappell, Com.; Margaret E. Racey, A. Com.; Grace B. Townsley, Adah; Emma J. Turner, Ruth; Mamie J. McCoy, Esther; Katie Cox, Electra; Mary B. Clark, Chaplain; Mary A. Maxedon, Marshal; Margaret Townsley, Organist; Ella Milburn, Warden; Geo. E. Gardner, Sentinel.

THE ODD FELLOWS.

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows, next to the Masons, is the oldest secret organization extant in Vincennes, with which some very influential citizens have been identified; and, as a fraternal society, the order has always exerted an influence for good in the community. Wabash Lodge, No. 20, I. O. O. F., was by dispensation instituted February 5, 1845, and was regularly chartered October 20, 1845. The officers of the Grand Lodge of Indiana at the time it was instituted, as shown by their names on the charter were as follows: John H. Taylor, G. M.; A. C. Critchfield, D. G. M.; Christian Busher, P. G. M.; George Brown, G. R. The charter members were William Newell, T. Lenck, A. C. Liston, Isaac N. Coleman, Jacob Dunkle and John H. Massey. William Cross, Most Worthy Grand Master, presided at the first meeting of the order, and installed the following named members as officers: Theophilus Lenck, P. G.; Isaac N. Coleman, N. G.; John H. Massey, V. R.; William Newell, S.; Jacob Dunkle, T.; Aaron Foster, Warden. The first candidates to be initiated were John W. Cannon and Samuel W. Draper, and the first member to die was Isaac N. Coleman. The present officers of No. 20 are John E. Thomas, N. G.; B. R. Shoemaker, V. G.; Andy H. Roseman, R. S.; Jas. M. Brown, F. S.; Jas. S. Rush, T.; Edward Henry, John E. Thomas, Chas. O. Beckes, trustees.

Old Post Lodge, No. 332 was instituted July 30, 1869, by William H. DeWolf, Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Indiana, when the following persons as charter members received final instructions: Lazarus Noble, Bernhard Kuhn, Jr., George Parrott, Alfred Patton, William Davidson, Herman J. Watjen, John Loten, John H. Massey, Winiferd M. Stoddard, Benjamin F. Johnson and John H. E. Sprinkle. The first officers were Lazarus Noble, N. G.; J. H. E. Sprinkle, V. G.; H. J. Watjen, S.

Libig Lodge, No. 441, was instituted March 4, 1874, by Charles Schaum, D. D. G. M. The following were the charter members: H. J. Watjen, Bernhard Baswitz, Chas. F. Raker, Emil Grill, Philip Schumacher, Fred. Hellert, John A. Rasche, Chris Hoffman, Henry Meyers, Wm. Hassinger, John H. Piel, Gustave Weinstein, Moses Wile and John Osweiler. The first officers were Moritz Baswitz, N. G.; C. F. Raker, V. G.; Emil Grill, R. S.; Herman Watjen, S.; and Philip Schumacher, Treasurer.

On June 14, 1878, the Old Post Lodge, No. 332, consolidated with Wabash Lodge and January 13, 1880, Libig Lodge was united, the consolidated lodge taking the name of Wabash Lodge, No. 20.

Four years after it was instituted, Wabash Lodge (September 13, 1849), established Mount Olive Encampment, No. 18, Special Deputy Grand Patriarch, Jarel C. Jocelyn, officiating. The charter was not issued, however, until the year 1850, and contained the following list of members: John W. Cannon, John Caldwell, Jedediah Heberd, J. P. Crickman, George B. Jocelyn, Milton P. Ghee and John B. LaPlante. Mount Olive is among the oldest I. O. O. F. Encampments in the state. Its present officers are Elijah Cooper, C. P.; James Hawkins, S. W.; Jacob Englehart, H. P.; Jas. M. Brown, Scribe; B. R. Shoemaker, Treasurer.

Pride of the Wabash, No. 458, Daughters of Rebekah, was instituted in 1879, as a subordinate lodge to No. 20. Its present official roster is as follows: Mrs. Nora L. Smith, N. G.; Mrs. Joseph Van Kirk, V. G.; Mrs. B. R. Shoemaker, Chaplain; Mrs. Martha Hurst, R. S.; Miss Rosa Miller, F. S.; Miss Hulda Ritterskamp, Treasurer; Miss Rosa Hartman, Warden.

The colored folks, who style themselves as the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, ten years ago established Wabash Lodge, No. 3105, the destiny of which is looked after by Leonard Gordon, N. G.; Wm. Givens, V. G.; Geo. Gordon, N. F.; Harry Gordon, P. N. G.; Cornelius Parker, T.; William Holland, S.

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows in 1868 built a handsome and commodious building on the corner of Second and Broadway streets, for holding lodge meetings and for commercial purposes. Many of the secret societies are permitted to use the third floor of the building for lodge work.

KNIGHTS OF PYTHIAS.

The first Knights of Pythias lodge of Vincennes was Dioscuro Lodge, No. 47, which was instituted on June 4, 1874, with the following charter



CORNER STONE LODGE'S CASTLE HALL

members: Andrew J. Thomas, D. Thomas Patton, Isaac Lyons, Orlando H. Cobb, Richard J. Greenhow, Cyrus M. Allen, Jr., Quinsley Ashley, Dan. B. Hamaker, Henry H. Hackman, Ed. M. Kellum, F. B. Posey, Ferd. W. Beard, Simon Payne, Herman Watjen, Moritz Baswitz, Jas. C. Beeler, Ed. L. Ryder, Frank B. Posey, King H. Malone, Peter R. McCarthy, Chas. W. Jones, Hiram A. Foulks, Morris Fields, Thomas Dayson, Jas. E. Blair and John Dofar. For many years Dioscuri Lodge enjoyed the reputation of having the best drilled team for the exemplification of ritualistic work of any similar order in the state. The first officers were D. T. Patton, C. C.; O. H. Cobb, V. C.; H. A. Foulks, M. E.; H. Q. Ashley, K. R. S.; J. C. Beeler, P.; Thos. Dayson, O. G.; E. L. Ryder, I. G.; C. M. Allen, Jr., M. A. The present officers are Chas. R. Thurgood, C. C.; Frank Yocum, V. C.; Allen Meyers, P.; Harley Presnell, K. R. S.; Chas. Hartman, M. W.; Arthur Kahmeyer, M. A.; August Meise, M. F.; Louis F. Laue, M. E.; Fred. W. Miller, I. G.; Jno. C. Wise, O. G.; Charles Matheis, Sam M. Emison and J. C. Wise, Trustees. In years gone by the Dioscuri Lodge made their annual picnics the sources of much pleasure. The last fete given by the lodge was an outing at Brouillette's Grove, July 4, 1876, on which occasion Daniel W. Voorhees, who had many intimate friends among the fraternity, delivered a masterful and patriotic address, befitting the day and the event.

Corner Stone Lodge, No. 536, K. P., which was instituted April 23, 1906, dedicated its handsome new castle hall on April 20, 1911. The building, which is a three-story brick and stone structure, is one of the most commodious blocks on the North Side, from which locality the lodge has drawn its large and representative membership. The edifice is substantial and imposing and was erected at a cost of \$28,000. The first officers of the order were Ira L. Johnson, C. C.; Wm. Van Metre, V. C.; Samuel A. Prather, P.; Andrew P. Roberson, M. W.; Wm. C. Teschner, K. R. S.; David Eddleman, M. F.; Henry A. Schmeideskamp, M. E.; Samuel Kirk, M. A.; Wm. Roberson, I. G.; Wm. J. King, O. G.; John I. King, Samuel A. Prather, Wm. P. Eaton, trustees. Including the gentlemen above mentioned, the charter list contained the following names: Jay J. Smith, Chas. Castor, J. G. Smith, Wm. Scott, Harry Saiter, John A. Brush, Wm. H. Carroll, J. S. E. Irwin, E. L. Horstman, T. J. Burrell, Addison Shick, C. F. Hoose, Wm. Lewis, Edward Kensler, T. J. Hurst, E. J. Miller, Wm. S. Coleman. The membership of Corner Stone Lodge is rapidly increasing, and when all members attend a session of the order the lodge room, which is 67 x 47 feet, is none too capacious. The present officers are Albert W. Schnuck, C. C.; Henry H. Davis, V. C.; Andrew S. Roberson, P.; David W. Eddleman, M. W.; Wm. Van Metre, K. R. S.; Chas. E. Evarts, M. F.; Henry Schmeideskamp, M. E.; Isaac T. Cato, M. A.; John H. Newton, I. G.; Wm. S. Harvey, O. G.; William J. King, T. J. Hurst, Jacob Bender, trustees.

The colored population, not to be outdone by their white brethren, have projected a K. P. "lodge of their own," as well as Masonic, Odd Fellows and other fraternal orders, and boast also of a uniform rank. Among the organizations of the colored folk are Aaron Mitchener Lodge No. 33, United Brothers of Friendship; Lilies of the Valley, Temple No. 36, an auxilliary to the United Brothers of Friendship.

THE ORDER OF ELKS.

The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks is a fraternal society of comparatively recent origin, dating its establishment from 1867, when a *coterie* of members of the theatrical profession banded themselves together for the promotion of closer friendship, social intercourse and mutual protection, with the Golden Rule as their motto. The order was christened by Charles Vivian, the actor, and the name of the animal "Elk" used because it is fleet of foot, strong of limb, timorous of doing wrong, and never known to engage in combat, except to defend its young and to protect the weak and defenseless. An erroneous impression exists among the uninitiated that the body is composed principally of a fun-loving set of men. A more mistaken idea than this was never entertained. While it is true there prevails within the order a decided social feature, it is secondary in the minds of members and is only indulged in to make the mystic band one of true brotherhood, where only good feeling exists. In the strict sense of the term, the order is a secret one; secret, however, as to the internal workings of the body within the lodge room and the charity dispensed by the organization, but in no other respect. From a very modest commencement the Order of Elks has grown and prospered until it is now one of the strongest organizations in the country, embracing in its membership men of all professions, commercial and industrial callings; but it ever follows the flag, and no one not a loyal citizen of the United States can ever hope to become an Elk. Its motto is: "The faults of our brothers we write upon the sands; their virtues upon the tablets of Love and Memory."

Vincennes Lodge, No. 291, which was instituted by District Deputy Grand Exalted Ruler James M. Healy, assisted by Indianapolis Lodge, No. 13, on November 1, 1894, ranks with the leading subordinate lodges of the country, and to-day has a membership of two hundred and sixty-two, among which are some of the most prominent citizens. Its charter list contains the names of forty-two members, and its first officers were W. A. Reiman, E. R.; C. B. O'Donnell, E. L. K.; Geo. E. Greene, E. L. K.; E. J. Julian, E. L. K.; Silius Liebshutz, Sec'y; Isaac Lyons, Treas., Geo. Schwenk, Tiler; Elmer E. Shores, Esquire; S. C. Beard, Chaplain; Chas. Laugel, I. G.; Myron Rindskopf, P. R. McCarthy, F. W. Bloom, trustees. Until 1907, when the present elegant Elks Home, in City Hall Place, was completed, the lodge held its meetings in the Odd Fellows' Hall. The present abode of No. 291 is one of the cosiest and most handsomely furnished establishments



HOME OF THE ELKS

of its character in the state. Its doors are frequently thrown open for semi-public entertainments, and the latch-string dangles perpetually on the outside to receive a pull from every stranger within the city's gates belonging to the antlered herd. Its lodge room, reading, reception, club rooms, and "den," are suggestive of everything that is elegant in house furnishings and decorations; and the ladies' parlors, adjoining the ball room and auditorium, from which sweet strains of piano music and the sweeter notes of female voices often issue, are elaborately furnished with exquisite tapestries and costly rugs. The lawns on either side of the building, as well as the porches, with their massive doric pillars, during summer months are converted into veritable flower gardens, and an air of home-like cheerfulness pervades the premises throughout. The architect and contractor of the Home are citizens of the town and members of the order, and because of interest in the lodge, and a desire to see the civic beauty of the city improved by the erection of such a building, the cost of an expensive job was greatly minimized. The building and furnishings, together with the lot, represent an outlay of about \$47,000. The present officers of No. 291 are Benj. F. Nesbitt, Exalted Ruler; Louis Simon, Esteemed Leading Knight; August G. Meise, Esteemed Loyal Knight; Geo. E. Henry, Esteemed Lecturing Knight; Joseph Shaw, Esquire; Benj. Allen, Chaplain; Jos. H. Sowden, Tiler; Wm. Ritterskamp, Inner Guard; E. J. Julian, Secretary; Geo. Fendrich, Treasurer. Chas. A. Weisert, John C. Wagner and Peter R. McCarthy are trustees, and the house committee consists of George Fendrich, John Gatton and Louis Osterhage.

ORDER OF BEN HUR.

Malluch Court, No. 45, Tribe of Ben Hur, is a growing and prosperous organization, equipped with the most costly paraphernalia and the finest of uniforms. It was organized on December 4, 1895, with eighty-one charter members; the following named gentlemen being inducted into office at that time: H. S. Latshaw, Chief; Alfred Laue, Judge; Rev. J. N. Jessup, Teacher; Will L. TeWalt, Scribe; John T. Boyd, Keeper of Tribute; Samuel Thompson, Captain; Ed. S. Sparrow, Guide. The first trustees were Wm. C. Bierhaus, Geo. W. Donaldson and Alfred S. Laue. The court has had a prosperous existence from the very day of its establishment, and its membership is composed largely of the better class of people. Since its organization it has paid death claims to beneficiaries amounting to over \$25,000—the payment in each of the several cases being made promptly after proof was furnished, in some instances within a week from the date of death. The principal officers of Malluch Court at present are John W. Brown, Chief; Laura LeGard, Judge; Emily Keith, Scribe; John C. Wise, Past Chief.

MODERN WOODMEN OF AMERICA.

As an organization the Modern Woodmen of America had its beginning at Lyons, Iowa, when Pioneer Camp, No. 1, was organized, January 5,

1883. The founder of Woodcraft, J. C. Root, of Lyons, became the Head Consul of the order and so continued until the year 1890, when he withdrew and organized a rival society. He was succeeded by W. A. Northcott, of Greenville, Ill., formerly Lieutenant Governor of the Prairie State, under whose stewardship as Head Consul the society enjoyed a phenomenal growth, leading all competitors in the field of fraternal insurance. Confinement of its organizations to the northern states, where the death rate is much lower than in the southern states, and the exclusion from membership of the more hazardous occupations, have tended in no small degree to keep down the death rate, in consequence of which the required number of assessments in any year has not exceeded one a month. Tecumseh Camp, No. 3945, M. W. A., was, after two preliminary meetings, organized on June 17, 1896, with the following charter members: C. W. Benham, F. A. Berry, John Branon, Otto Brandt, John T. Boyd, Earl H. Buck, Peter J. Burns, Owen Coleman, Thos. B. Coulter, J. H. Cannon, W. W. Cassell, C. W. Fyffe, L. Geschwindner, W. A. Hartwell, Jas. N. McCoy, F. W. Planke, H. E. Planke, Zach Pulliam, Chas. A. Sanford, Alex P. Smith, W. T. Smith, J. F. Somes, Ed. L. Townsley, Robt. F. Weems, Gilbert Williams, O. B. Williamson. The officers elected and installed at the first meeting were J. F. Somes, V. C.; Wm. T. Smith, W. A.; John T. Boyd, E. B.; Will L. TeWalt, Clerk; O. B. Williamson, Escort; Alex Smith, W.; Wm. Hartwell, S.; C. W. Benham, J. N. McCoy, Physicians; Ed. L. Townsley, Delegate; Zach Pulliam, Chas. A. Sanford, O. W. Coleman, Managers. The camp has a membership of 140, with the following officers: S. H. Milligan, V. C.; A. R. Parker, A.; M. C. Johnson, B.; S. G. Davenport, P. G.; Benton Youngblood, E.; Robt. N. Johnston, C.; Noha Tromley, W.; Louis Pfohl, S.; Alex Cornoyer, A. F. Hartman, Shuler McCormick, Trustees.

Harrison Camp, No. 10373, M. W. A., was instituted in 1898, and, like its neighbor, is in a flourishing condition. Its present officers are Geo. Milligan, Venerable Consul; Ed. E. Fisher, Past Consul; Ned Zinkans, Advisor; Homer E. Shaw, Banker; T. B. Coulter, Clerk; John Brewer, Escort; Ed. DeLuryea, Watchman; Lee Johnson, Sentry; Ned Zinkans, Ed. Fisher and H. E. Shaw, Trustees.

Elmwood Camp, No. 31, Woodmen of the World, meets the last Saturday of each month in Room 21, Bishop Block. The order was instituted June 17, 1893. Its present officers are John G. Freisz, Chief; H. W. Alexander, Clerk; Dr. P. H. Caney, Banker.

Court Vincennes, No. 1248, Independent Order of Foresters, akin to the three above mentioned in its beneficence and benevolence, was organized February 8, 1893. Its present officers are Samuel W. Williams, Chief Ranger; E. L. Corey, Recording Secretary; H. W. Alexander, Financial Secretary; Harry V. Somes, Jr., Treasurer. The court convenes the fourth Monday of each month in Room No. 21, Bishop Block, which is also the meeting place of Vincennes Council, No. 674, National Union, a patriotic,

fraternal insurance order organized in 1888, of which A. M. Yelton is President, H. W. Alexander, Financial Secretary; F. H. Hoffman, Recording Secretary, and J. J. Dawson, Treasurer.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS.

January 25, 1903, through the efforts of such men as Peter R. McCarthy, Henry Scheefers, Gerhard Reiter, William Eluere, John Hoffman, and others, there was chartered Vincennes Council, No. 712, Knights of Columbus, with a membership of forty-five. While non-Catholics are not eligible as members of the order, there is nothing in the ritualistic work that pertains to the affairs of the church. The society is simply a fraternal and social organization. Its chief feature, however, is life insurance, offered to all members under forty-five years of age, at extremely low rates. The first officers of Vincennes Council were P. R. McCarthy, Grand Knight; Jno. D. La Croix, Deputy Grand Knight; Wm. E. Tuite, Chancellor; Henry W. Frund, Recorder; Wm. P. Hoffman, Financial Secretary; Frank G. Reiter, Treasurer; Robt. G. Cauthorn, Lecturer; Andrew Berry, Advocate; Ed. W. Soete, Warden; Aubrey L. Morgan, Inner Guard; Michael J. Ryan, Outer Guard; Dr. P. H. Caney, Physician; Rev. F. W. Berkett, Chaplain; John Prullage, Anthony F. Hartman, Chas. Edmonds, Trustees. The Knights have commodious and elegant quarters in the Bayard Block, and provide the best literary and musical entertainments. The present officers of No. 712 are Geo. A. Downey, G. K.; Raymond E. Reilag, D. G. K.; John E. Ramsey, Chancellor; Thos. P. Kavanaugh, R.; Aloysius A. Arnold, F. S.; Aubrey L. Morgan, T.; John Risch, L.; John Nestlehut, A.; J. N. Zinkans, W.; Ed. Eschliemann, I. G.; John Boeckman, O. G.; Dr. P. H. Caney, P.; Dr. L. Downey, John Hartigan, Jr., John Kellar, Trustees.

The Catholic Knights of America, which have no connection, however, with the Knights of Columbus, have two local branches, which organizations have been in existence for more than a quarter of a century. St. Francis Xavier's Branch, No. 256, meets in the Bayard building every Tuesday, with the following officers: P. R. McCarthy, President; John E. Rogers, Recording Secretary; Francis Murphy, Financial Secretary and Treasurer.

St. John's Branch, No. 533, meets in St. John's Hall on the third Thursday of each month, with the following officers: John Hoffman, President; Benoit Fritsch, Vice President; Joe Ohnemus, Treasurer; Frank G. Reiter, Corresponding Secretary; Henry Scheefers, Financial Secretary.

St. John's Benevolent Society is another Catholic fraternal organization which is nearly as old as the church of St. John the Baptist. Its present officers are: John F. Miller, President; Joseph Fanger, Vice President; Ben. Fritsch, Treasurer; Jos. Claussman, Secretary.

IMPROVED ORDER OF RED MEN.

Piankashaw Tribe, No. 108, Improved Order of Red Men, was formed July 1, 1890, and its first officers were: Clinton H. DeBolt, Prophet; Sam

W. Williams, Sachem; Ed. Bierhaus, Jr., Senior Sagamore; H. S. Latshaw, Junior Sagamore; Geo. H. Turner, Chief of Records; Isaac Lyons, Keeper of Wampum. "The order is fraternal and co-operative in its character, and takes its name from a tribe of Indians who founded the village of Chip-pe-ko-ke (Brushwood), where the city of Vincennes is now located. It is said these Indians were always friendly with the white people, and allotted the southern part of their village for the habitation of the early traders and missionaries. The fraternal, unselfish and noble qualities of this tribe of Indians, no doubt, suggested the name for the local lodge, Piankashaw. The order is also benevolent in its character, caring for its sick members and attending to the disposition of those who depart 'to their happy hunting ground.'" The Piankashaws very readily respond to invitations to take part in street parades arranged for gala occasions, and always present a unique and interesting feature of the same. The lodge has a very large membership and provides some very nice entertainments for its members as well as the public. The present officers are Henry La Cost, Sachem; Virgil Finifrock, Senior Sagamore; Chester La Cost, Junior Sagamore; Geo. Osha, Prophet; Joseph Bender, Chief of Records; Fred. Long, Keeper of Wampum; Francis Murphy, Florice Tougas, Joseph Frey, Trustees.

THE ROYAL ARCANUM.

Plato Council, No. 492, Royal Arcanum, ranks foremost among the worthy fraternal insurance societies of the country, and has gained enviable notoriety for the promptness with which it pays death claims and the business-like methods it employs in discharging all obligations. Its organization dates back to May 27, 1880, when it was instituted with the following charter members: William Davidson, Victor Schoenfeld, Fred. Miller, Jesse H. Green, William Sachs, Samuel Wile, Chas. J. Agnew, F. M. Harris, John L. Green, Clint H. DeBolt, Jas. H. Shouse, Samuel Rumer, Alfred Merchant, L. H. Cox, W. M. Hindman, C. H. Brocksmith, Thomas Eastham, Stephen S. Burnett, George B. Henderson, Chas. A. Cripps. The membership roll contains the names of nearly two hundred, and the present officers of the council are: Frank J. Boeckman, Regent; Jas. M. Eastridge, Vice Regent; A. M. Yelton, Orator; Edward A. Acker, Past Regent; Geo. L. Ruddy, Secretary; Edwin L. Glass, Coll; Wm. A. Ohnemus, Treasurer; Wm. H. Peebles, Chaplain; C. H. Brocksmith, Guide; John M. Mueller, Warden; Gus Lang, Sentry.

FRATERNAL ORDER OF EAGLES.

Vincennes Aerie, No. 384, Fraternal Order of Eagles, while among the younger fraternal societies, is numerically the strongest one in the city. While it is a social and charitable organization, its care for the sick is its greater feature, and in consequence of this humane provision in the laws framed for its government has many workingmen within its charmed circle. The local aerie was instituted May 23, 1903, and its first meeting was held

May 29, 1903, with the following officers: Francis Murphy, Past Worthy President; Peter R. McCarthy, Worthy President; Ayres J. Taylor, Worthy Vice President; Thomas Robertson, Worthy Chaplain; Henry Riddelsheimer, Worthy Secretary; Peter Kiefer, Worthy Treasurer; Adolph Weisenbach, Worthy Conductor; Chas. Tanquary, Inner Guard; Geo. Thorn, Outer Guard; Dr. C. E. Stewart, Physician; E. A. Baecher, Organist; John C. Wise, John Gatton, Joseph Scheefers, Sr., Trustees. The Eagles have a "nest" in the Gimbel building, City Hall Place, formerly occupied by the Elks, which they have fitted up in regal style. The present officers of the aerie are C. W. Lauby, P. W. P.; Chas. Yocum, P.; Chas. Mayer, V. P.; Geo. Brumbaugh, C.; Herman J. Duesterberg, S.; Peter Kiefer, T.; Frank Boone, Jr., C.; E. A. Baecher, O.; L. A. Kapps, I. G.; Daniel Ryan, O. G.; John Bohna, C.; Joseph Claussman, Martin Gluck, Thomas Logan, Trustees.

KNIGHTS OF HONOR.

The institution of this lodge, almost an extinct organization to-day, occurred on March 9, 1878, and it was chartered September 4, 1878. Its first officers and a partial list of its charter members were as follows: William Davidson, P. D.; James H. Shouse, D.; Jos. H. Bernstein, V. D.; Wm. Sachs, A. D.; Sam. W. Williams, C.; O. C. Fairhurst, F. S.; Chas. H. Brocksmith, T.; Chas. J. Agnew, R. S.; S. Schoenfield, G.; James Stokes, G.; Sam Louis, S.; members—Thomas Eastham, Chas. W. Brocksmith, C. W. Jones, George Hanes, Jacob Weisenbach, John T. McBride, E. W. Miller and Jasper J. Dawson. Mr. Dawson is the only charter member that did not withdraw from the order, which has decreased numerically from nearly two hundred to eight—the number from which as financial secretary he now receives dues. In 1896 the local lodge advocated the secession of the Grand Lodge of Indiana from the Supreme Lodge, and would have succeeded in carrying its point had it not been for the fact that Evansville lodge had such a large membership that its vote in opposition to the measure was greater than that cast by the balance of the subordinate lodges. The revolt was brought on by a desire on the part of subordinate lodges to pay their pro rata assessments (calculated on State instead of United States basis) to the Grand, and not to the Supreme Lodge, by which method, it was claimed, the amounts could be greatly reduced. The big slump in membership came in 1906, when the Supreme Lodge issued a mandate, not only increasing the amount of assessment over the former rate, but making it obligatory on each member to pay two extra assessments. Rather than submit to this ruling the majority of members ceased to longer affiliate with the order.

KNIGHTS AND LADIES OF HONOR.

The Knights and Ladies of Honor organization will have attained its thirty-fourth year in September, 1911. Since its organization it has dis-

bursed among the widows and orphans of deceased members more than \$30,000,000. It was the first secret society to adopt the policy of insuring lady members, and hence is entitled to the distinction of being the mother of fraternal life insurance for females. During the year 1900 its ranks were disastrously diminished by the withdrawal from membership of 40,000 Belgians the major portion of whom lived in Illinois, who shortly after formed a new society, adopting a name so much like the Knights and Ladies of Honor that the latter appealed to the courts for redress, with the result that the "style and title" of the order were to remain in possession of the original organizers. Review Lodge, No. 362, K. & L. of H., was instituted September 20, 1880. Its first members were William Davidson, Solomon Schoenfield, Henry Heidenreich, W. F. Hinds, B. F. Tomlin, E. W. Miller, Louise Tomlin, Samuel Louis, Hannah Louis, E. W. Miller, Mattie Miller, Samuel Tietelbaum, Samuel W. Williams, Yette Schoenfield, A. M. Childs, Mamie Childs, Fred Miller, Peter Pomil, J. S. Carson, Adolph S. Laue. Mr. Laue was Grand Secretary of the order for thirteen years. The lodge is in a flourishing condition, and its affairs are at present in charge of the following corps of officials: Mrs. Rose Ewing, Protector; Mrs. Letta Miller, Vice Protector; Mrs. W. S. Bicknell, Past Protector; Miss Ada Hollowell, Chaplain; Wm. E. Wood, Financial Secretary; Isaiah Townsley, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Ella Wood, Treasurer; Geo. A. Miller, Sentinel.

KNIGHTS AND LADIES OF SECURITY.

This order was established about fifteen years ago, and has an insurance feature similar to the Knights and Ladies of Honor, and its social and benevolent features are akin to the latter, yet it is in no wise identified with the K. & L. of H. The local branch of the Knights and Ladies of Security was organized June 16, 1905, and the following is a roster of its first officers: Wm. J. King, President; F. A. Wassman, First Vice President; Walter McCord, Second Vice President; Mrs. Hannah Hastings, Prelate; Miss Ealine Ingram, Corresponding Secretary; Thos. J. Rogers, Financial Secretary; John Hurst, Treasurer; Robt. Kissick, Guard. The society meets in the castle hall of Corner Stone Lodge, Knights of Pythias, and has a large membership. Its present officers are Charles Richardville, P.; Wm. Brown, 1st V. P.; Mrs. Ella Reed, 2d V. P.; Mrs. Laura Shick, P.; Wm. M. Van Metre, S.; W. J. King, F.; Mrs. Helen Rice, C.; John H. Newton, G.

GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.

The Jeff C. Davis Post, No. 16, Grand Army of the Republic, was organized March 26, 1880, with the following charter members: Wm. N. Denny, Jas. C. Beeler, James Ostrander, John R. Callender, Elder Cooper, George G. Reily, Joseph Roseman, Baptiste Dofar, John W. Nelson, George Eller, David Agnew, John Hack, Wm. D. Lewis, J. J. Cunningham, John S. Little, E. W. Ecker, J. H. Thornton, J. H. Smith and J. W. Clark. There

was a division in the post about twenty years after its organization, when quite a number of members withdrew and organized under the title of George G. Reily Post, the name being adopted out of compliment to a worthy citizen and gallant soldier. The present officers of Jeff C. Davis Post are Joseph Roseman, Commander; George Sparrow, Senior Vice Commander; S. E. Horbeck, Junior Vice Commander; Jere Hershey, Adjutant; John C. Watts, Quartermaster; James T. Keith, Chaplain. The officers now in charge of George G. Reily Post are Simon F. Johnson, C.; Thornton McCoy, S. V. C.; Thomas Blevins, J. V. C.; Wilfred F. Blatherwick, A.; Benjamin L. Walker, Q.; Elias Lloyd, C. While the two posts are divided, on Decoration Day and other occasions set apart for honoring the old soldiers, living and dead, both organizations are as one, and march to the music of the Union, as they were wont to do in "the dark and bloody days."

The people of Vincennes and Knox county make no distinction between Union soldiers because they happen to belong to different fraternities; and that is the reason that when the county commissioners decided to build a \$50,000 monument to the "boys in blue," and appropriated that sum for the purpose, there was not a dissenting voice heard in the whole community. Proud, indeed are old Knox and Vincennes of the large number of soldiers who went forth from here during the days of the rebellion, and prouder still of the true, brave and loyal spirit displayed by these men as participants in all the bloody engagements fought by the Fourteenth, Twenty-first, Twenty-sixth, Thirty-third, Fifty-first, Sixty-fifth, Eightieth, Twenty-eighth and One Hundred and Twentieth regiments. In all the wars, including the Revolution, the battle of Tippecanoe, the war of 1812, Black Hawk war, Mexican war and Spanish-American war, the city and county have provided their full quota of soldiers. In 1898 Vincennes furnished two companies for the Spanish-American war—Company A, I. N. G., and the Vincennes University Cadets. The latter was the first volunteer company to offer its services to the governor of the state and the only full company of cadets sent by any state educational institution in the country to engage in the Spanish war. As a part of the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, the cadets, who had received careful military training at the University from a regular West Point instructor, attracted much favorable attention on account of their soldierly bearing and deportment. Although having seen a year of pretty hard service, the One Hundred and Fifty-ninth Regiment and Company A, owing to the speedy termination of the war, did not have an opportunity to go to the front.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

Old Post Assembly, No. 4058, Knights of Labor, was organized on August 26, 1885, with the following charter members: Daniel M. Lynch, John J. Lynch, Ed. B. Dean, Daniel Sides, Frank Boone, Ed. Thing, Henry Kleinklaus, Robt. Capsadell, John Slawson, Andy Akin, John F. T. Downs, Joseph Hans, Wyley Thorne, Ed. Howard, Frank Weber, Wm. O. Elwood,

Joseph Striley, J. W. Asbury, Joseph Antleitner and Henry Esch. Under the leadership of Daniel Lynch, a great agitator, who was elected several terms from the Fifth ward as a member of the Common Council, the order, soon after its institution, began to wield a political influence, and in 1887 elected a member of the organization to the state legislature. During the same year the assembly put in the field at the general election a city ticket, the head of which was Dr. J. C. Bever, as a mayoralty candidate. The name of Henry J. Boeckman also appeared on the same ticket, for city treasurer. Neither of the gentlemen named were members of the organization, and made no effort, apparently, to secure the offices for which they had been listed.

The Knights of Labor was the first organization of federated labor instituted in Vincennes. Its life was of short duration, and after a few years of uncertain existence it was merged into the American Federation of Labor, of which the following local unions are branches:

Bartenders' Union, No. 350—Harry Joice, President; Joseph P. Duesterberg, Secretary and Treasurer.

Local Union, No. 52, Brewers' National Union of the United States—Emil Biester, President; Chas. Yocum, Secretary; Geo. Wagner, Treasurer.

Bricklayers' and Masons Union, No. 32—Chas. Vatchett, President; Robt. C. Fries, Secretary and Treasurer.

Cigarmakers' Union, No. 399—Bernard Scheefers, President; Julius E. Yunghaus, Secretary.

Central Labor Union—John C. Mayes, President; Wm. S. Massey, Secretary.

Electrical Workers' Union—Louis Mominee, President; Henry Mominee, Secretary.

Iron Moulders' Union, No. 400—Arthur Esch, President; Wm. Massey, Secretary.

Journeyman Barbers' Union, No. 170—Wm. Corrie, President; Henry Geons, Secretary.

Musicians' Union—Wm. F. DeJean, President; Harvey E. Danes, Secretary and Treasurer.

National Window Glass Workers—John B. Schmidt, Preceptor.

Painters', Paperhangers' and Decorators' Union, No. 373—Fred. Neiders, President; John Brewster, Secretary.

Licensed Union League—Francis Murphy, President; Jos. Scheefers, Vice President and Secretary; John Murphy, Treasurer.

Street Railway Employes Union, No. 251—Clifford E. Moore, President; Wm. Fisher, Secretary.

Tailors' Union, No. 254—Robt. Schofield, President Cecelia Simon, Secretary.

Typographical Union, No. 395—Alvah W. Pringle, President; James P. Ryan, Secretary.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Union No. 274—Edward Zinkans, President; Edward DeLuryea, Secretary.

Vincennes Lodge A. A. of I. S. and T. W., No. 12—E. E. Stockhouse, President; Geo. Brumbaugh, Secretary.

Weiler Lodge A. A. of I. S. and T. W., No. 3—W. A. Davis, President; Albert Prosser, Secretary.

Iron Workers Relief Association—E. E. Stockhouse, President; W. A. Davis, Secretary.

Knox County Farmers' Union; Shoemakers' and Cobblers' Union; Plasterers' Union; Hod Carriers' Union.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OLD AND NEW VINCENNES.

INCIDENTS IN THE HISTORY OF ITS SHADOWY PAST AND EVENTS OF THE LIVING PRESENT—AARON BURR'S VISIT TO THE OLD POST, AND THE PROMINENT MEN WITH WHOM HE HELD AUDIENCES—SLAVERY IN EARLY DAYS—FORMATION OF THE BOROUGH—ITS FIRST OFFICERS—THE COMMONS LANDS—BANKS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE PAST AND PRESENT—PUBLIC LIBRARIES—THE PUBLIC PRESS—MUNICIPAL MATTERS OF TO-DAY—EARLY MERCHANTS—OLD LANDMARKS—MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES OF MODERN VINCENNES—THEIR LARGE VOLUME OF BUSINESS—THE CITY'S PRESENT ADVANTAGES AND FUTURE POSSIBILITIES—PUBLIC UTILITIES.

How many hundred years Old Vincennes was a place of human habitation prior to the beginning of the eighteenth century seems to be even beyond conjecture. As has been shown, a prehistoric race, populous, industrious and not without knowledge of agriculture and the arts, had their abode here; but the hieroglyphics and other works they left behind in the shape of mounds, implements, articles for use and personal adornment, reveal neither the dates of their coming nor departure; nor whither they went. Away back in the remote past it is evident from the numerous monuments of these mysterious people, this locality was an attractive spot, and Old Vincennes was the seat of government of a large community of them, if it was not the capital of the tribal nation.* It is contended by some historians, notably O. F. Baker, that following the advent of the Mound Builders, the Fishers were inhabitants of the place, and that evidences of their presence have been found in heaps of shells, some of which were from the seashore, and in skeletons unearthed occasionally along the banks of the Wabash. The Indians, therefore, were the third race preceding the Caucasians, to be drawn, as if by nature's magic, to this inviting locality—but whether they came simultaneously with the departure of the Fishermen, or at a date much later, has never been clearly shown by those who have lifted the veil of the mildewed past. It is known, however, that the

*William Henry Smith, *Vincennes, the Key to the Northwest*

red people who founded on the present site of Vincennes the populous village of Chip-pe-ko-ke (Brushwood) for at least a century preceding the coming of the Frenchmen and other Europeans, had their central habitation here; and when the white man came, they generously gave him a large share of their domains in the vicinity of the Old Post, and even permitted the earlier Canadian trappers to make their homes within the confines of the Indian village. Chip-pe-ko-ke was established by the Piankashaws, who suffered the Miamis, Delawares, Kaskaskians and Muscoutins, friendly to the whites, to dwell therein. Long after Chip-pe-ko-ke ceased to be a tribal habitation, the Indians lingered in and around the Old Post; and it was not until the summer of 1830 that the last remnant, about one hundred in number, took their final departure for the Illinois country, crossing the river ten miles below town, on horseback. The inhabitants had no fear of violence from a Piankashaw Indian unless he was greatly under the influence of fire water. When in this condition his whoop was terrorizing, and taken as a signal by the frightened housewife to bar the cabin door, as she was wont to do against hungry wolves whose approach was announced by their howls. Commandant St. Ange introduced as early as 1736 stringent regulations regarding the sale of liquor to Indians; following the examples of a milder type which had been set by his predecessors. The commandants of the post who came after him always had more or less trouble with the Indians and those who supplied them with fire water.* In July, 1793, the judges of Knox County were called on to enforce the law prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors to Indians; and Henry Vanderburgh, Francis Vigo and Robert Buntin were appointed a committee to take charge of the business, and to supply Indians visiting Vincennes such quantity of spirits as should seem to them proper.

The desirability of Vincennes as a dwelling place for the "children of the forest" and their white brethren who established a habitat here early in the eighteenth century, is spoken of thus by the most interesting of historical writers†: "There must have been something attractive about this spot on the Wabash, for after the Mound Builders deserted it and the red men came to occupy the land, they, too, selected it for the site of one of their principal towns. No one knows what tribes have dwelt here, but when it was first visited by white men the Pi-ank-a-shaws, one of the leading tribes of the great Miami confederacy, organized to drive back eastward the Six Nations, occupied it as the principal village and called it Chip-kaw-kay. As the red men depended upon the forests and streams for both food and clothing, this was for them an ideal spot. The finest forests in America were here filled with buffalo, bear, deer and other game; while the Wabash furnished them fish and gave them a highway easily traversed, by which to visit friends in other sections, or to make raids on hostile tribes.

**The St. Clair Papers*, Vol. ii, page 323.

†William Henry Smith, *Vincennes, the Key to the Northwest*.

The traditions of the Pi-ank-a-shaws indicate that they occupied the site for more than a century before the coming of the whites."

The woods were certainly not the least inviting feature that appealed to these primitive people and induced them, as well as the first travelers from the northern lakes, to locate in this "garden spot" of the Northwest wilderness. The pristine beauty and magnitude of the primeval forests, and the immensity of their giants are conveyed in a description penned by an eminent English traveler and author, who visited this locality at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and wrote as follows: *"It is seldom that a view of 200 yards in extent can be caught in Indiana. The woods west of the mountains are not, as Mrs. W. says in the *Wrongs of Woman*, 'clustering forests of small trees.' It is a long time before an English eye becomes accustomed to their size and grandeur. The live poplar or tulip-bearing tree, of which canoes are made, the sycamore, the walnut and the white oak, grow to a prodigious size."

Another distinguished writer, in describing the forests of this locality as they were a hundred years ago, says: †"Forty-two kinds of trees in the Wabash valley attained a height above a hundred feet; the tallest recorded being a tulip poplar 190 feet high. It was twenty-five feet in circumference and ninety-one feet to the first limb. Many thousands grew over the state measuring from three and a half to ten feet in diameter. Numbers of sweet gum in the more fertile ground in the southern part of the state contended with the tulip poplar in height, and in beauty and symmetry exceeded it. They sometimes attained a height of 150 feet and a diameter of four feet, often preserving the same size to the first limb.

"In the oak woods there were giants, too. The red, scarlet, burr and white oaks reaching a girth of ten to twenty feet, and often a height of 125 to 150 feet. One instance is reported of a scarlet oak 181 feet high. In the southern part of the state, too, the sweet buckeye attains great size, often being three and a half to four feet in diameter, with a trunk as straight as a column, and reaching a total height of over 100 feet. One example of this species is unique. It is the tree from which was made the celebrated buckeye canoe of the presidential campaign of 1840. The tree grew in the southeast corner of Rush county, and is said to have been, when standing, twenty-seven feet nine inches in circumference and ninety feet from the ground to the first limb. Here and there, quite thickly scattered, were to be found groves of the finest black walnut the world has ever known. Some of these groves were quite extensive, containing hundreds of trees, individuals of which were four to six feet in diameter and 100 to 150 feet high.

"In the river valleys, along the streams, the great size of the sycamore was noticeable. This was the largest of the hardwood trees, reaching a maximum height of 140 to 165 feet and often measuring five to ten feet

*Fordham's *Personal Narrative* (Frederick A. Ogg's reprint), page 153.

†Dryer, *Studies in Indiana Geography*.

in diameter. Keeping these company were the cottonwoods, the larger of which measured five to eight feet in diameter and 130 to 165 feet high. The beauty of all the trees in this region was the white elm. Its diameter was three to five feet and its height sometimes 120 feet or more, the ambitters often spreading over 100 feet."

In the bottom lands of Riviere du Chien (Duchee) are standing today elms and oaks of an unusual height, and sycamores having great girth. The decayed trunks of three sycamore trees in a field owned by William Brevoort, which is skirted on the northeast side by Fausse Chenille (Fort Snye) and on the southwest by the Wabash, will measure from twenty-four to twenty-six feet in circumference.

Referring to a visit made to the Old Post in 1817, when the town was known as St. Vincennes, Mr. Elias Pym Fordham, the author above quoted, says: "This old town, which was a settlement by the Indian traders, stands near the river on a beautiful prairie surrounded by woods and gently rising hills. Its inhabitants are Canadian and European French, Anglo-Americans, negroes and a few half-bre[e]d Indians. The French have given their tone of manners to the place. There are many Indians in the neighborhood—Delawares, Miamis and Kaskaskians. The former tribe number about 1,200 warriors and are a fierce, determined race of men. The Miamis and Kaskaskians, though excellent warriors, are more mild. They all hunt and fight with rifle and are good marksmen. I have seen a young Delaware warrior present a heavy rifle and hold it immovable without a rest for several minutes. Some of the Miamis are very fine fellows, comparatively rich. Their tomahawks and guns are beautifully ornamented. They ride blooded ponies, and some of them have handsome saddles and bridles. I received an invitation to visit a camp of Miamis, a few miles hence, and to join a hunting party. I have declined it, not being master of sufficient leisure, nor do I know enough of the Indian who invited me, to entrust myself with them. We stayed at St. Vincennes a week, then went twenty-five miles southwest to a little new town called Princetont of about twenty houses, situated in the woods. * * * Best land is worth £600 or £700 sterling per section; further from market, £350 or £400—uncleared."

The earliest travelers, and later the geographers and historians, predicted that Vincennes, located as she was in the heart of a marvelously fertile country, was destined to become a great metropolitan city; and, judging from the giant strides she has made in this direction within the last quarter of a century, they reckoned well. The old town, before the days

*Fordham's *Personal Narrative* (Frederick A. Ogg's reprint), pp. 96, 97, 98.

Princeton is situated about thirty miles from Vincennes, within two miles of the Patoka river and ten of the Wabash. The first settlement in the vicinity was made as early as 1800. In 1813 Gibson county was erected and Princeton became its seat. Town lots were first put on sale in 1814. The place received its name from William Prince, an Indian agent who located there in 1812, subsequently a member of Congress.

of steamboats or railroads, was of greater importance commercially than any of the places which have since grown to be the leading municipalities of the middle west. As early as 1705 more than 20,000 skins and hides were shipped from the section of the Wabash valley of which Vincennes is the center. In 1746 six hundred barrels of flour were taken out of the same locality to New Orleans, besides large quantities of hides, peltries, tallow and bees-wax. This is the view taken by an eastern compiler of the place at the beginning of the nineteenth century: "Vincennes,* upon the left bank of the Wabash, is the oldest and largest town in the state, having been built by the French from Canada; most of the inhabitants are of French extraction. The site of the town is level and when in its natural state was an extensive prairie. The lands are fertile in a high degree. In a commercial point of view, the position of this town is very advantageous, and must advance rapidly. Standing upon the limit of two territorial divisions, Vincennes cannot ever again become the seat of government—a loss more than compensated by a favorable situation for agriculture, and the transport of produce to New Orleans, Pittsburg, and indeed to the entire western and southern parts of the United States. The population of Knox County in 1810 was 7,965."

Vincennes is located on the east bank of the Wabash, a distance 150 miles from the point where the river converges with the Ohio. It is 192 miles west of Cincinnati, Ohio; 151 miles east of St. Louis, Missouri; 236 miles south of Chicago; 117 miles southwest of Indianapolis; 51 miles north of Evansville; 56 miles south of Terre Haute. The† United States government in 1883 made an accurate geodetic survey of the United States. Vincennes was selected as one of the stations for observation. The station here was located near the geographical center of the town in the courthouse yard, off the northeast side of the courthouse, and is marked by three stones set in concrete, the center one nearly flush with the surface and bearing an "X" mark. Latitude of the station point, 38° 40' 39". Longitude west of Greenwich, 5 hours 50 minutes .0888 seconds, or 87° 31' 28".

The description and location of the Old Post have been so admirably set forth by Mr. Cauthorn in his *History of Vincennes*, that they will permit of reproduction in this volume: "Vincennes is situated on high ground beyond the possible reach of inundation, and is bounded on the northeast and southwest by beautiful and fertile prairies, and on the southeast by a picturesque range of hills covered in part by forest trees and presenting, from the city, an attractive and pleasing landscape view. The location is peculiarly fortunate and safe, occupying as it does a level depression surrounded on most sides by elevated grounds and hills which protect it from the chilly blasts of winter and the destructive storms of summer so prevalent and desolating in portions of the west. The surrounding hills operate as a

*Darby's *Emigrant's Guide* (1818), page 213.

H. S. Cauthorn, *A History of Vincennes*, page 11.

bulwark to divert and elevate the course of passing winds and thus shield and protect it from their fury, so that during the long period of time the site has been the home of civilization, no occasion for alarm has been furnished and not the least damage has been done to life or property within its limits on this account. It has numbered among its structures, steeples and towers, insecurely anchored but which stood for years unharmed and until removed by design.

"There are on the southeast side of the city three beautiful mounds, the most noted and picturesque evidences of the work of the mound builders to be found anywhere. These mounds overlook and are in full view from the city. They add much to the physical appearance and beauty of the location, and are, in fact, a handsome background; and from their summits the best view of the city can be obtained. And when viewed from their heights, the city, located as it is upon a level plain, and the streets on either side ornamented with shade trees, appears to advantage, and seems as if located in one large, unbroken forest. There is a fiction connected with these mounds that General Clark, when he approached the place in February, 1779, marched his troops around one of them in a circle many times to impress the inhabitants with the magnitude of his force. No such performance ever took place. General Clark says in his account, that he did not wish to surprise the people. He met two Frenchmen of the village when he was at Warrior's Island, two miles below the place, and by them sent a message to the inhabitants of the town to the effect that he did not wish to surprise them, and warning all who were friendly to the 'hair-buyer' general, as he called Hamilton, to join him in the fort. Warrior's Island in the prairie two miles below Vincennes was in full view of the town, and his force could be seen and numbered there, and any such performance as marching around one of the mounds to create a false impression of his force would have been detected and inspired merited contempt and disgust. This alleged performance may be credited to many others designed to magnify the exploits of Clark and invest them with colors of romance akin to the deeds of chivalry. General Clark himself says in his report, that when he sent his message to the inhabitants of the town by the two Frenchmen from Warrior's Island, that he knew that the French inhabitants were friendly to him, as was also Tobacco's Son, the most powerful Indian chief in the country. It seems cruel to spoil this romantic story, but regard for truth compels it to be done.

"The streets of the city are all level and graded with gravel containing a cohesive substance which when first taken from its bed is of a dull red color, but upon exposure to the air soon cements and makes a hard and substantial roadbed, and also bleaches and presents a bright and shining appearance, and gives the city streets the appearance of threads of silver winding through shaded avenues. The sidewalks are as level as a sheet of paper, and when improved with granitoid, of which many miles have already been constructed and many more miles are being added each year,

gives the city sidewalks that cannot be surpassed anywhere, and but rarely equaled.

"The site of Vincennes has always been admired and praised by all travelers who ever visited the place. Count Volney in his account of his travels refers to it as a garden spot, reminding him of some of the vine-clad provinces of France. It was in 1796 when he visited the place, and he says the village on all sides was surrounded by the most luxurious vineyards from which abundance of the purest wines were made by the villagers, and that the prairies adjoining the village were covered with the finest fruit orchards he ever saw. This condition as to the fruit orchards continued in the lower prairies until within the memory of men still living. But the vineyards and orchards have now disappeared and their places have been given up to the cultivation of wheat and corn. Mr. Scott, in a gazetteer, published in 1793, says that a pleasant wine was made here of old.

"In 1765 Colonel Croghan came here to treat with the Miami and Illinois tribes. In his report he praised Vincennes as 'one of the finest situations that can be found.' He praised the soil as very rich, 'producing wheat and tobacco; and that the tobacco raised here is preferable and superior to that of Maryland and Virginia, and that Post Vincennes is a place of great importance for trade.'

"William H. English, when he first visited the place in 1891, thus speaks of it in his History of the Northwest: 'In addition to its early settlement and the multitude of interesting incidents connected with its history, its location and surroundings are so attractive that one can readily understand why it was a favorite of the Indians in the earliest times, and subsequently of the French and others of the white race. There are few places where life at all periods has been more thoroughly and philosophically enjoyed than at the 'Old Post,' St. Vincents, the modern city of Vincennes.' "

Vincennes is destined to become one of the leading cities in Indiana notwithstanding her age, as indicated by the new growth she has developed in the past decade. In 1900 her population was 10,249; in 1910 it was 14,895—a healthy and substantial gain. The first census of the town was taken in 1769, when the number of inhabitants was reported at sixty-nine. In 1777 Lieutenant-Governor Abbott stated that the permanent population was 250. The federal government in 1880 reported the number of people living in the Old Post at 714—373 males; 333 females; 8 slaves. In 1810, according to Dr. Smith's figures, the population was less by forty-four souls than it was in 1800, and embraced 336 males, 329 females, and 5 slaves. The census of town and county for three decades were taken jointly, the town being estimated at one-fifth of the total population, and shows the following figures: In 1820 the total number of inhabitants in the entire county was placed at 5,315—town estimated at 1,029; in 1830 the whole county contained 6,557 souls—town estimated at 1,311; in 1840 county was 10,657—town estimated at 2,131. For the seven subsequent decades the town's census, separately taken, shows that in 1850 the population was

2,070; in 1860 it was 3,900; in 1870 it was 5,438; in 1880, 7,680; in 1890, 8,850; in 1900, 10,249; in 1910, 14,895.*

PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

In early times, while the population of Old Vincennes, as has been shown, was homogeneous in its make-up, there came to the place not a few of refined and intellectual people, whose general knowledge of affairs and letters led them to provide means for their fellow citizens to acquire information from book lore; and, consequently, libraries were made adjuncts of the first schools. At the beginning of the year 1808, following the establishment of the Vincennes University, the Vincennes Historical and Antiquarian Society was organized. For a number of years this society flourished, and during its existence many valuable books and paleontological specimens were accumulated. At a period when the university was on the eve of building up and fostering an institution, at that time second to none west of the Alleghany mountains, the newly-organized state of Indiana, presuming that everything within her borders belonged to the state, confiscated the property which had been given by congress to the university, and gave the proceeds therefrom to the Indiana College at Bloomington. This unwarranted and unprecedented action on the part of the Hoosier commonwealth not only killed for the time being the Vincennes school, but it dealt a death blow to the Historical and Antiquarian Society, which was to work hand in hand with the university. In the accumulation of exhaustless volumes of rare books and specimens of great value and historic interest, it had established a treasure house of information affording pleasure for both the learned and unlearned. But pernicious legislation severed the cord that bound it to the old school; and after a desperate effort for existence, it finally succumbed to the inevitable, having been separated during the struggle from much of its property. After many years the few remaining shares of stock were bought by a younger generation, who conveyed for a very small consideration the remnants of the society's belongings to the rejuvenated university, which institution is still the proud possessor of the library and specimens of antiquity. The latter have not been added to very materially, but the acquisition of books has increased the number of volumes in the library to nearly 7,000, to which the general public, by proper application, has free access.

The Cathedral library, of which mention has been made in a preceding chapter, attained no great distinction until the advent of Bishop Brute, who came here in 1834. There is, however, evidence tending to show before the

*This figure would be numerically larger by four or five thousand had the enumerators been more experienced in their work. According to the enumeration of school children, which has just been completed—if five were used as a multiple, according to custom—the population would be nearer to twenty thousand than fourteen thousand. The last census shows that there were 4025 children of school age in Vincennes.

acquisition of this learned and pious man's collection, the church had accumulated a large number of books—probably as early as 1785—treating on religious and secular subjects. One who has never visited the library and inspected its thousands of quaint and curious volumes can form no idea of the multiplicity of their numbers or the interesting matter that is set forth on their age-stained pages. During each year this establishment is an objective point for hundreds of pilgrims within the city's gates.

The McClure Working Men's Library was an institution that flourished for many years before the establishment of the present city library. The last days of its existence its remaining volumes, which diminished instead of increased in numbers with the passing years, were kept at No. 1 fire engine house on Fourth street. Its organization was unique and philanthropic, and was brought about in this way: In 1849 or 1850, a Mr. McClure, from whose philanthropy Mr. Carnegie probably got inspiration for his beneficent bequests, bequeathed to each county in the state of Indiana a fund of \$500 to form a basis for a library therein to be called the McClure Township Library. Under these conditions sixty years ago a library was formed at Vincennes; but as no special provision was made for its maintenance, aside from that afforded by assessments levied on the Firemen's Benevolent Association, after a long series of years, during which many of the books became scattered, its usefulness waned. Before it became entirely worthless, however, the trustees of the school city of Vincennes took charge of its remaining assets and put them into the city library, which they established in 1889, acquiring for the purpose through the common council rooms on the third floor of the city hall. This library now contains about 8,000 volumes, and is open to the public day and night, Sundays included. Its collections embrace the choicest of literary works—history, romance, fiction and current literature, of which Miss Lillian Trimble and Miss Ella Davidson, two of the most agreeable and competent librarians in the country are custodians. Its suite of rooms are well ventilated, perfectly lighted and heated, and are visited annually by more than 12,000 patrons, who are accorded the most courteous treatment by those in charge. The last monthly report shows that the library's circulation was 3,000 volumes, and that the rooms had been visited by nearly 1,000 people.

Just a few short months ago the trustees of the public schools accepted the second offer of Mr. Carnegie to appropriate \$50,000 for a public library. The site for the building has been selected, and before the end of the present year another library will be added to the number of desirable institutions of this character noticeably in evidence, and which form interesting companion-pieces to the lecture bureaus maintained by social and religious societies.

THE PUBLIC PRESS.

In war, civil government, letters, education, law and medicine, Vincennes was not a lesser pioneer than in journalism. The first newspaper



ELIHU STOUT



The accompanying portrait is made from a photograph after the only oil painting of Clark from life said to be extant, in possession of the Vincennes University. Prof. E. A. Bryan, former president of the University, in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XXI, p. 387, is authority for the statement that the painting is the only one in existence. It was, of course, executed several years after the capture of Vincennes.

in the Northwest Territory was the *Western Sun*, established at the Old Post one hundred and seven years ago. Its founder was Elihu Stout, grandfather of the late Henry S. Cauthorn, who was a practical printer, working in 1803 on the *Kentucky Gazette* at Frankfort, and who came in that year to Vincennes, when the place was the seat of government of Indiana Territory. The first number of the paper was issued July 4, 1804, nearly a year being required to transport on pack horses the material necessary for its publication. The route followed was along the old Indian trail from Louisville, over which Mr. Stout came alone on horseback. From the date of the first issue the paper was published regularly every week for a period of nearly two years, when a destructive fire swept away every vestige of the office. Undaunted by the disaster, the enterprising publisher set about securing a new outfit, which he procured from Kentucky, and on July 4, 1807, issued the first number of the resurrected paper. The name of the paper when it made its initial appearance was the *Indiana Gazette*, the title of *Western Sun* not having been applied until it was resurrected from the ashes, so to speak. George C. Smoot became a partner in the concern on August 1, 1807, but retired on November 17th of the same, his interest being purchased by James Jennings, who retired December 23, 1808. Mr. Stout continued at the helm of the paper alone until December 6, 1817, when the name was changed to *Western Sun and General Advertiser*. In October, 1819, John Washburn became a partner, retaining a half interest in the publication until September 20, 1820, when he retired. On January 19, 1839, Henry Stout became a partner in the paper, which was published under the name of E. Stout & Son. Elihu Stout remained the head of the firm from the first issue of the publication until November, 1845, when he was appointed postmaster at Vincennes, and sold the paper to John Rice Jones. In 1847 Mr. Jones took into partnership his brother, William A., and the firm continued the publication of the paper until 1848 or 1849, when it failed for want of support, and John Rice Jones went to Washington City to accept a government position. On his return from the national capital he started Jones' *Vincennes Sentinel*. This paper, after a brief and unprofitable career, suspended and was followed by the *Vincennes Indiana Patriot*, published by James J. Mayes. The *Patriot* was established in 1853, shortly before J. & M. A. McClagherty had launched the *Courant*; and in October of the same year both papers passed into the hands of the last named firm, and were consolidated as the *Courant and Patriot*. The paper bitterly opposed the doctrine of Know-Nothingism, and strongly advocated Buchanan's candidacy for president. In 1856 the *Courant and Patriot* suspended publication, or, rather, fell into the hands of George E. Greene, Sr., who renewed the old name of *Western Sun*, and continued its publication up to the time of his death, in October, 1870. Reuben C. Kise was the next editor of the *Sun*, and continued as its sole proprietor until January, 1871, when he took Andrew J. Thomas into partnership in the management of the concern. On the death of Mr. Kise, in 1873, Alfred

Patton bought of the heirs the stock owned by Mr. K., and the firm became known as A. J. Thomas & Co. Royal E. Purcell, the present proprietor, became the owner of the paper on November 1, 1876, when it was a semi-weekly; and in 1879, in addition to publishing a twice-a-week edition, began the publication of a daily. The paper is the democratic organ of the county, is splendid paying property, and ably edited. The centennial edition of the *Western Sun*, issued July 4, 1904, was a worthy publication, teeming with interesting historical matter, a great variety of local news, and containing quite a number of able editorials on timely topics. The old files of the *Western Sun*, printed while Elihu Stout was editor, were sold by the late Henry Cauthorn several years ago to the state for \$1,000 per volume, and today are an important part of the historical collections to be found in the Indiana Library at Indianapolis.

Since 1818 the *Sun* has had opponents in the journalistic field it created and over which for many years it held undisputed sway. The careers of some of the earlier rivals of the pioneer sheet have been so brief that they have left little or no history worth recalling. On February 27, 1854, William H. Jackson and James G. Hutchison established *The News of the Day*, an alleged Know-Nothing paper, which was supplanted about three years later by the *Gazette*, founded by R. Y. Caddington, and later published by G. R. Harvey, James A. Mason and Milton P. Ghee. Under the last named management the first edition of the paper, which was designated as No. 1, Vol. XXVII, appeared May 13, 1857. On May 28, 1859, it became the property of H. M. Smith and M. P. Ghee, who ably conducted it until July, 1861, when William N. Denny became its owner and continued its publication until 1862. In the year last named Colonel C. M. Allen and Dr. H. M. Smith became the proprietors, but disposed of the property only a few months after securing it to Charles I. Williams, who retained Colonel Allen as editor. In May, 1863, John M. Wilson became proprietor and editor, with T. C. Schuber as local editor. On January 3, 1864, Wm. H. Jackson took the place of Schuber on the staff, and on January 13, 1864, became a partner in the business with Wilson. On January 24th, same year, the property passed into the hands of William H. Jackson and John M. Griffin; and on October 14, 1865, Griffin became sole proprietor. His editorial career was very stormy, and he scarcely went on the street that he did not encounter a man who "wanted to lick the editor."

On March 7, 1862, J. G. Hutchison founded *The Old Post Union*, which survived only a few years, when it was absorbed by the *Vincennes Times*, republican journal, and a very good paper, established in 1865 by Richard Young Caddington and William H. Jackson. The latter remained on the *Times* for about two years and then went to the *Gazette*. Mr. Caddington remained as sole editor and owner of the *Times* until 1873, when he formed a partnership with General Laz. Noble. Mr. Noble was a graceful writer, and wrought a decided improvement in the editorial page of the paper. On October 17, 1875, the *Times* was sold to Malechi Krebs

who, after a brief and profitless editorial career, disposed of the property to James J. Mayes, John Malett and Alfred V. Crofts, "an association of practical printers." Under the management of this triumvirate the Times ranked first among the weekly papers of the county for local news. In 1879 Mr. Crofts retired from the firm, and shortly afterward the publication of the paper was discontinued, Crofts buying the material to conduct a job office "at the old stand."

The Vincennes Commercial was established March, 1877, by Spillard Fletcher Horrall (now a resident of Washington, and approaching his ninetyeth year), Albion Horrall and Nelson Horrall, under the firm name of S. F. Horrall & Sons, and was republican in politics. The "Old Man," as the senior partner referred to himself in the columns of the paper, wielded a caustic pen, and "lampooned" his friends (the enemy) in the editorial columns of every issue. On February 15, 1881, the Commercial was sold by the Horralls to a stock company, of which John C. Adams became the manager and also filled at the same time the position of editor-in-chief of the paper. In April, 1882, John Adams was succeeded as manager and editor by Thomas H. Adams, who disposed of the Record, a newspaper he was publishing at Edwardsport, to accept the position. Thomas Adams subsequently got control of all the stock, and put the plant on a sound financial basis. He still continues the publication of the daily and weekly Commercial, which is one of the brightest and spiciest newspapers in the state.

There have only been two German newspapers published in Vincennes, notwithstanding the population is composed largely of Germans; and both of them were democratic in politics. In 1876 Louis and Henry Rosenthal (the latter now editor of the Evansville Demokrat) established the Volksblatt and continued its publication until the early eighties. The successor to the Volksblatt came when the Vincennes Post, several years later, was founded by L. A. Meyer, who employed as editors A. F. Laufer, E. A. Baecher and E. W. Determann, all of whom wielded facile pens. The dress of the paper, however, was changed from German to English type two years after its establishment, and William H. Pennington assumed editorial charge, continuing in that capacity until Mr. Meyer, disappointed at the glory to be garnered from the field of journalism sold the plant (which proved a losing investment) to George M. Cook. Mr. Cook, who now has a lucrative position with the Associated Press, changed the name of the paper to the Vincennes Capital, and published it from February, 1889, until March, 1902, when he disposed of the same to Frank W. Curtis, Perry C. Green and J. Ralph Du Kate, the present owners. The daily Capital, under its present management, has made wonderful progress, and is a strictly up-to-date newspaper. Its proprietors, who are all young men, have made money out of the plant and won fame in newspaperdom.

The Knox County Democrat, a weekly newspaper, now the property of Joseph W. Kimmell, was established in 1890 by Allen Campbell, who was superintendent of the Monroe City schools twenty-five years ago. Frank

G. Signor succeeded Mr. Campbell as editor in 1893, and sold out to James Garrard and Ed Quittle, who published a far better paper and met with greater financial success than any of their predecessors. In 1894 Mr. Quittle withdrew from the paper, the publication of which was continued under the management of Mr. Garrard until 1909, when he was succeeded as proprietor by A. R. Cochran, who sold in March, 1910, to Mr. Kimmell, the present owner, who is publishing a first-class weekly paper, and has made of the plant a good-paying investment.

A very ably edited paper was the Vincennes News, established by Warren Worth Bailey, Homer Bailey and Frank Shannon, in 1877. Warren Bailey was a forcible and pleasing writer, and advocated the single tax theories of Henry George. The News had a very tempestuous career, and in 1885 ceased to exist. The Messrs. Bailey are now editors and proprietors of the Daily Democrat, published at Johnstown, Pennsylvania. The plant from which the paper is issued was presented to them about fifteen years ago by Henry George, whose doctrines are still proclaimed by them.

The National Era, established by D. W. and A. L. Harbison in 1894, was a sheet of Populistic proclivities. It survived about seven years after it was founded, consistently and persistently fighting for the principles of Populism, but making few converts to its cause.

The Ladies' Home Ideal, a magazine printed and published by Thomas H. Adams from 1897 to 1901, was a publication of literary merit and enjoyed a large circulation. Its publication was suspended on account of the proprietor's subsequent business enterprises frequently calling him away from the city.

Among the earlier newspapers of lesser note was the Vincennes Joker and Jocular Jangler, established in 1846 and continued for little more than a year. It was a spicy little sheet, devoted to personal criticisms of a harmless character. It was neatly printed and ably edited by Wm. H. Jackson and D. C. Robinson, and was quite a favorite publication with the masses.

Mr. Cauthorn,* in his History of Vincennes, says that "in 1808 a paper was started here in the interest of Jonathan Jennings, who was a candidate for territorial delegate to congress against Thomas Randolph, who was then district attorney of the United States for the Indiana Territory. Jennings was strongly opposed to the introduction of slavery in the territory, and he claimed that Randolph was at heart in favor of its introduction. To advance his political interests, a paper was started here which took strong ground against the introduction of slavery in the territory and warmly advocated the election of Jennings. But this venture, like all its predecessors, was short-lived and ceased to exist with the occasion that called it forth."

The same author also says that in 1816 N. Blackman started the Indiana Sentinel for Willis Fellows, and that the paper was printed in a brick build-

*H. S. Cauthorn, *A History of Vincennes*, page 50

ing, opposite the Vincennes steam mill, on ground which is now a portion of Harrison Park. The paper, which was intended solely as a medium to advertise the business of the steam milling company, suspended with the failure of said company, which occurred four or five years subsequent to the establishment of the publication.

BANKS AND BUILDING ASSOCIATIONS.

In the world of finance, as in the field of religion and education, Vincennes led the van among the settlements of the Northwest Territory. The Old Post has always maintained a goodly number of banking houses, managed, except in one instance, with ability and conservatism born of intelligent financiering. The first bank established here was a child of the territorial legislature, and was organized with Nathaniel Ewing at its head. The institution continued to do business until Indiana was admitted to statehood and state government was established.

At this period there were but two banks in Indiana Territory—one at Vincennes and the other at Madison. The constitution of 1816, which prohibited the establishment of any bank of issue by individuals, provided that the legislature might charter a state bank and branches, but that there should not be more than one branch to any three counties.

The first legislature to convene passed an act establishing the State Bank, with branches at Corydon, Brookville and Vevay, adopting the banks at Vincennes and Madison. In 1821, all the banks failed because of bad management and speculation (according to the *Banker's Magazine*), after three years of existence; and for several years after that date there was not a bank of issue in the state.*

On the organization of the State Bank of Indiana, under a revised act, provision was made for thirteen branches to the institution, one branch of which was located here, in 1834, with John Ross as president and George Rathborn cashier; the latter being succeeded by Henry D. Wheeler, who was succeeded by John F. Bayard. Mr. Ross was the head of the concern from its organization until it ceased to exist upon the expiration of its charter, December 31, 1856.

The Wabash Insurance Company, which was vested with banking privileges, and of which Joseph Somes was secretary, it is said issued notes as a circulating medium before the State Bank of Indiana's charter expired.

On January 1, 1857, the Bank of the State of Indiana came into existence, with John Ross, president, and John F. Bayard cashier. On the death of the latter, in 1859, Joseph L. Bayard succeeded to the position of cashier and continued in that capacity until 1862.

The New York Stock Bank, organized under the laws of the General Assembly of the State, which became operative in 1863, and levied a tax

**Banker's Magazine*, 1902, page 107.

on state and private banks of ten per cent., caused the Bank of State to close its affairs and perfect the organization of the first national bank established in Vincennes. Referring to the New York Stock Bank, and other institutions of its kind, Mr. Cauthorn says: "These banks were required by law to deposit with the Auditor of State the bonds of any state in the Union and receive circulating notes to the face value of the securities, less ten per cent. The defect in this law was that the bonds of some of the states were not of equal value, and some worth only fifty cents on the dollar. This bank, as its name implies, was supposed to be founded on the bonds of New York State, which were above par. In fact it was founded on the bonds of the State of Mississippi, which were worth only fifty cents on the dollar. The capital of this bank, which was soon forced out of existence, was \$500,000."

The Vincennes National Bank, organized in 1863 as the successor of the Bank of the State of Indiana, and principally with capital of the latter, was capitalized at \$250,000, which amount was subsequently reduced to \$100,000. John Ross was its first president and Wilson J. Williams first cashier. Mr. Ross, whose integrity and sagacity as a banker, through thirty-seven years of brilliant service, had won the confidence and respect of the people, remained as executive head of the institution until his death, in 1873, when Mr. Williams succeeded to the presidency, and Wilson M. Tyler was elected cashier. Several years later, on the death of Mr. Williams, Mr. Tyler became president, with Hiram A. Foulks, cashier. Early one morning in July, 1892, the community was startled to learn that Mr. Tyler had suicided in the Old Cemetery at the grave of his daughter. Soon after the tragedy, on account of which universal sympathy was expressed for the dead man's most excellent wife, Thomas R. Paxton, of Princeton, was appointed by the Controller of Currency receiver of the defunct bank, whose vaults were found to be nearly depleted. In the general windup of affairs the stockholders were heavy losers, being compelled to pay in addition to the loss of their stock an amount equal thereto to meet the liabilities of the bank.

The first private bank organized in the city was the Vincennes Deposit Bank of R. J. McKenney & Co. It was established in September, 1867, by Richard J. McKenney, Peter E. La Plante, Hiram A. Foulks, William Heberd, Ulysses Heberd and Henry S. Cauthorn, on a capital of \$25,000, which was subsequently increased to \$50,000. The gentlemen named simply formed a partnership for the purpose of doing a private banking business. The institution was very ably managed, and did a large volume of business until the close of the year 1879, when it went into voluntary liquidation. Mr. McKenney was president of the bank and business manager of the partnership from its beginning to its close. Mr. Foulks is the only living member of the firm.

The German Banking Company was organized in 1870 by Henry Knirihm, Louis L. Watson, Joseph L. Bayard, Marcelle D. La Croix, and

others, with a capital of \$50,000. Its organization, like the Vincennes Deposit Bank, was a partnership affair formed for the purpose of doing general banking business, of which it got a large and profitable share during the short period it remained in operation. The company voluntarily went out of business and its interested members at once took up national banking.

The First National Bank of Vincennes was organized July 15, 1871, with a capital of \$100,000 and a large surplus, as the successor to the German Banking Company. The former absorbed the capital of the latter, acquiring at the same time the building and business of the company. The First National first officers were John H. Rabb, president; Joseph L. Bayard, cashier. The first board of directors was composed of Louis L. Watson, John H. Rabb, Abraham Gimbel, Henry Knirihm, W. M. Tyler, Newton F. Malott and Joseph L. Bayard—the latter being the only member now living. The present officers are Joseph L. Bayard, Sr., president; P. M. O'Donnell, cashier; Jos. L. Bayard, Jr., assistant cashier. The First National people have made preparations for the erection of an imposing structure in Main street, directly opposite their present location. The directors of the institutions are J. L. Bayard, Sr., H. S. Anderson, president of the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank, Wheatland; Chas. Bierhaus, Jos. L. Ebner, J. Emory Horn, Bicknell; Edward H. Smith and Edward Watson.

The Second National Bank was organized in 1893, beginning business in July of that year. It is ensconced in a fine stone building at the intersection of Second and Main streets, and has a commanding view of the business center of the city. Its capital stock is \$100,000, and its present officers are John T. Boyd, president; Henry J. Boeckman, vice president; John F. Hall, cashier. The Second National, while not a direct descendant, is the possessor of the building and fixtures of the Vincennes National, which was organized as the successor of the Bank of the State of Indiana. The names of the present directors of the Second are as follows: George Fendrich, John T. Oliphant, Geo. W. Donaldson, Ike B. Kuhn, Robt. M. Glass, John T. Boyd, Henry J. Boeckman, John Bierhaus, Richard M. Robinson, Chas. L. Haughton.

The German National Bank was organized in the spring of 1888, with a capital stock of \$100,000, and began business on the fourth day of April of that year at 116 Main street, the present quarters of the Citizens' Trust Company, where it remained until 1895, when it removed to its commodious building at the corner of Second and Main streets. The first officers of the institution were Selemon Gimbel, president; Gerard Reiter, vice president; George R. Alsop, cashier. Its present officers are George R. Alsop, president; Wm. E. Baker, cashier; Wm. F. Knirihm and Chas. E. Johnson, assistant cashiers. The present directors are Eugene Hack, Frank L. Oliphant, Frank Bastin, Claude C. Winkler, F. M. Mail, August Heinekamp, Christian Hoffman, Geo. R. Alsop and William Baker.

The Vincennes State Bank was organized November 1, 1910, with a capital stock of \$25,000. Rooms on the ground floor of the Corner Stone Lodge's handsome building, corner of Second street and Portland avenue, were arranged during the progress of construction for occupancy by the institution, which is equipped with indestructible vaults and fine furniture. Its officers are H. A. Schmeideskamp, president; Jas. M. Adams, vice president; Chas. F. Moffet, cashier; Earl L. Chamberlain, assistant cashier. Directors—H. A. Schmeideskamp, James M. Adams, Wm. L. Ewing, Wm. C. Bierhaus, Elijah Morgan, Eph. C. Gilmore, Chas. F. Moffet, Chas. S. Nassette.

The Citizens Trust Company was organized in June, 1902, with a capital of \$30,000, which amount in September, same year, was increased to \$75,000. Its first officers were Wm. H. Vollmer, president; Anton Simon, vice president; Wm. H. Pennington, secretary and treasurer. Directors, including the officials aforesaid, were Guy A. McJimsey, Herman Brokhage, Louis A. Meyer, F. M. Mail, Adam Joseph, Chas. Bierhaus, Benj. M. Willoughby, Geo. Knapp, C. C. Winkler, E. H. DeWolf. The company is doing a good business, having had on hand when the last report to the Auditor of State was made a surplus of \$27,500. Surety bonds and all manner of insurance, except life, is written by the company, which pays three per cent. on saving accounts and four per cent. on certificates of deposit. One dollar is the minimum amount for opening a saving account, which has enabled many youngsters to acquire the habit of beginning early in life to lay the foundations of future fortunes. For the purpose of fostering this spirit among the youth of the city, Jacob Gimbel, of the firm of Gimbel, Haughton & Bond, for four years last past has made it a rule to give each year to one hundred pupils, selected from the younger pupils in all the schools, a dollar with which to start a saving account in the Citizens Trust Company, with which corporation he is in no wise connected. Mr. Gimbel also manifests his philanthropic and generous proclivities by annually selecting not less than a half dozen worthy young men of Vincennes to pursue and complete courses of study in the higher educational institutions of learning in this country, as well as in Europe—having at present three *protéges* in foreign lands and a like number in the more notable colleges of the United States.

The Surety Company's present officers are Wm. H. Vollmer, president; Anton Simon, vice president; Chas. A. Weisert, secretary. Directors—Chas. Bierhaus, F. M. Mail, L. A. Meyer, W. H. Vollmer, H. Brokhage, Guy McJimsey, C. C. Winkler, I. B. Kuhn, E. H. DeWolf.

The progress, wealth and prosperity of a community is reflected largely in the resources and liabilities of banking houses through which it transacts business. If, therefore, the financial healthfulness of the banks operating in Vincennes be taken as a criterion, then the patrons thereof are truly a prosperous and progressive class of people. It is doubtful whether there

is another city of equal size in the country that can boast of the perfect and sound policies which obtain in the banking business at the Old Post. It is likewise questionable whether there can be found anywhere a more frugal and provident class of people than that comprising a large element of the population of this community, evidenced by individual deposits in three banks as shown in the recently published statements of each of these institutions.

The condition of the German National Bank at the close of business March 7, 1911, showed its resources to be \$2,788,046.16. The resources of the First National, same date, \$1,885,201.63; and that of the Second National \$834,484.43. The loans and discounts of the German were \$1,541,882.78; of the First, \$939,554.32; the Second, \$435,653.28—representing a total of \$1,917,090.38. The individual deposits in the three banks amounted to \$2,264,984.10; demand certificates of deposit and certified checks, \$888,006.82.

A very good illustration of the solidity and stability produced by conservative banking was given through the First, Second and German National banks during the prevalence of the panic of 1907-8, when there was no disposition on the part of any of these institutions to refuse payment of checks or honor obligations of any character. Depositors here were not cautioned to go slow, nor were they limited, in checking against their deposits, as was done in nearly every other city in the country. In fact, the panic was but slightly felt within the confines of our own little commercial world, where business was conducted in the customary way. Manufactories run full time, and local trade in the retail markets showed no marked signs of diminution. During the panic period when general conditions throughout the country were badly depressed there were expended in buildings in Vincennes more than \$300,000.

Another indication that the people here husband their wealth, or invest it judiciously for the comfort and convenience of themselves and dependent ones, is shown in the large number of building associations in Vincennes, the amount expended for building homes, and the property values entered on the tax duplicate. Brief mention is made in the paragraphs which follow of the more important building associations that have been important factors in building up the city and providing the industrial classes with comfortable homes:

The Knox Building, Loan Fund and Savings Association was incorporated in 1883. Its capital stock is \$1,000,000, and its present officers are Isaac Lyons, president; Chas. G. Mathesie, secretary; George Feudrich, treasurer. The directors are Chas. A. Weisert, Frank J. Kapps, Frank Katzorkie, Chas. Samonial, Ed. L. Glass, Geo. Feudrich, Geo. Borrowman, Chas. G. Mathesie and Isaac Lyons.

The People's Savings, Loan and Building Association began business in 1889, June 5th being the date of its incorporation. Its capital stock is

\$2,000,000. The present officers are Herman Brokhage, president; Francis Murphy, vice president; John L. Buckles, secretary; Henry J. Steffen, assistant secretary; Geo. W. Donaldson, treasurer. The directors are Herman Brokhage, Henry Ostendorf, Simon Kixmiller, Edward Gardner, Francis Murphy, George W. Donaldson, Henry Steffen and John L. Buckles.

The Vincennes and Knox County Building, Loan Fund and Savings Association was incorporated in 1890 with a capital of \$2,000,000. Present officers—Christian Hoffman, president; Frank Lieberman, vice president; Louis A. Meyer, secretary; Wm. Baker, treasurer. Directors—Louis A. Meyer, Wm. Baker, Frank Lieberman, Chris. Hoffman, Anton Simon, Christian W. Schultz, E. W. Determann, John Weiler, Wm. H. Vollmer, Christian Heidenreich, Jos. L. Ebner and Fred C. Brockman.

The Home Building and Loan Association took out articles of incorporation in 1893, and was capitalized at \$1,000,000. The officers of the association are Henry J. Boeckman, president; Harry V. Somes, Jr., secretary; August Heinekamp, treasurer. Directors—Clarence B. Kessinger, August Heinekamp, H. J. Boeckman, Minard J. Emison, Anthony M. Yelton, Harry V. Somes, Jr.

The Wabash Building and Loan Association was incorporated with a capital stock of \$500,000, in 1898. Its first officers were Edward H. Smith, president; John D. LaCroix, vice president; Henry W. Alexander, secretary; Wm. TeWalt, treasurer. The officers and directors of the association at present are as follows: E. H. Smith, president; John D. LaCroix, vice president; Harry V. Somes, Jr., secretary; Henry Scheefers, treasurer; Albert M. Sheperd, Henry Scheefers, Chester Ritterskamp, John Kirsch, August J. Meise, H. V. Somes, E. H. Smith and J. D. LaCroix, directors.

The North Side Building and Loan Association, which was incorporated in 1905, with a capital of \$100,000, has been instrumental in bringing about the rapid and substantial growth of the northern section of the city. Its present officers are Henry Schwartz, president; Clement L. V. Tucker, secretary; Wm. C. Mason, treasurer. Directors—Henry Schwartz, John Wilhelm, Chas. Hamke, Albert E. Schory, Patrick J. Ryan, William C. Mason, William Bolk, John G. Frisz, August Evering and John Schumacher.

The Portland Building and Loan Association, organized in December, 1910, is also a "child" of the North Side. It is capitalized at \$100,000, and is officered by the following named gentlemen: Ernest G. Meyer, president; E. C. Gilmore, vice president; Aubrey Stillwell, secretary; H. A. Schmiedeskamp, treasurer; David H. Byers, attorney. Directors—E. C. Gilmore, Aubrey Stillwell, Guy L. Shepard, Jacob L. Riddle, Eugene Bowers, Thos. A. Dawson, H. A. Schmiedeskamp, D. H. Byers, Wm. H. Propes.

In nearly all of the above named associations the dividends paid are at the rate of about seven per cent. per annum.

A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE AT THE OLD POST.

O. F. Baker's description of Vincennes as the old town appeared in 1805-6, is given in an abbreviated form in the History of Knox County, published in 1886. Many of the buildings which were standing at the date last named have been supplanted by more modern structures. This fact, however, does not lessen the interest that attaches to the sketch of Mr. Baker, whose descriptive powers were always pleasing and impressive, as illustrated in the following extracts therefrom: *"St. Louis street began at the governor's plantation (Hart street) and extended along the river down to Stony Ford, there to meet Market street, which came down in an irregular, narrow way from Benjamin Reed's, at the corner of St. Peter's (Seventh) and Chapel (Church) streets. St. Jerome (Perry changed about the time of Perry's victory on Lake Erie) began at St. Louis and extended by the frame Indian trading house of the Lasselle Brothers, and ended where stood the tavern of Fred Graeter, marked by the residence of† Capt. Mass. A short street led from the ferry, foot of Main, to the store of Col. Vigo, corner Second and Busseron, and a similar street from Main to St. Peter's, or Broadway, by the stores of Brazadon; all else were open commons. The little village in 1805 contained sixty-two dwellings, one church, five stores, one saddle shop, two blacksmith shops, four taverns, one ox-mill, one wind-mill, one wheel-wright. The professions were represented by three physicians and seven lawyers. The physicians were Drs. Kuykendall, McNamee, and Samuel McKee.

They were all men of note. The latter was a surgeon in the United States Army and died in 1809. The lawyers were Thomas Randolph, a near relative of President Jefferson; Benjamin Parke, Henry Hurst, Gen. W. Johnson, John Rice Jones, John Johnson and Henry Vanderburg. Nearly all of these men were closely identified with the civil business of Vincennes for the first half of the nineteenth century. Coming down St. Louis street, upon the right hand stood the residence of Judge Benjamin Parke, a frame cottage standing near the center of the grounds of John Wise. In this Capt. Zachary Taylor lived for a time and here a daughter was born, who afterwards became the wife of Jefferson Davis. Upon each side of the street coming down St. Jerome, were the residence and wheel-wright shop of John Blackford, and three or four *potcaux au terre*, or French houses, described as composed of timbers stood on end and the space filled with mud mixed with straw. At the corner of St. Jerome stood a little adobe house in which Nec-cau-bau, or Hooded Nose, a Puan chief, used to live, if sleeping off a drunken stupor could be called life. Looking

*Goodspeed, History of Knox County, pp. 240, 241, 242, 243, 244.

†Now the residence of Andrew Tuite.

up St. Jerome street, Lasselle's Indian trading house was indicated by a red flannel flag floating out in the street. Here were offered for sale blankets, batonets, flints, tomahawks, guns, beads, rings, brooches, bands, pots, pans, calico, flannel, salt, sugar and whisky. The three latter were in great demand among the Indians. Sugar and whisky were sold to the negroes and Indians by measure, and by a custom well remembered by old settlers, the merchant was allowed to insert two fingers into the measure while filling for an Indian and three for a negro. At the head of St. Jerome stood Graeter's tavern, drinking Madeira wine, in which Peruvian bark had been steeped, hung a large triangle, from the sound of which the guests were summoned to their meals. A Philadelphian who spent the summer of 1807 at this tavern, drinking Maderia wine, in which Peruvian bark had been steeped, and eating bear meat, describes the bill of fare: "The bark was taken to ward off the ague, and the bear meat was the chief article of food?" He says the thoughts of these sent a chill along his back and a bitter taste to his mouth. At the corner of St. Peter's and Second streets were the stores of Laurient Brazadon. In his cellar, or well, eighteen feet under ground, in the water, were stored many bottles of fine old wines, which the Spanish fillibusters of 1785, under John Rice Jones, conveyed into Fort Sackville. Into this cellar a militia chief, in later years, was conveyed from general muster by his soldiers and left to snore off his potation, and was there kept a forgotten prisoner for two days. These houses were of hewed logs, two stories high, the upper having port-holes for musketry, and projecting over the lower story after the manner of other block-houses, and were surrounded by pickets. There were also the houses of Col. Francis Vigo, which stood upon the lot now occupied by Green's Opera House (the Grand.) Back upon St. Louis, upon the two squares between St. Jerome and St. Peter's, were three houses, one a two-story, hewed-log house, painted red, another a long frame and the third a *poteaux au terre*. In 1803 Capt. Walter Taylor's company of rangers were quartered in these houses. The next upon St. Peter's was the residence of John Rice Jones, built in 1794. Across the street was the mansion of Col. Vigo, a two-story frame, surrounded by a veranda painted white, with green solid shutters. The builder of this house received twenty guineas for completing it in time for its hospitable owner to tender it to General Harrison upon his arrival in 1801. The immense parlor, which the general accepted, though he declined to occupy any other portion of the house, was paved with diamond-shaped blocks of black walnut alternated by ash. The remains of the elegant parlor were burned in 1856.

In the same block stood the two-story frame tavern of Peter Jones. Across the street, in a house *poteaux au terre*, were the stores of George Wallace and Toussiant Dubois, and a little gunshop of John Small, the pioneer gun-smith of Vincennes. Adjoining the Jefferson House was the tavern and residence of Antoine Marchall, and the fur house of Francis Busseron, and across the street lived Judge Vanderburg. At the corner

of Main and St. Louis was Thorn's saddle shop and Bruner's seed and dye house. Across St. Louis street was Dunican's tavern, with a sign of a ferry boat, and back of it was a part of Sackville converted into a jail. Below Main was Barnett's tavern, at the sign of an Indian with bow and arrows. Then to the church was an open plain, upon which Fort Sackville stood, close to Block House Square. On the corner of Main and Second was the old residence of Antoine Gamelin, the French *notaire*, who held his commission from *le grande monarch*. The records of Gamelin and Pierre Quarez are still to be seen occasionally.

"At the corner of Third and Busselon stood the frame cottage residence of Antoine Drouet de Richardville, who was of royal descent, and some of whose descendants still live in the county. Near were the residences of John Johnson and Homer Johnson. Grouped about the church were the mud and straw-thatched cottages of the old French settlers. In the house on the south corner of Broadway was the place of the meeting of the first territorial legislature in 1801. A little later 1809, on the corner of Fourth and Buntin, stood the first court house, and on the separation of Illinois Territory from Indiana, Vincennes was made the dividing line, and that being so indefinite, the old court house, by common consent, was made the position of that line. At what was then the head of St. Louis street was the mansion and plantation of Gov. W. H. Harrison. This house is of brick, and is in a good state of preservation, although it was begun in 1805 and completed in 1806. It is said to have been the first house of burnt brick west of Chillicothe, or some say Pittsburgh. The doors, sash, mantels and stairs were made at the former place, but the brick were not shipped from Pittsburgh, as they were made a few miles east of town. The style, architecture and finish are creditable to this day. A considerable crack was made in the walls of this building in 1811, during a terrible earthquake that occurred. Here Governor Harrison entertained his numerous guests in royal style. It was here that Capt. Miller, who became famous at Lundy's Lane, by 'I'll try, sir,' was a guest at the time of the earthquake. Around the mansion, among the elms, catalpas, scarlet and stately oaks were the servants' halls and quarters.

"Where nature had not furnished trees sufficient, the same had been supplied by artificial means. Beneath the family room was a powder magazine.* It is said the General was determined, rather than fall in the hands of the savages, that he and his family would be blown into eternity by this means. Vincennes, in the year 1806, gave entertainment and grace to that wonderful genius but unscrupulous character, Aaron Burr. Here he collected a body of men, here he received financial aid and encouragement from many leading citizens. It is doubtless due their credit to say that they were deceived as to the true import of his designs, as was the unfortunate

*This claim has been strongly contradicted by Dr. Smith and other historians.

Blennerhassett. The expedition from this place, unlike Blennerhassett, never sailed, and Theodosia never became queen."

In speaking of Burr's presence in the Old Post at that time William Henry Smith, the eminent historian, says: "Among his (Burr's) friends at that time was General Wilkinson, commander-in-chief of the American Army in the West. He was then at St. Louis, and a correspondence opened with him. He suggested that Burr become a resident of Indiana Territory, and the congressional delegate. This did not suit Burr, as a delegate in congress from a territory could wield but little influence, and could not be elected speaker, but he took the matter into consideration, while Wilkinson wrote to Governor Harrison on the subject. Benjamin Parke was then the delegate, but Wilkinson urged that Parke return to the position of Attorney-General and let Burr have the congressional place. The congressional delegate was elected by the legislature and not by the people. Under the law as it stood the delegate must be the owner of at least five hundred acres of land in the territory, and this estate Wilkinson offered to purchase for Burr, and so notified Harrison. Harrison and the leading men of the territory were Virginians, but were not ardent admirers of Jefferson. Wilkinson did not disclose to them that Burr was only seeking a place in congress that he might wield an influence to overthrow Jefferson, but based the whole matter on his anxiety to see Burr restored to a scene where his great talents could be made useful to the country. The proposition met the approbation of Harrison and Burr was invited to visit Vincennes. This he willingly agreed to do, but his willingness arose from an entirely different cause than becoming a prospective citizen of Indiana. Most of the inhabitants of Vincennes were still French, and it was believed they were not warm in their attachment to the cause of the Union.

"A few years before there had been a well defined plot among the people of Indiana and Kentucky to break off from the Union and unite with the Spanish provinces west of the Mississippi river. In this scheme Francis Vigo had been very prominent. He still lived at Vincennes, and Burr's real object in visiting Vincennes was to meet him. An agent was authorized to look around for the necessary estate of 500 acres, and several had been selected to choose from. One was in the immediate neighborhood of Vincennes, and another was on the Ohio river, just above where Jeffersonville now stands. Burr with a single companion, a young gentleman who acted as his private secretary, left Louisville on horseback, and started over the old Buffalo Trace for Vincennes. He traveled *in cog.*, calling himself Colonel Burnham. There were but few settlers between the Falls of the Ohio and Vincennes at that time, but Burr made it his business to meet with every one of them. He reached Vincennes and made his home with Vigo, to whom he no doubt confided something of the scheme that had already taken possession of his mind. Whether he ever divulged any part of it to Governor Harrison is not known, but it is very doubtful. He did try to make him and others he

met dissatisfied with the government, and frequently talked eloquently of what could be done in Texas and Mexico. At that time there was much dissatisfaction with Spain among the citizens of this part of the country, and it was confidently believed that war with that country would soon break out. In fact, it was openly said that General Wilkinson had been privately instructed to bring about such a war at the earliest opportunity. This condition of affairs made it easy for Burr to find willing listeners, and soon Vigo and others became his active agents. Nothing was said about a severance of the West from the Union, but only of conquering Texas and taking it from Spain, and possibly of eventually wresting Mexico from the same hands. So much encouragement did Burr receive in the direction of his Spanish project that he abandoned the idea of becoming a citizen of Indiana and of representing the territory in congress, but the negotiations looking toward the purchase of an estate were permitted to proceed. It is certain that most of the leading men of the territory, such as the Governor himself, Jones, Floyd, McIntosh, Johnson and Randolph, favored the design. Parke was willing to retire, and leave him an open field.

"Burr returned to Louisville, leaving the matter unsettled, but with a promise to let Vigo and others know of his determination within a few weeks. At Louisville he received urgent letters from Wilkinson on the subject, insisting that that was the best thing to do. What occurred after his leaving Vincennes is not known, but soon after the project was given up and negotiations for the purchase of an estate were abandoned, both Floyd and Vigo remained his earnest and active aids in trying to further the scheme against Mexico. Burr's ostensible object was to plant a large colony of Americans on the Washita, and that colony was to furnish the nucleus of the army that was to help overthrow the Spanish power in Texas.

"After leaving Vincennes Burr went on his way to the South, visiting Nashville and several other points, but the war cloud seemed to be blowing over. By this time the undefined rumors of Burr's real object were floating around, and he was arrested in Kentucky, but promptly acquitted. He once more turned his eyes to Indiana, and the negotiations for the purchase of an estate. Davis and Vigo met him at Louisville, and a number of young men were recruited for the Washita expedition. Wilkinson was still urgent to close up the Indiana matter and have Burr sent to congress from the territory. Randolph, Jones and Harrison, however, had become lukewarm, from some cause, and Burr was notified that it would be impossible to elect him in the place of Parke. Burr did not abandon an outward effort, at least, to secure a residence in Indiana, and for some time talked about making his home in Clarksville. About this time Ralston became one of his active agents, and a number of young men were secured to take part in the expedition. Burr did not visit Vincennes again, but frequently visited some of his adherents in and around Jeffersonville, where he caused sev-

eral boats to be built. It was never established that any of his Indiana followers knew of his designs against the Spanish authority, either in Texas or Mexico, but the probabilities are that at least Floyd and Jones were privy to the whole scheme. Before the scheme was fully ripe, the authorities received information of it, and the militia at Jeffersonville seized the boats that had been built for Burr, and Floyd was arrested. Little or no evidence could be found against him, but a small fine was assessed, and he was sent to the county jail for a few hours. Davis was appointed some years later auditor of public accounts of the territory."

Despite the ordinance of 1787, and laws which were subsequently engrafted into the first constitution of Indiana, slavery was in existence at Old Vincennes as late as 1840. Reference to the census of 1808 will disclose that one hundred and twenty-three slaves were among the chattels of residents of the Old Post, while the village census of 1830 will show a slave population of twelve males and twenty-three females. During William Henry Harrison's reign as Governor, notwithstanding he was accredited with being an anti-slavery man, a retinue of slaves always attended him. The columns of the *Western Sun*, from 1808 to 1820, contains advertisements of owners through which rewards are offered for their runaway slaves. Contracts between indentured slaves and their masters constitute frequent entries on the public records made early in the nineteenth century. These agreements were permitted under the constitution by an act which practically legalized slavery, a crime which existing laws sought to abolish. While the contract was made for the liquidation of some real or fancied debt, and the consideration always being insignificant or trifling, the indentured slave generally found himself bound to his master for a term encompassing the period of his natural life.

VINCENNES AS BOROUGH AND CITY.

There was really no civil government in Old Vincennes, except that which the commandants provided, prior to the advent of John Todd, who came here in June, 1779, acting under a law passed by the Legislature of Virginia, which gave him power as Commandant-in-Chief of the Northwest Territory to establish civil and criminal courts and appoint civil magistrates and military officials within said territory. These tribunals, however, were not very stable institutions, and, according to Winthrop Sargent, who was sent out here by Governor St. Clair to organize Knox county, "eked out of existence in the summer of 1787."

With the completion of the county's organization, as has been shown in preceding chapters, the Courts of Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Common Pleas were instituted, and a probate judge appointed. The government, however, established by St. Clair had its bearing on the whole of the territory as well as the town. The first town government, therefore, was not organized until 1805, when the first ordinances were passed.

These ordinances, however, were not approved until 1807, and did not become effective until 1809, after publication in the *Western Sun*. The act providing for the incorporation of the town did not pass the Territorial Legislature until September 6, 1814, and was not approved until February 2, 1815. It embraced all that portion of ground within the bounds of Hart street on the northeast, Eleventh street on the southeast, Willow street on the southwest and the River St. Jerome (Wabash) on the northwest, to be under the name and style of "the Borough of Vincennes." The lands outside of the boundaries mentioned above (exclusive of donations) were given to the borough of Vincennes by Congress, with the stipulation that the moneys arising from the sale thereof should be applied to drain the swamp east of town, and that any surplus funds left, after the cost of drainage was paid, should be placed in the University Fund. These common lands aggregated 4,500 acres, and were sold in part for something like \$24,224.69. Of this sum \$15,500 was expended to defray the expense of drainage, the remainder of \$8,724.69 was appropriated for town purposes, contrary to the act of Congress, the University getting nothing. The balance of the lands if sold, were not accounted for up to 1870.*

Originally land grants were executed by the commandants of the post to the earlier settlers, nearly all of whom subsequently failed "to read their titles clear." The prairie lands south of the city remained as they were before the town was laid out, and the ownership thereto was designated by small slips of paper, which constituted the only form of deed held by the original purchasers, who did not make, as far as known, any other record of right or title thereto. Possession and occupancy were really all the claimants could show, for their proprietorship, as transfers of realty as well as personal property in town and on the lower prairies were made without any evidence of a documentary character. This method of exchanging property, without the execution of written instruments, gave the commissioners appointed by the Federal government no small amount of trouble, as their sole reliance on the claims of the French people in nearly every case had to be based on verbal testimony. The village lots were unnumbered, and the only means of identification was through an indefinite description of lots of persons adjoining one another. The same condition of affairs existed in the Cathlinette prairies, adjoining each other, where the land owners had nothing to show for their right of title except a vague description set forth on small slips of paper, the contents of which had never been entered of record. All grants below the city, in what are known as the lower prairies (except the first granted to St. Francis Xavier's church, embracing four arpents) contain two arpents in front by forty arpents in depth—a French arpent being a fraction less than an English acre. The object in the division of lands on the lower prairies in narrow

*Extract from the Report of Col. C. M. Allen to the trustees of the Vincennes University, as chairman of committee.—H. M. Smith.

strips was for the purpose of giving each proprietor a frontage on the Wabash river. Like the village lots, the grants in the prairies were not numbered, and, as stated, slips of paper were the only instruments denoting either original ownership or a transfer of property, until many subsequent years, when deeds of transfer came into vogue. After the French had held for a score of years possession of these lands, the Federal government, having previously acquired possession of the territory, surveyed and numbered the different parcels, which showed that the Cathlinette prairie contained eighteen tracts and the lower prairie fifty-two tracts. It was hard for the old French to get away from an established custom; and for years after the governmental survey and numbering had been made, the defective method of conveyance, with its attendant confusion and vexations, was continued. The lands on the lower prairies while in the possession of their original owners, were never enclosed. The respective proprietors cultivated the tract in its entirety as a common field. The majority of them lived in town, as was the prevailing custom with the French Canadians, and went out each day to till the soil in a primitive fashion. Between each grant was provided space for a "turning row," which enabled the adjoining neighbors to cultivate their respective portions without encroaching on the field of one another when making a turn with the teams. The lands of the lower prairies, and many of the lots on the South Side of the city, formerly known as "Frenchtown," were held as late as a half century ago by the descendants of the original purchasers. Nearly all of the Cathlinette farming lands, except immense tracts owned by William H. Brevoort, have since passed into the hands of strangers, many of whom came from Ohio. Much of the city property of the old French in the south section of town has been acquired by Belgians, who came here eight years ago with the Blackford Window Glass Company; and the old French houses have been supplanted by modern residences.

All of the earlier land grants—as has been shown at length in previous chapters—were made by the commandants. Through an act of Congress passed in March, 1791, Congress appropriated about 5,000 acres of land adjoining Vincennes for the use of the inhabitants thereof, which was used for pasturing stock and growing cereals. This was the original commons of the village, and it was utilized for the purposes aforesaid until disposed of by the trustees of the borough, in 1825. It was in 1816, however, that the inhabitants of the town joined in a petition to Congress for authority to sell the commons lands. Acting upon that petition, Congress passed an act in April, 1818, transferring to the borough of Vincennes, in trust, the said lands, for the purpose of selling the same, and with the proceeds of sales drain a pond and pay any balance that remained to the University, as has been noted in a preceding paragraph. On accepting the trust the trustees proceeded to have a survey made of the lands, and divided the commons into three divisions—A, B and C. The number of lots assigned to A was 138, each containing five acres. Division B was divided into 204

lots of ten acres each, and C into twenty-six lots of twenty acres each. From and after 1825 the trustees of the borough sold these lots to individual purchasers at different times—but the pond referred to was never drained by them (the work having been done by their successors many years later) and it is very probable that the University never received a farthing of the proceeds. Proposals for the survey of the commons lands and for the town as well were invited through advertisements inserted in the *Western Sun*, *Indiana Herald*, *Louisville Journal* and *Western Spy*. Samuel Emison and Homer Johnson were awarded the contract to perform the work. In the year 1856, after Vincennes changed her charter from a borough to a city, the remaining portion of the commons land passed into the control of the common council.

The first meeting of the trustees of the Borough of Vincennes was held on the first Monday in February, 1815, "agreeably to a charter passed and approved 6th September, 1814, by the Legislature of Indiana, for incorporating the 'Borough of Vincennes,' and in consequence of an advertisement appearing in the 'Western Sun' for an election to take place at the court house on the above mentioned day to elect nine fit persons to act as trustees for twelve months in said Borough, the citizens met as aforesaid and appointed F. Graeter and Joseph O'Neill to act as judge and James G. Read and David Ruby to act as clerks to sd. election, when after being duly sworn to swear, etc., proceeded to the election, when upon counting the ballots (the poles being closed at 4 o'clock) the following persons were elected as follows—Jacob Kuykendall, John D. Hay, Samuel Thorn, Henry Ruble, Christian Graeter, Elias McNamee, Benj. I. Harrison, Mark Barnett and Wilson Lagow and whereupon, each of the said trustees received the following certificate:

"We the undersigned, after being duly sworn as Judges, do certify that an election held at the Court House in the Borough of Vincennes in Indiana Territory on the first Monday in February, 1815, for the election of Trustees for said Borough agreeable to an act of the Legislature of said Territory—apd. Sep. 6th, 1814, the following Trustees were duly elected: Wilson Lagow, Jacob Kuykendall, J. D. Hay, Sam'l Thorn, Mark Barnett, Henry Ruble, C. Graeter, Elias McNamee, Benj. I. Harrison.

A copy of list.

"F. GRAETER,
"J^H O'NEILLE,

Judges of the Election.

"The original of the foregoing is now filed in the hands of the Clerk—as also a statement of the polls, it being unnecessary to give then a place in the Journal, they are now ready for inspection—and also the Charter."

The first significant act of the board occurred at a meeting thereof on February 8, 1815, when a committee was appointed to raise funds for the purchase of ground on which to erect a market house. After such plans were successfully executed, and the building made ready for occupancy, the board appointed a market master, who was ordered to enclose the market

house with a fence "made of scantling, with turn-stile at each end," to open the market on market days (thrice a week) at daylight, and to close it at 9 o'clock, and to announce the opening by the blowing of a horn.

In 1837 a town hall was erected near the corner of Main and Fourth streets. John Moore was the architect and builder of the structure, which was made to answer the purpose of a market space as well as the regular place for the transaction of the town's business. The north and south sides of the building were provided with wings, thirty-five or forty feet wide by an equal number of feet in length. The roofs of each were supported by heavy iron pillars, and the area covered by them was divided into stalls, where green grocers, butchers, bakers and fish venders provided early morning callers with the choicest of articles in their respective lines. The market was well patronized as long as it was maintained; but, for some reason, in the early seventies it was abandoned. On the site of hose house No. 3, corner Sixth and Harrison streets, was located another market house, builded a few years later, which was abandoned about the same time as the first one. The old town hall and market house were torn down in 1886 to make room for the present handsome city building, which was erected in 1887-8.

The present structure is considered the finest building of its character in the state. The plans for its construction were drawn by Henry Wolters, architect, of Louisville, Ky., and the contractor was Charles Pearce, of Indianapolis. Although builded at a time when material and labor was cheap, it cost \$50,000; and is the only public building of which there is any record ever constructed for less than the contract price. The building is the mayor's headquarters, where His Honor also holds court when acting in the capacity of a police judge. It has a large and handsomely frescoed council chamber, and is provided with roomy and convenient offices for the city clerk, comptroller, civil engineer, board of public works and chief of police. The most interesting department in the building, however, is the public library, on the third floor, of which brief mention has already been made.

For a time the town organization consisted of a board of trustees, who elected their chairman, secretary and treasurer. The officers were elected by the people, every freeholder and householder being deemed a legal and qualified voter. An amendment was made to the town charter in 1831, changing the style of name to "The President and Trustees of the Borough of Vincennes." An act also passed the General Assembly in 1831 granting a city charter, which was submitted to the voters June 4, 1831, the election board consisting of R. P. Price, judge; John B. Martin and Joseph Roseman, clerks. Only forty-three votes were cast—of which twenty-three were "for" and twenty "against" the charter. The vote was not considered strictly legal, and there was no further effort to secure a city charter until June, 1852. The same act was amended in 1855, but did not become operative until a year later.

The last appointees of the borough trustees were: Commissioners of



FIRST CITY HALL AND MARKET HOUSE, VINCENNES

Board of Health—Dr. Joseph Somes, Dr. R. B. Jessup, Sr., and William Burtch; Supervisors of Streets—John Moore, John Dubois, William Green, John B. La Plante and Henry D. Wheeler.

At the last meeting of the Board of Trustees February 8, 1856—when Vincennes discarded borough and assumed city government—Andrew Gardner, father of the venerable Elbridge G. Gardner, submitted as treasurer his annual report for the year ending February 7, 1856, which showed receipts to be \$7,056.12 and disbursements \$694.82.

The first meeting of the common council, elected under the provisions of a charter granted by legislative enactment, was held February 18, 1856, with John Moore, mayor, presiding, and the following members present: First ward—John Turney and Chas. Graeter; Second ward—John Dubois and Garret Reiter; Third ward—Thos. Bishop and Wm. Green; Fourth ward—William Burtch and John B. La Plante; Fifth ward—Henry D. Wheeler and Thomas Harrow. Certificates were presented setting forth the election of Emanuel Meisenhelter as marshal, Andrew Armstrong as treasurer, and James S. Mayes as city clerk. After making the following appointments, council adjourned without the transaction of further business: William Green, chief engineer of fire department; Peter E. La Plante, assistant chief, No. 1; Eli Chadwick, assistant chief No. 2.

The first decisive step toward the organization of a fire company under borough government was taken in 1839, at which time 300 feet of "leathern" hose, 500 leather buckets, four axes and "four hooks, with tarred ropes," were purchased. To raise funds to pay for the apparatus the trustees passed an ordinance providing "that there be a general tax levied on houses and tenements, on the ad valorem system, and that every tenant be compelled to purchase from the board two fire buckets for each two-story house, and one for each one-story tenement and, if three-stories, three buckets, and that the board keep such number that they may think proper for use of borough, and that they pass such order as they may think proper for the protection of all buckets."

William Green, the first chief of fire department, is the oldest man living to-day in Knox county. On April 17, 1911, he celebrated his ninety-ninth birthday, and has, therefore, entered on his one hundredth year. His is a familiar figure on the streets nearly every day. The old gentleman is well preserved mentally and physically, has a remarkable memory for one of his years; and is looking forward to the celebration of the centennial anniversary of his birth with pride and pleasurable anticipation. He now has the contract for hauling the United States mail to and from the Union Station, and personally oversees the work of his employes. Mr. Green was born April 17, 1812, in England, Huntingdonshire, (county) Summerson, (town) Fen (parish.) He is the younger of three brothers and two sisters, all of whom are dead. His father died when young Green was in his fourteenth year, at which period he hired as a servant to a grand aunt living at Summerson. His labor consisted in looking after the horses and carriages, in

addition to performing all the work ordinarily required of a house maid, for which his rich aunt paid him three sovereigns a year. The last year of his service she paid his night school tuition. At the expiration of his contract, at the end of the second year, he hired to William Nicks as a servant at a salary of ten pounds per year. At the age of seventeen he sailed from Liverpool to New York, arriving at the latter place in March, 1829. He soon afterwards found his way to Evansville and sought employment as a farm hand with a man named Hornbrook, who owned a farm at a settlement several miles south of Evansville, and conducted also a general store. Young Green worked for Hornbrook about six months, receiving a monthly salary of eight dollars, "most of which he took out in clothing." His next employment was with Mr. Warner, who conducted a livery barn in Evansville and ran stage coaches between that place and Vincennes. While in the employ of Warner, Green met Samuel Emison who had gone down in Tennessee with Capt. Fellows to buy a steamboat and stopped at Evansville on his return. Green drove the stage in which Emison and Fellows rode from Evansville to Vincennes; and it was while on this trip he engaged his services as a driver to Emison, who was then running a line of coaches between Terre Haute and Vincennes. This was in 1830. After four years of faithful service Mr. Green, who had lived very economically, had a settlement with Mr. Emison, who paid him the balance of wages due, which amounted to \$1,200. The two men then agreed to form a partnership. Emison put into the business one horse for every hundred dollars Green represented. The partnership continued for three years—from 1834 to 1837—during which period the firm had the contract for carrying the United States mail between Vincennes and Danville. About the time the firm dissolved the government invited new bids. The bidders were John Wise, Samuel Emison and William Green. The contract was awarded to Green—since which time he has been carrying the mail for Uncle Sam, and is, undoubtedly, the oldest mail carrier in the service anywhere. Mr. Green says that when he came to Vincennes the first time the Wises, Wm. Burtch, J. W. Maddox, L. L. Watson and Capt. Isaac Mass were among the prominent citizens of the place. Green amassed a fortune in the livery business, (from which bad investments forced him to retire about twenty years ago) and at one time owned large tracts of farming lands (now city lots) lying on the east and west sides of Fairground avenue, besides large quantities of town property. He built the Grand Opera house, and on its site had previously erected at different periods two fine theatres of similar character, which were destroyed by fire. Nearly all the property and money he accumulated in youthful days, and after attaining vigorous manhood, passed from his possession at the beginning of his declining years. Yet he is uncomplaining and apparently contented. Although Mr. Green does not attribute his longevity and health to any particular thing, both are no doubt due to his splendid habits and the regular and methodical manner in which he has lived. With the exception of partaking of an occasional sip of wine, only

during the last few years, he has never tasted intoxicating liquors of any kind; nor has he ever used tobacco in any shape or form. He is very fond of tea, and drinks one or two cups with each meal. His hours for arising and retiring have varied but little in all these years; and his three meals a day are partaken of each day at the same hour with clock-like regularity. He is on the down town streets nearly every day, and prefers walking to riding any time he leaves the house.

In the spring of 1842 Mr. Green was married at Marshall, Illinois, to Miss Hannah Bartlett, who died in Vincennes, May 10, 1900. To the couple were born three sons and five daughters, viz: John, Frank and William, Ann (Mrs. Perry Tindolph) Mollie, deceased, who married Wyle Tindolph; Ella (Mrs. Theo. Agnew); Laura, deceased; Jane, (Mrs. Wm. Downes, deceased.)

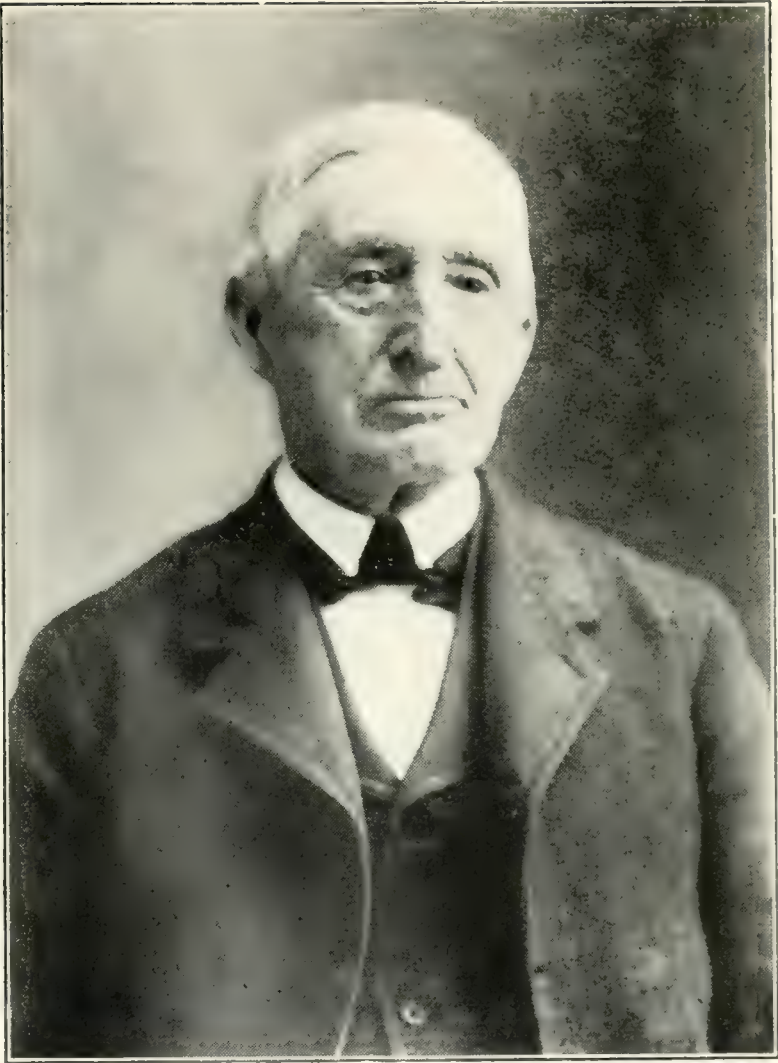
The first addition to the Borough of Vincennes was made in 1816, before Indiana was admitted as a state to the Union. The ground was surveyed and platted by Robert Buntin. Since that date the following have been made: G. W. Cochran's addition to borough, 1853; McCord & Smith's addition, 1858; W. W. Hitt, ten lots, 1858; Jos. G. Bowman's addition, 1858; Mantle & Noble's addition, 1859; Watson & Noble's addition, 1859; W. W. Hitt's addition, 1860; McCord & Bayard's addition, 1861; J. W. Hinkle's addition, 1863; C. M. Allen's addition, 1866; N. F. Malott's addition, 1868; Mass & Watson's addition, 1870; A. B. Daniel's addition, 1872; Peck's addition, 1874; R. B. Jessup's addition, 1875; William Richardville's addition, 1876; Ellen Hitt's addition, 1877; Bishop Chatard's addition, (lower prairie) 1879; Chas. Cornoyer's addition, 1879; Government Subdivision, 1881; Frederick Bultman's addition, 1882; John Hack's subdivision, 1884; Chatard's Subdivision of College Grounds, 1884; Judah Bro.'s subdivision, 1884; Tindolph & Green's subdivision, 1890; Fairview subdivision, 1891; Mantle's Oak Grove subdivision, 1891; Thos. Dawson's subdivision, 1891; W. C. Niblack's subdivision, 1892; Morrill A. Shepard's Rockledge Place addition, 1892; Reel & Swartzle's subdivision, 1892; Columbia subdivision, 1893; Manufacturer's addition, 1896; Wm. Brevoort's subdivision, 1898; Wm. Green's subdivision, 1899; A. M. Yelton's subdivision, 1899; Christian Hoffman's subdivision, 1900; Carlin Utterback's addition, 1901; B. F. Wheeler's addition, 1901; Henry Eberwine's addition, 1902; W. L. TeWalt's addition, 1903; Wm. Green, Jr.'s subdivision, 1903; Lanahan & O'Donnell's subdivision, 1903; B. F. Wheeler's second subdivision, 1904; Wheeler's third subdivision, 1904; McCarthy's subdivision, 1904; Vincennes Board of Trade's subdivision, (South Vincennes), 1904; Hand's subdivision, 1904; Joice & Risch's subdivision, 1904; Parkinson & Wheeler's subdivision, 1905; Henderson's subdivision, 1905; Tewalt & Meyer's subdivision, 1905; Meyer's subdivision, 1905; Zepf's subdivision, 1905; La Plante & Joice's subdivision, 1906; Pennington's subdivision, 1906; Wilhelm's subdivision, 1906; Miller & Bayard's subdivision, 1906; Baker & Emison's subdivision, 1906; Garret Smith's subdivision, 1906; La Plante &

Joice's second subdivision, 1906; Baker & Emison's second subdivision, 1907; Meyer's second subdivision, 1907; Johnson Bro.'s subdivision, 1907; Harry Lewis' subdivision, 1907; Stalkamp's subdivision, 1907; Norman's subdivision, 1908; Brevoort's second subdivision, 1909; La Plante & Joice's third subdivision, 1909; Schmidt's second subdivision, 1909; William Bolk's subdivision, 1911.

Among the names of prominent men on the official roster of the Borough of Vincennes will be found those of General W. Johnson, Elihu Stout, Jacob D. Early, John Moore, Valentine Bradley, Chas. H. Tillinghast, Owen Reily, John Ewing, Andrew Gardner, Martin Robinson, Geo. R. C. Sullivan, Abner T. Ellis, John Collins, Samuel Hill, Henry D. Wheeler, J. S. C. Harrison, Jeremiah Donovan and Christian Graeter.

The names of the mayors of Vincennes, beginning with its incorporation as a city in 1856, up to the present time, are John Moore, James Dick, Wm. A. Jones, Richard J. McKenney, Henry V. Somes, George E. Greene, Sr., Wm. B. Robinson, James S. Pritchett, Wm. H. Beeson, William B. Seairight, James H. Shouse, John Wilhelm, Francis Murphy, O. G. Miller, Geo. E. Greene, Jr., Geo. W. H. Roush, James D. McDowell. The following named persons, during the same period, have filled the office of city clerk; James S. Mayes, John Ewing, Albert Montgomery, Chas. G. Mathesie, Geo. G. Turney, Emil Grill, Chas. W. Eastham, Chas. A. Cripps, Cyrus M. Allen, Jr., George E. Greene, Chas. Laugel, Thomas Robertson, Clement C. L. V. Tucker. The treasurers, from the institution of the city charter, have been Andrew Armstrong, Isaac N. Eastham, Gerhard H. Duesterberg, Joseph Bey, Chas. W. Jones, Peter R. McCarthy, Henry B. Duesterberg, Charles G. Mathesie, Frank H. Hoffman and Thomas Eastham. By an act of the General Assembly of 1907 the office of city treasurer, in county seat cities and towns, was abolished, making it incumbent on the county treasurer to discharge the duties formerly devolving on the city treasurer.

By an act of the legislature, passed at the session of 1905, in all cities of Indiana classed as first, second, third and fourth, a board of public works and the office of city comptroller were created, the appointing power for filling such places being vested in the mayor. The appointments were made January 1, 1906, when the following persons were selected to serve for a term of four years: Edward Watson, John B. Zuber, George Borrowman, board of public works; comptroller, Edwin L. Glass. The Legislature of 1909 changed this law, by making it the duty of the mayor and civil engineer to act as members of the board of public works, the third member to be appointed by the mayor. The members of the present board, which was organized January 1, 1910, are James D. McDowell, mayor, Jos. V. Hershey, civil engineer, and Wm. Ritterskamp. Mr. Glass on the date last named was re-appointed comptroller. The other officials serving as appointees of the mayor at the present time are Wm. McClelland Alsop, city attorney; Dr. P. H. Caney, Dr. M. W. Scott and Dr. J. W. Smadel, board



WILLIAM GREENE, SR.
Oldest citizen in Knox County

of health; Herman F. Piel, Chas. Lauby and Clarke E. Stewart, board of police commissioners; Jos. V. Hershey, civil engineer; Frank A. Kapps, street commissioner; George Feudrich, chief of fire department. Mr. Feudrich, who celebrated his seventieth birthday last March, is the oldest chief, in point of service, in the United States, having held his commission for thirty-eight consecutive years.

Since the beginning of her career as a chartered city Vincennes has only had four chiefs of fire department—George Feudrich, the present incumbent, being the fourth and last. For quite a number of years before the selection of Wm. Green as chief, the venerable Gerhard H. Duesterberg, deceased, and Elbridge G. Gardner, the veteran funeral director, now in his ninety-second year, were chosen leaders of the "bucket brigade." Mr. Duesterberg was the builder of a hand-engine, then in use. The machine is a unique piece of mechanism, constructed entirely of wood, and, when contrasted with the automobile fire engine of today; becomes a greater oddity than ever. The machine is now in the possession of Henry B. Duesterberg, and has been seen frequently in public parades in which the fire department was featured.

The first regularly manufactured fire engine was not brought to the borough until 1840. It was the same which the board of trustees on April 29, 1839, had "ordered William Burtch to purchase at a cost of \$950, with such quantity of hose that may be attached to said engine; also 300 feet of extra hose, in sections of fifty feet, with single rivets of copper, with necessary connecting screws; and to draw on the borough at four months for the amount of the cost—if he can procure that credit—and if he can not procure that credit to draw at sight." Mr. Burtch subsequently went to Philadelphia and closed the deal satisfactorily, being at that time the merchant prince of this section of the country and having high credit among Eastern manufacturers and jobbers. In May, 1840, because of this increased expenditure, the trustees deemed it advisable to raise the tax rate fifteen cents on each one hundred dollars; and it was "ordained by the president and trustees of the borough of Vincennes that a tax of forty cents on the one hundred dollars of taxation upon the aggregate amount returned by the assessor at this meeting be levied for the current year."

From 1840 to 1856 engine No. 1 was housed in the old town hall, the door on the Fourth street side of the building having been enlarged for taking it in and out. During the year last named the engine was removed to the first engine house ever erected in the city. This building was a two-story brick structure, and was located in Main street, corner City Hall Place, where Watjen's drug store now stands. It was built by Wm. L. Duchane and cost \$969.95. The upper story of the building for a number of years was used for educational purposes, and several private schools at various times were conducted therein, the last one being directed by the late Anson W. Jones and his wife, who were successors to Esquire Thomas J. Reily. Mr. Jones closed the institution in 1860 to accept the superintend-

ency of the public schools, a position he admirably fulfilled up to the time of his death, which occurred in 1873.

At a regular meeting of the trustees held December 3, 1851, a resolution was adopted recommending the purchase of a second fire engine. It was not, however, until four years later that the board visited Cincinnati and procured a second-hand machine. The consideration was a note for \$1,000, payable in ten months from date of execution, without interest. In the spring of 1875, in the month of May, the engine, which was christened "Lafayette," arrived in the city. It was brought here on a steamboat from Cincinnati, and there was great rejoicing among the populace, who lined the river front at the foot of Main street when the boat landed at the wharf to discharge its cargo. On the same day engine No. 2 arrived the trustees met and authorized the chief to purchase "a hose reel, or fire carriage, as cheap as could be made."

Two years before the second engine was bought, the trustees, having anticipated the purchase, appointed a committee of six (three members of the board and three citizens) to ascertain the probable cost of a house in which to keep the peerless "Lafayette." Messrs. Isaac Mass, Gerhard H. Duesterberg and William Burtch, members of the board, and Messrs. James Reynolds, Sr., Wm. R. McCord and John Crickmore, citizens, composed the inquisitorial commission. The result of their deliberations were made known to the public June 20, 1855, in a recommendation to the board that a frame building for the aforesaid purpose be erected in Broadway street, between Third and Fourth streets. The contract for building the house was subsequently let to Cook & Ackerley for \$318.96.

The first steam fire engine ("Relief") was purchased by the common council in January, 1869, of Cole Bros., Pawtucket, R. I., and cost \$4,200, second hand. The second steamer ("Knox") was built by the Ahren's Manufacturing Co., Cincinnati, and was received, tested and accepted on July 22, 1876. The purchase price of the last steamer was the same as for the first—\$4,200. The "Relief," which was used for several years as a "reserve" engine, was finally disposed of to an Illinois farmer, who utilized it as a motor in running a woodsawing machine. The "Knox" went out of commission soon after the installation of the water works system, and was sold in the year 1888 for a nominal sum to Kansas City, where it is still in service.

The Vincennes fire department, which is maintained at a cost of about \$12,000 a year, now boasts of four first-class houses, nicely furnished and equipped with modern and up-to-date apparatus. House No. 1, located in Fourth, between Main and Vigo streets, designed by Campbell & Osterhage, architects, and built by John Berry, contractor, is the department headquarters, and was recently completed at a cost of \$15,400. The apparatus housed in this station—among which is an automobile engine, made by the Webb Manufacturing Co., this city—is quite as attractive as the building itself, and is inspected every day by many visitors. The permanent



HOSE HOUSE, NO. 1 FIRE DEPARTMENT HEADQUARTERS

men of No. 1, nearly all of whom have been in the service for fifteen years, are Jas. J. Anderson, assistant chief; Alonzo Woodward, Robert Watson, John W. Dubois, Jefferson Fields and Archie Westfall.

House No. 2, corner Sixth and Harrison streets, was built as a one-story structure in 1875 by Wm. D. Brown, contractor, and cost \$1,184. A year or two later it was remodeled, and made a two-story building, and is still a very creditable-looking station. No. 2's men are Jesse Hedden and Charles Cullison, who are in charge of a beautiful span of dapple-grey horses and a four-wheeled hose carriage.

House No. 3, located at the intersection of Second street and Railroad avenue, over which George Cullison and Fred Waymeire preside, is provided with a four-wheeled hose carriage and a team of prancing greys, which is the pride of North Vincennes equine enthusiasts. The plans for the building were made by Thomas Campbell, architect, and the house was built by Stephen Arnold, contractor, in 1897, at a cost of \$3,020. It is a very neat and convenient station.

House No. 4, at the corner of Fourteenth and Vigo streets, is a new structure, having been completed last year. Campbell & Osterhage were the architects, and Albert Combs, contractor. The building, which was erected at a cost of \$4,200, while not large, is modern in architectural style and finish, and has accommodations for four men. John Turner and Leo Joice are in charge of the station, which is equipped with a four-wheeled hose reel, which is drawn, when occasion requires, by a pretty team of jet black horses.

Each of the permanent men receive an annual salary of \$750, with the exception of James Anderson, who is allowed extra pay for performing the services of electrician. The Vincennes fire department is among the best equipped and most efficient ones in the state. Its efficiency is due largely to the fact that nearly all of the members have had many years experience in fighting the fire fiend. The automobile service, the splendid system of water works, and the introduction of Gamewell's latest fire alarm devices are features contributing in no small degree towards the good results obtained. The water works plant, from which 250 fire hydrants are supplied, was built by the Vincennes Water Supply Co. (a private corporation) in 1887, at a cost of \$350,000. Several years after its completion a filtering system was added, costing \$35,000. The plant is equipped with two of Dean's vertical pumps, high duty, having a pumping capacity of 4,000,000 gallons daily, and three 200 horse power boilers, built in Vincennes; besides a stand-pipe twenty-two feet in diameter, 210 feet high, with a capacity of 700,000 gallons and a pressure of seventy-five pounds to the square inch. The street mains range in size from twenty inches to six inches in diameter and are extended in all directions to the extreme limits of the city, affording not only complete protection against fire, but enabling

every inhabitant to provide himself with the purest of water, uncontaminated with chemical or bacterial substances.

RELICS OF BY-GONE DAYS.

It was in the old yellow tavern of Christian Graeter that John B. La Plante, who subsequently became one of the wealthiest men in Vincennes, got his start in life. His first venture in the commercial world was in the grocery business, on a capital of \$82. He only had \$17 of his own money to invest, and borrowed \$65 from a fancy barber named Henry Rider, who had a "tonsorial parlor" in the tavern. Here it was that Captain Mass and Jacob Dunkle, respectively, at different periods, conducted auction stores. The tavern stood on Main street, near the northwest corner of Third, present site of S. & I. Lyons' stores, and was torn down about 1859.

On the site of the Flint Department Store, corner of First and Main streets, stood the American Hotel. It was built in 1824 and remained standing until 1870, when John La Plante bought the property and razed it to the ground to make room for a more modern hostelry—the La Plante House, which came into the possession of its present owner about six years ago. The old hotel was conducted from 1825 until 1852 by John C. Clark, father of Mrs. Sheridan Isaacs. For many years it was the leading hotel of the city, and the meeting place for all prominent citizens to transact business of a public character. On June 11, 1831, a meeting was held there at which it was decided to celebrate the Fourth of July. It was further resolved, "That an oration be delivered, and that a public dinner and ball be prepared for all who wished to attend." The arrangement committee was requested to meet at the tavern at "sundown" to make preparations.* In 1848, on New Year's eve, the "old residents," as the program puts it, gave a swell ball at Colonel John C. Clark's Hotel. The names of the managers of the affair are familiar to many people in Knox county, and are as follows: John Law, John Wise, Samuel Wise, John Moore, John B. Martin, Meeh'r Richardville, Hiram Decker, John Ross, Pierre La Plante, Samuel Emison, Thomas Scott, Thomas Bishop, John Marney, Robert Buntin, Jr. In the accompanying engraving which presents a view of the foot of Main street, sketched in 1827, will be seen the American Hotel on the right. On the opposite corner is the grocery store of William Burtch, built several years before the hotel, and still standing in a good state of preservation. The above locality was the principal corner of the town in early days; and whenever the militia turned out on dress parade (which was daily) they did their best maneuvering in front of the American Hotel, which always furnished them large audiences.

The old cotton factory, erected in 1824 by Daniel S. Bonner, stands today as a monument to the energy and enterprise of its builder. It is located

*Western Sun's Centennial Edition, 1904.

on the half square, facing southwest on Barnet between Second and Third streets, in the rear of the old cathedral. But few of the many church-going people who pass it daily and look up at its quaint windows have ever heard of its history. The windows and door frames, sash and doors, and many other portions of it, were brought from Trenton, New Jersey, where they had done like service for a factory, of which this is an exact model, in 1765. Through the little squares of glass in the window sashes human eyes upon a morning of December, 1776, looked out upon the dramatic "Crossing of the Delaware" and beheld the surrender of the thousand Hessians. What curious gatherer of relics will yet preserve the bits of glass.*

The Harrison House is supposed to have been the first brick building erected in Vincennes. The second one, it is said, was the old seminary, which was located in the center of four of the present city blocks bounded by Fourth, Sixth, Perry and Hart streets. The seminary was built in 1807 and was intended for common school purposes. It was sold by the school authorities in 1837 to Bishop Hailandiere, who established St. Gabriel's College there under the management of the Udist Fathers, who conducted the institution until 1844, when they left the diocese and went to New Orleans. It was then converted into an orphan asylum and so continued until the orphans were removed to Terre Haute. The seminary was then turned over to the Sisters of Providence who established St. Rose's Academy there. Francis Silas Chatard, the present bishop of the diocese, subdivided the square and opened Fifth and Seminary streets through it. The old seminary was torn down in 1883 and the lots of the subdivision have all been sold except the part reserved for St. Rose Academy, and are now held by private parties and for the most part occupied by fine residences.†

That section of the city out of which Judah's Addition has been carved, Mr. Cauthorn says, was enclosed with a rail fence and used for farming purposes as late as 1850. That portion of the town back of the court house at this date was unoccupied and was used as a race course. Extending back from Sixth street to the limits of the town was Marachall's field, cultivated in corn. This territory in 1855 was divided into lots and sold by Alvin W. Tracy, Marachall's executor. All that part of the city above Hart street was vacant, except the portion occupied by the Harrison mansion, the former cottage of Judge Parke and the residence of Judge Law, between them and the Judah square, afterwards called "the Baty place." In 1857, when the Lutheran church on Eighth street was built it was the only structure of any character in that locality.

The first building used for court purposes was of logs. It stood on the north corner of Second and Broadway streets, and after its abandonment as a "temple of justice," was converted into a hospital for the sick and disabled federal troops then garrisoned at Fort Knox. The second build-

*Western Sun Centennial Edition, 1904.

†H. S. Cauthorn, A History of Vincennes, page 30.

ing where sessions of the earlier courts were held stood on the west corner of Dunn and Fourth streets and was sold to the county by Robert Buntin. Across the street from the same, on the north corner, were the county jail and an inclosure for stray animals.

One of the oldest houses which, until thirty years ago, was located at the corner of First and Busseron streets, was built by Louis Barrois in 1790, and sold to Major Francois Busseron for five hundred livres. Major Busseron, upon the marriage of his daughter, presented it to his son-in-law, Judge Henry Vanderburgh, writing of the event, says: "It is the best house in the village." It contained three rooms, was a regular frame, sided with cypress boards, split and shaved, put upon the uprights with wrought nails. A block below, corner of Broadway and First streets, on the lot now occupied by the ruins of the Broadway Mills, in 1794 John Rice Jones built Vincennes' first theater—a one-story frame building. The house afterward became an academy for young ladies, under charge of Mrs. McGowen, whose husband (a butcher) advertised in the *Western Sun* of 1808 (Indians and negroes except) "good beef." The Rev. Shaw afterward taught a "classic school" and held services of the Church of England in the same building. In later years it was used as a gear-house for William Green's livery stable.

In August, 1796, Fred Barger was appointed street commissioner for the village. In November of the same year Christopher Wyant and John Small procured a recommendation from the judges of the court to the governor of the territory for the privilege to conduct, respectively, houses of public entertainment. John Small was also granted license, in 1797, to establish a ferry across the Ouabache (Wabash) river from Vincennes to the opposite shore. In February, 1805, Colonel Vigo was granted a license to run a ferry "from his land on the northwest side of the river, across the same, to the town of Vincennes," foot of Broadway street. Small and Vigo were the predecessors of Thomas Bailey and James Gibson, both of whom subsequently engaged in ferrying. A century ago there were two ferries—the landing of one being at the foot of Broadway street, and the other at the foot of Main street. The upper one was kept by Bailey and the lower one by Gibson.

By order of the court, in July, 1812, the treasurer of Knox county paid the following bills, viz.: To Wm. Dunnica, for the rent of a room for a prison, \$38; to John Gibson, for the use of his house for general court, \$12; to Mark Barnett, for same, \$12.50, and to Christian Graeter, for same, \$8.00.

During the year 1800 post routes were established between Vincennes and Louisville, Kentucky, and at a later date between Vincennes and St. Louis. Although for a time delivery was made but once a week, the primitive postal facilities gave the Old Post national recognition and brought her for the first time into prominence as the seat of government of a vast territory and the scene of a battle where American arms won for the na-



VIEW OF MAIN STREET SEVENTY YEARS AGO

Showing the American Hotel and Vincennes Militia Directly in Front of Same

tion an empire. Soon after coming to Vincennes (1816) John Wise secured the contract for carrying the mail between the points named. In 1848 Colonel I. N. Eastham, who conducted a livery stable and ran a line of coaches from Louisville to St. Louis, became the mail carrier for Uncle Sam, and continued on the job until after the old Ohio & Mississippi road was built. Main street in Washington, Indiana, was on the line of travel, and the Colonel always insisted that it was the most undesirable piece of road between St. Louis and Louisville, at times being almost impassable, on account of miry mud and water.

PIONEER MERCHANTS OF OLD VINCENNES.

From 1811 to 1840 the following persons were engaged in the merchandizing business: Peter Jones, John D. Hay, Samuel Hays, G. R. C. Sullivan, Elias McNamee, Elkana Babbitt, Henry C. Mills, Wm. Mieure, M. Brouillette, Samuel Thorne, Frederick Watson, George Davis, M. Jones, Christian Graeter, Tomilson & Rose, John R. Kurtz, H. D. Wheeler, Burtch & Heberd, Wm. J. Heberd, J. & S. Wise, Smith & Carson, Rose & Harper, B. Shelmeire & Co., Francis Bayard, Wm. G. Foulks, Brouillette & Vanderburgh, M. Cromalin, J. & W. Hay, Wm. Lindsey, Samuel Brunner, David L. Brunner, C. Clark, Rose & Ewing, Thorn & Tracy, L. C. Langton, G. Cruikshank & Co., Philander Fellows, Clark & Brown, Fyfield & Bordalin, Wheeler & Bailey, Robert Smith & Co., J. G. Crow, John W. Moore.

Nicholas Smith, father of Edward H. and John A. Smith, came to Vincennes in 1817 from New Jersey, where he was born in 1790. Like his sons, he was a valuable citizen and did much toward building up the town and giving character and stability to its commercial life. Before locating in Vincennes Mr. Smith visited both Cincinnati and St. Louis, preferring the Old Post as a business point to either of them. He engaged in the hardware and tinning business, combining therewith trading between Vincennes and New Orleans; and at the time of his death, in 1871, possessed a fortune, accumulated through his commercial ventures. William Burtch, who was at one time the wealthiest man in Vincennes, was born in Rutland, Vermont, in 1793. He came here in 1814, embarking in business the same year of his arrival. His first commercial venture was selling confections and refreshments. Afterward he engaged in general merchandising, extending his trade to the south and east. He died in August, 1880. The Wises, who were natives of Pennsylvania, came to Vincennes in 1816. In connection with a general store, which was conducted on a large scale, they engaged in the pork packing business, and became immensely rich. The firm, under the style of J., S. & W. J. Wise, shipped nearly all their pork to New Orleans by means of flatboats, and afterward by steamboats. Colonel I. N. Eastham at the same time was engaged in porkpacking and shipped by flatboats to New Orleans.

Between 1840 and 1850 the business and professional representatives

of Vincennes were: Druggists—A. W. Morris, Luck & Lander; dry goods—Adam Gimbel, Worman & Koster, W. J. Wise & Co., M. D. La Croix & Bro., Charles Graeter, M. L. Edson, John Caldwell, Wm. Hays, J. W. Maddox, Theodore Huslage; clothiers—Isaac Joseph, John H. Massey, Moses Gimble; grocers—J. B. La Plante & Bro., Chas. A. Weisert, Frederick Graeter, Garrett Reiter, L. B. Smith, Jas. T. Cox, W. & R. Owens; attorneys—Allen, Usher & Palmer, Cauthorn & Wise, J. W. Booth, R. M. Curran, A. T. Ellis, Judah & Denny, W. A. Jones, John Law, John Baker; physicians—Jule Baty, Hiram Decker, H. M. Smith, J. R. Mantel, R. S. Coe, R. B. Jessup, W. W. & W. M. Hitt, J. S. Sawyer, Joseph Somes; furniture dealers—Curry & Coons, Gardner & Sons; boots and shoes—Frank Horsting, Henry Soete; manufacturer blankets—Henry D. Wheeler; stoves and tinware—N. Smith & Sons, Wilkins & Robinson; harness, saddles, etc.—Page, Orr & Co., Thing & Potter, W. J. Heberd & Sons, P. R. Bishop; clocks, jewelry, etc.—Wm. Stalz; merchant tailor—H. P. Brokaw.

Among the later business firms, actively engaged in business during the fifties, were: Dry goods—W. J. Heberd & Sons, J. B. La Plante (general store), B. Kuhn, J. S. Sawyer, Adam Gimbel,* R. Koster, J. W. Maddox & Co., Lemuel Gimbel, Decker & Chadwick, W. E. Brenne & Co., Charles Graeter; clothing—Isaac Joseph, B. Kuhn (wholesale and retail), Moses Gimbel, Frank Soudrielle, H. T. Roseman; groceries—Henry Hauser, J. S. Sawyer, Decker & Chadwick, W. E. Brenne & Co. (wholesale and retail), J. T. Cox; boots and shoes—D. H. Johnson, Frank Horsting & Co., George Kerchoff & Co., Harvey, Mason & Co.; artist—J. P. Elliott; furniture—Joel Gresh; wagons—J. R. Bishop, John Collins; agricultural implements—S. W. Adams, Wm. Burtch; livery stables—Wm. Green, Samuel Emison, I. N. Eastham; dentist—J. Flager; physicians—J. R. Mantel, J. Baty, R. B. Jessup, H. M. Smith, Jos. Somes, M. Picquet, J. C. Bever, Hiram Decker; attorneys—John Law, William Denny, John Baker, A. T. Ellis.

In 1860 the official roster of the county was as follows: Judge of the circuit court, M. F. Burke; judge of court of common pleas, R. A. Clements, Sr.; clerk, H. S. Cauthorn; auditor, John B. Patterson; sheriff, Martin Anthis; recorder, Richard Y. Caddington; treasurer, A. L. Cornoyer; surveyor, M. P. Roberts; coroner, F. J. Meyers; commissioners, William Raper, William S. Milam, James L. Culbertson. Among those engaged in

*Adam Gimbel came as a pack-peddler to Vincennes in 1842. In 1847 he erected at the corner of Second and Main streets a large, three-story brick and iron building (now occupied by Gimbel, Haughton & Bond) and opened a dry goods store. Here he laid the foundation of a fortune which he bequeathed to five sons, of whom the older three are Jacob, Isaac and Charles, proprietors today of three of the largest merchandizing establishments in the United States, located in New York, Philadelphia and Milwaukee. The New York store is said to be the largest in the world, while the one in Philadelphia is an enterprise of greater magnitude than the concern conducted in the Quaker City by John Wanamaker.

commercial, professional and industrial pursuits at that time were: Dry goods—J. W. Maddox, J. S. Sawyer (dry goods and groceries), James Gardner, A. Gimbel, B. Kuhn & Co.; grocers and produce dealers—M. D. La Croix, John A. Louis, H. T. Roseman, J. S. Sawyer, C. A. Weisert, Rethin & Bro., W. E. Meek, Fitzgerald & Denny; clothiers and merchant tailors—H. P. Brokaw, William Huey, I. Joseph & Co.; J. H. Shepard & Co., William Watson, E. B. Ramsdell; hardware and tinware—John H. Clark & Bros., N. Smith & Sons; photographer—O. Thayer; woolen goods manufacturer—H. D. Wheeler. James Reynolds was agent for the Adams Express Co. Edward Beach was a music teacher and dealer in toys, confections and musical instruments; Bascom & Co., wholesale and retail dealers in clocks, watches and jewelry; William H. Beatty, steel plow and carriage manufacturer; William Beckman, blacksmith; A. M. Benjamin & Co., importers and wholesale dealers in foreign and domestic wines; D. M. Bishop, sash, doors and blinds; Emil Bobinet, baker; Ferdinand Bote, ambrotype and photograph gallery; J. Brenhaus, manufacturer of and dealer in jewelry; Misses Brett & Orr, milliners; J. H. Bridges, painter; F. Broach, dry goods; S. Buckley, boot and shoe manufacturer; George Bultman, blacksmith; Wm. Burtch, dry goods; Wm. Bultman, dry goods and groceries; Wm. Busse, baker; John Caldwell, dry goods, boots, shoes, etc.; J. W. Canon, cabinet maker; W. P. Chandler, saloon; Charley Clark, druggist; John Convery, shoemaker; John M. Cook, flouring mill and tannery; John Coons, attorney; J. A. Davidson, boot and shoe manufacturer; Charles Dawes, lumber dealer; F. W. DeLang, variety store; Jere Donovan, marshal of the town; G. H. Duesterberg, cabinetmaker; John Dubois, brick mason; Dubois & Clinton, barbers; S. R. Dunn, tailor; John Dunkle, furniture; Thomas Eastham, livery; John Ebner, saloonist; W. W. C. Emison, flouring mill; G. Feltman, tailor; George Fifiield, baker and confectioner; E. Foreman, grocer; Abraham Gimbel, clothier; A. Gimbel, dry goods; P. G. Godley, proprietor Commercial Hotel; Charles Graeter, wholesale and retail dealer in dry goods; F. Graeter & Sons, livery and feed stable; F. Graeter & Sons, dry goods and groceries; Wm. Green, livery and proprietor railroad and omnibus line and Green's hall; Henry Hausser, J. Hartz, saloonists; Hasselbach, Stone & Co., wholesale and retail dealers in dry goods, groceries, flour and whiskey; F. Hasaling, saloon; Herrsher & Bro., clothing; Hesse & Bro., fancy and staple dry goods; W. W. Hitt, physician; Frank Horsting & Co., boot and shoe makers and dealers; Adam Huffman, butcher; C. S. Hurd, dentist; Theodore Huslage, dry goods; George Irr, tailor; R. B. Jessup, physician; W. A. Jones, lawyer; J. T. Jones, attorney; Judah & Denny, lawyers; O. P. Julian, dealer in American and Italian marble; Joseph Kapps, saloonist; Kellogg & Smith, hardware; William Kimmerly, manufacturer of beer, ale and rye whiskey, corner Water and Church streets. T. Knopp, fancy and staple dry goods; Kramer & Eschbach, boot and shoe makers and dealers; Anton Lahr, saloonist; La Plante Bros., hats, caps, boots, shoes, hardware, queensware and groceries;

W. D. Leck, grocer; W. F. Lindley, merchant tailor; M. Laakman, saloon; John Lopen, house, sign and ornamental painter; W. J. Luck, druggist; Cowen McCone, dry goods, groceries, etc.; Wm. R. McCord, wholesale and retail grocer; W. W. McDowell, dry goods; C. P. McGrady, railroad contractor and president gas company; John Mallet, blacksmith; J. R. Mantle, physician; Isaac Mass, auctioneer; John H. Massey, ambrotype and photograph gallery; Fred. Miller, butcher; C. A. Moffat & Co., cabinet makers; August Mominee, saloon; A. Montgomery, city clerk; John Moore, postmaster; Henry Meyer, cigar manufacturer; G. S. Nelson, commission merchant; M. Nierdest, proprietor Prairie Hotel; J. & A. Ostendorf, watch and clock makers and jewelers; Page & Orr, saddles, bridles, etc.; Patterson & Mattress, carriage and wagon makers; H. E. Peck, wholesale and retail druggist; W. F. Pidgeon, attorney; Pidgeon & Terrell, real estate stocks and insurance; J. M. Pursoil, physician and surgeon; Robert Potter, saddles, harness and collars; M. Richardville, livery; H. Rickhoff, vinegar factory; Fred. Reilag, dry goods, hats and caps, etc.; Andy Rogers, grocer; M. Schel, butcher; F. Schill, locksmith; Fred Seitz, baker; J. A. Skinner, physician; M. P. Ghee & H. M. Smith, editors Gazette; L. B. Smith, wholesale grocer; Jos. Somes, physician; Henry Strattman, boat and shoe maker; Martin Stricker, carpenter; Oliver Thayer, melainotype artist; M. Tyler & Son, dry goods, groceries, sash, doors and blinds; John Ulmer, butcher; Thad. S. Updegraff, oculist and aurist; F. Washburn, silversmith; Asa Washburn, silversmith; John Watson, dry goods; I. N. Whittelsey, watch and clock maker; D. Whestedt, hair dresser; Wm. Williamson, grocer; Ernest Wilmet, tobacconist; Jacob Woessner, painter; Jos. Woodman, baker and confectioner; J. D. & W. J. Wise, pork packers.

During the period of which we write (1860) the officials of Vincennes township were James Brown and Abner Garrison, justices of the peace; Samuel Elby, assessor; Daniel Meyers, constable; T. M. Sawyer, trustee, clerk and treasurer. William Caldwell was agent of the M. S. & N. I. railroad; George Narber and Robert Caldwell were resident farmers of the town; Wm. Ewe, Geo. Kerstetter and John King, coopers; Frank Black and John Mann, carpenters and builders; Ira K. Moore and John Pierson, dentists; Wm. Klenkner, painter; A. Meyers, general merchant; O. C. Taylor, school teacher.

The business and professional men of the present are: Groceries—E. Bierhaus & Son (wholesale), A. Gimbel (wholesale), L. B. Smith (wholesale), John N. Bey & Co. (wholesale); other wholesale and retail, or retail alone are: H. Abrassart, Allen & Carrel, Ed Baker, James Baldwin, Jacob Beal, Wm. Beesley, Lawrence Bey, Wm. Bey, Edwin Blase, Samuel Bottle, Bratton & Palfrey, Brocksmit & Son, Geo. Borrowman, Chris Bubenzer, Wm. C. Bubenzer, Geo. Burnside, Otto C. Busse, Ernest Coulter, Crackel Bros., Commodore Crow, John P. Davis, Joseph Eheart, W. A. Flint Co., John Graham, Nancy Gregory, Elisha Grimes, Albert Haartje, Chas. Hagen, Hall Bros., Chas. D. Hall, John Hoffman & Sons, Julia Jacobus, Lucas

Jansen, Mary Karscheisky, Anthony Kiefer, Wm. Knowles, Henry Knowles, John Lancaster, J. F. Lancaster & Co., Thomas Levell & Son, Edward Louis, McNeil & Son, Joseph P. Marsh, John H. Meyer, Joseph Morris, Meniman O'Donnell, George Parker, Joseph J. Risch, S. Risch & Sons, Risch & Haller, John J. Roach, Glenn Roughan, Amos Salisbury, Scheefer Bros., Schmidt Bros., Henry Schmiedeskamp, Albert E. Schory, Schultz & Yocum, Henry J. Steffen, Wm. M. Tromley, C. H. Wessel, George Wiseman. Dry goods—Anton Bey, H. Brokhage & Sons, W. A. Flint Co., Gimbel, Haughton & Bond, B. Kuhn & Co., S. & I. Lyons Co., S. Risch & Son, Risch & Haller, L. A. Wise & Co. Abstractors of titles—Charles G. McCord, Allen E. Hogue. Accounts—Frank W. Bell, Indiana Business College, Vincennes Business College. Agricultural implements—Emison & Nicholson, Hartman Manufacturing Company, Hunckler Bros., Vincennes Elevator Company, Vincennes Implement and Carriage Company. Architects—Campbell & Osterhage, John W. Gaddis. Art goods—Bond & Hedden, Frank Liebermann. Auto garages—Dexter Aldrich, Cloud-Cadillac Auto Co., E. J. Crankshaw & Co., Meyer & Whitehouse, Marshal Johnson. Automobile dealers, repairers and suppliers—Dexter Aldrich, Gerhard Bergman, Johnson Auto Co., Charles Miller, Robison-Donaldson Co., Vincennes Motor Manufacturing Co., E. J. Crankshaw & Co., Terre Haute Oil and Coal Co. Baby carriages—Vincennes Furnishing Co., Frank Boeckman, Frank Hofiman, W. P. Ritterskamp & Co. Bakers and confectioners—Ralph Baldwin, Bender & Son, Henry F. Bergmann, John Gluck, Gustav Lang, Wilhelmina Mischler, G. W. Opell, Planke Bros. Bands—First Regiment, Hoose's band. Bank, office and saloon furniture—Vincennes Sash and Door Co., McIlvaine Lumber Co. Banks—Citizens Trust Co., First National, German National, Second National, Vincennes State Bank. Barber shop proprietors—Agelius Baecher, Wm. H. Bowen, Morgan Brooks, James Calvert, Thomas Chapman, Frank Cashy, Albert Hoffman, George Jones, Blume & Hayes, Lawrence Lincoln, Frank McArthur, John McHale, Jr., Richard Miller, James Moore, John Nestlehut, Fred Parker, Bert Shick, Edward Shick, Arthur Snelling, Frank Soudriette, Joseph Stewart, Edward Thomas, John Vincent, Wm. Wilkes, Frank Wilson, Lackey & Brown. Bicycle dealers—George Fellows, Charles F. Hoose, Edward Hunter. Billiards and pool—Harry Chaney, Cliff Gosnell, Wm. H. Long, Jesse Palmer, Rudolph Palmer, Joseph Risch, George Shank, Harry Westfall, Joseph Wolfe. Blacksmiths and horseshoers—Gerhard Bergman, Brad Brouillette, Eric Decker, George Evans, Fuller Bros., Wm. Henderson, Wm. Kelley, Henry La Coste, Mitchel La Coste, John K. Miller, J. F. Miller's Sons, Louis F. Miller, Charles Saiter, F. W. Snyder & Co., Frank Tanksley. Boarding houses—Callie Bippus, Ida Blackburn, Josephine Chambers, Jemima Curtis, Philip De Jean, Benjamin Lamping, Willis Liston, Nora Mason, Katharine Schaller, Sarah Searight, Amelia Thuis, Mary Unsworth, John C. Wheeler, Albert Wise. Bookbinders, booksellers and stationers—Charles S. Miller, Frank Liebermann,

Duesterberg & Kramer. Boot and shoemakers—Casper H. Blase, Henry B. Blume, Henry Feldman, William Grote, William Heidenreich, Albert Johnson, Joseph Kitchell, Isaac McNeil, James Martin, Louis Mayes, Abraham Alevitch, William Trapp, Charles Wallace. Retail dealers in boots and shoes—Bradley & King, Simon Brown, W. A. Flint Co., Gimbel, Haughton & Bond, Chris Heidenreich, Frank J. Kapps, Klein Bros., Palfrey Shoe Co., Simpson & Hogue. Builders' hardware and materials—Milas A. Bosworth, McIlvaine Lumber Co., Saiter Morgan Co., Kleymeyer Lumber Co. Carpenters, contractors and builders—Benjamin Allen, Stephen Arnold, Firman Borden, John M. Brown, Campbell & Osterhage, John M. Clark, Albert Combs, Franklin Conley, John F. Cox, Thomas Dawson, John B. DeLisle, John C. Edwards, Thomas Edwards, James B. Evans, Lewis Fawns, Lawrence Glass, Sam F. Hill, John Hurst, Joseph Johnson, Frank Katzorke, John Killer, George Kirk, Frank Kramer, Samuel Kirk, Charles Orndorff, Charles Osterhage, Edward L. Osterhage, James H. Redman, Alexander Runyon, Albert Schmuck, Homer E. Shaw, Thomas J. Shinely, George M. Sparrow, Samuel E. Talley, John Thais, William Van Metre, Samuel White, Eli P. Williamson, Jesse Williams, Frank T. Willie. Cigar manufacturers—Joseph Anton, Frank Boone, Emil Yunghaus. Wholesale and retail dealers in cigars and tobacco—A. J. Acker & Co., Harry L. Chaney, Duesterberg & Kramer, George Fredrich, Edward Kramer, James B. Orr, George E. Shank, T. H. Stradley Cigar Co., Edward W. Wood, Emil Yunghaus, George Miller, Herman Werker, Woodville Watjen, Henry Miller. Clothing—H. Brokhage & Sons, Fraumann Bros., I. Joseph & Son, Krueger Specialty Co., B. Kuhn & Co., S. & I. Lyons, Peoples Credit Co., Henry Riddelsheimer, Jud Robbins, Henry Scheefers, W. A. Flint. Wholesale and retail coal dealers—Ebner Ice & Coal Storage Co., Samonial Coal Co., Terre Haute Oil & Coal Co., John Bingham, Brooks & Brown, City Ice and Coal Co., Louis A. Frederick, Benj. F. Kable, Fred. Kixmiller, North End Cement, Coal & Tile Co., Peoples Ice & Fuel Co., Geo. B. Piel, Wm. Warren. Commission merchants—Crowley-Mitchell Co., R. H. Pennington & Co., Wm. J. Todd, Vollmer & Winkler. Manufacturers and wholesale and retail confectioners—L. P. Colenbaugh Co., James C. Bollman, W. W. Cassell & Son, Dattillo Bros., Joseph Dressell, David P. Hale, Thomas Kondas, John E. Norman, Samuel Rumer & Son, Edward Willis, Zarafonetis Bros. Dentists—Horace Beckes, Wm. Bogie, Ralph C. Day, August Held, Walter M. Hindman, Charles A. Lambdin, August G. Pielemeire, Wm. B. Ridgeway, Ozro W. Willis. Distillers of alcohol and spirits—Murphy Distilling Co., Old Vincennes Distillery Co., Eagle Brewery. Dress and Cloak makers—Emily Bastin, Minnie Boland, Ida Bonhomme, Jessie Bouchie, Elzora Braden, Mary A. Brouillette, Mamie Burton, Mary Carr, Frances Duesterberg, Ella Finfrock, Alice Fowler, Ada Gillespie, Louise Gluck, Lydia Green, Lydia Hentz, Alice Hollingsworth, Mary Kelley, Mary Kirsch, Matilda Knowland, Mary Kopp, Sadie Kreimeyer, Clara Kuhlmeier, Emma Mallet,

Nellie Masterson, Anna Miller, Anna Piper, Katie Recker, Essa Summer-ville, Mary Taylor, Emma Thuis, Mary Todd, Julia Willhite, Laura Wise, Lida Wolf. Wholesale and retail druggists—Wm. Bochner, Columbia Drug Co., Rush C. Dennison, Duesterberg & Kramer, Fancher Drug Co., Albert Miller, Charles S. Miller, Moore & Miller, Lee Townsley, Wood C. Watjen, Herman Werker. Belting, rubber and leather—Weed-Boeckman Hardware Co., Nicholson & Emison, Buck & Boyd, August Evering. Bot-tlers of beer—Hack & Simon. Bottlers mineral water—John G. Recker, Wm. Richter, Frank A. Thuis. Brewers—Hack & Simon, Terre Haute Brewing Co. Brick and tile manufacturers—Clark Brick Co., John Prul-lage. Bridge and structural iron builders—Vincennes Bridge Works, Terre Haute Bridge Co. Grain brokers—R. J. Greenhow, E. W. Wagner & Co., Jas. E. Bailey. Button manufacturer—Harry Williams. Canned goods—Dyer Packing Co. Carpet weavers—John H. Akers, Thornton McCoy. Carpets, oil cloths, etc.—H. Brokhage & Sons, Flint & Co., Gimbel, Haugh-ton & Bond, Lyons & Co., Vincennes Furnishing Co. Corrugated iron ceil-ings and ornamental work—Charles W. Lauby, Vincennes Galvanized Iron Works. Cement—McIlvaine & Co., M. A. Bosworth, Klemeyer Lumber Co., Vincennes Lumber Co. Cement blocks—Samuel Borden & Son, Frank H. Howell, Louis Kutter, North End Cement Coal & Tile Co., Norton & Mullins. China, glass and queensware—George McDonald, Vincennes Furnishing Co., W. P. Ritterskamp & Co. Cloaks and suits—Brokhage & Sons, Flint & Co., Lyons & Co., Vance-Winans Co. Dyers and cleaners—Harry G. Harper, Walter Bono, Frank Latshaw, William Weisenberger. Electric light companies—City Electric Lighting Co., Vincennes Electric Co., Vincennes Light & Power Co., Dreiman Electric Contracting and Sup-ply Co., Lester Johnson. Engravers—Henkes Jewelry Co., John C. Wag-ner, Perry Tindolph, Eric Smith. Express companies—Adams, American, United States. Florists—Thomas C. Dunn, Charles F. Raker, W. A. Rei-man, Paul Schultz. Flour and feed mills and dealers—John Bingham, Martin H. Hogue, Atlas Mills, Baltic Mills, Brooks & Brown, William Smith, Vigo Mills, Vincennes Elevator Co. Founders and machinists—Central Foundry Co., Vincennes Foundry and Machine Co., Henry M. Williams, McKernon & Hartigan, George E. Henry. Fruits—Dattillo Bros., Brocksmith & Son, Frank Bratton. Funeral directors—Henry B. Duesterberg & Sons, Dexter Gardner & Son, Robert Jones. Furnaces—Charles Lauby, Weed-Boeckman Co., Wm. C. Teeschner, Buck & Boyd. Furniture dealers—John F. Bonsib, J. Brooks & Co., Hoffman Furniture Co., Vincennes Furnishing Co., W. P. Ritterskamp & Co., S. & S. Furniture Co. Furniture manufacturers—Vincennes Furniture Manufacturing Co., McIlvaine Co. Furs—John T. Foster. Galvanized Iron Works—Charles Lauby, P. R. McCarthy & Son Galvanized Iron Works. Gardeners—Frank Brandenburg, John G. Frisz, Michael Frisz, Lease Lemp, Vollmer Bros., Henry Wagner. Gas companies—Ambray Gas Co., Egyptian Heat & Power Co., Vincennes Light & Power Co., Vincennes Oil & Gas Co.,

Black Hawk Gas Co. Gas and steam fitters—Buck & Boyd, T. F. Davis, Robert James, Joseph Cannon, Joseph Sowden, Mifflin K. Thomas. Glass plate and window—Knox Glass Co., Loten & Ryan, Saiter-Morgan Co. Glass bottle manufacturers—Diamond Flint Glass Co. Glass manufacturers—Blackford Window Glass Co., Vincennes Window Glass Co. Grain elevators—Paul Kuhn & Co., South Side Elevator Co., Union Elevator Co., Vincennes Elevator Co. Guns and ammunition—William Eluere, Frank Boeckman, H. H. Hackman. Hair dressers—Carrie Calvert, Anna Ringle, Mrs. Paul Weisert. Handle manufacturers—Indiana Handle Co. Hardware—Saiter-Morgan Co., Geo. B. Burnside, Wm. H. Eluere, Emison & Nicholson, August Evering, Hunckler Bros., Saiter-Morgan Co., N. Smith & Sons, Vincennes Implement and Carriage Co., Weed-Boeckman Co. Harness and saddle manufacturers and dealers—Asher Goodykrontz, Paul Page, F. A. Thuis, Vincennes Implement & Carriage Co. Hats, caps and furs—H. Brokhage & Sons, Jud Robbins, George Schaller, John S. Somes, Henry Raddlesheimer, Esco Walk, W. A. Flint, J. A. & F. B. Merchant. Hay presses—Supreme Manufacturing Co. Hot water heating—Joseph Sowden, Buck & Boyd, M. K. Thomas. Hotels—Fairview Avenue, Cottage, Empire, Grand, Kaiserhof, Kings, St. John's, Simpson House, Stag, Star, Union Depot. House furnishings—Smith & Sons, Frank Boeckman, Vincennes Furnishing Co. Ice manufacturers—John Ebner Ice & Coal Storage Co., Citizens Ice & Cold Storage Co. Ice cream manufacturers—W. W. Cassell, Vincennes Milk Condensing Co., Zaratonetis Bros. Installment goods—Benjamin Freshour, Knox County Installment Co., Krueger Specialty Co. Insurance agents—J. L. Bayard & Co., Byers & Stillwell, Central Realty Co., Grayson & Unverferth, McGowen & Leonard, W. B. Purcell, Purky Bros., Harry V. Somes, Jr., Vincennes Agency Co., John C. Wise, George W. Wring, Wm. C. Mason, Rancy Gibson, Vincennes Mutual Fire Insurance Co., Geo. W. Foulks. Jewelers—Thomas Eagleson, J. H. Henkes Jewelry Co., J. & H. Ostendorf, Eric B. Smith, Perry Tuidolph, John C. Wagner. Junk dealers—Superior Iron, Metal & Pipe Co., Joseph Schwartz, Eli Silverman. Justices of the peace—Engelbert Baecher, Francis I. Purky, Edward Weisert. Kodaks and supplies—Watjen Drug Co., Duesterberg & Kramer. Ladies' furnishing goods—S. & I. Lyons, Gimbel, Haughton & Bond, Brokhage & Sons, L. A. Wise & Co., W. A. Flint. Laundries—Crystal, Ivory, Kohinoor, Sam Sing. Livery, boarding and feed stables—William Byers, Decker & Campbell, Benjamin Fisher, Wm. H. Kail, Wm. Kyger, James McCloskey, John F. Mail, Adolph Meyer. Loan agents—Grayson & Unverferth, Highsmith & James, Mason & Foulks, Mortgage Loan Co., W. B. Purcell, Frank E. Walter, Edward Weisert, Samuel W. Williams. Hardwood lumber dealers—John A. Cox Co., Maley & Wertz. Lumber, lath and shingles—M. A. Bosworth, Joshua Brazelton, John Cox, Klemeyer Co., Wm. H. Leathers, McIlvaine Co., Vincennes Lumber Co. Wholesale malt liquors—Charles M. Berninger, Baugh Bros., John C. Hellert, Florice Tougas, Edgar Rindskopf. Meat markets—John H. Beamon, Edmund Eschlemann, Louis

Hamm, I. Hamm & Son, Charles B. O'Donnell, John Schumacher, Frank Sievers, Victor Manning, John B. Zuber, Wm. Zuber. Medicine manufacturers—Wm. F. Gardner, Thomas Stafford, Milton Wampler. Men's furnishings—H. Brokhage, Chris Epperson, Christian Heineureich, I. Joseph & Son, Lyons & Co., Merchant Bros., J. Robbins, George Schaller, John Somes. Milliners—Etta Bonsib, Laura B. Harvey, John C. Hellert, Myron Rindskopf, Slater & Slater, Martha Souder, Mary Thuis, Roxey Van Stone. Motor manufacturers—Vincennes Motor Manufacturing Co. Music teachers—Margaret P. Baldwin, Charles N. Bromley, Faye Bromley, Edna Brown, Amelia Doddridge, Sheridan H. Isaacs, Clara Kirsch, Blanche Maidlow, Nellie B. Mathesie, Bessie O'Neal, Jessie Schwartz, Corene Sertel, Jessie Sertel, Elizabeth M. Thuis, Grace Trump. Music and musical merchandise—H. H. Hackman, Paul Bros., George Loertz, Wm. S. Vowels, John B. Vaughn. Nurses—Tess Balbina, Mary Balue, Lavina Black, Eva M. Collins, Mattie Companiotte, Emma Flick, Bertha Frederick, Elizabeth Frigge, Mary Hollingsworth, Nellie Moore. Opticians—Justus Henkes, James H. Hammond, John C. Wagner. Osteopaths—H. T. Phillippe. Painters—Wm. C. Bliven, James H. Brice, Walter C. Buchanan, James Coan, Charles Coleman, Harvey Cook, Finley Dotson, George Falls, Charles Good, Daniel Hanes, George R. Harris, Harris & Yocum, Charles Heady, Chester B. Henry, Harvey Hollowell, Benson King, Fred W. Miller, Henry G. Miller, John C. Miller, Wm. H. Moore, Fred I. Neideffer, Jesse J. Rumer, George Savage, Martin Scott, Morton M. Spalding, Wm. Unsworth, Frank E. Weisert. Photographers—Edward Clark, Peter Deisher, Morton V. Presnell, Elmer E. Shores, James S. Thomas, Isaiah E. Townsley. Plumbers, steam and gas fitters—Buck & Boyd, Henry Davis, Bert Herr, Robert James, Joseph F. Kapps, Joseph H. Sowden, M. K. Thomas. Poultry packers and shippers—Edward Bierhaus & Sons, W. S. Blackburn & Co., Collins Produce Co. Printers and publishers—Alfred V. Crotts, Frank C. Hardacre, Hitt Printing Co., Ethelbert C. Stewart, Vincennes Capital, Vincennes Commercial, Western Sun, Knox County Democrat. Real estate—Byers & Stillwell, Central Realty Co., City Realty Co., Wm. R. Crackel, Frank R. Emison, John O'Goff, Geo. W. Graeter, Albert Greenhow, Grayson & Unverferth, Highsmith & James, George W. Lott, H. W. Alexander, A. M. Yeyton, Harry Somes, James A. McClure, McGowen & Leonard, Mason & Foulks, North Vincennes Realty Co., W. B. Purcell, Goldie Simonson, Will L. Te Walt, Edward Weisert, Benjamin Wheeler, Samuel W. Williams, Wm. P. Wineman. Restaurants and cafes—John Abshire, Henry Brown, John Freshour, Julius Gambrel, George S. Goens, John C. Hennon, Louis Hennon, Margaret Hennon, Albert King, Christian H. Lerg, John S. McCorkle, James E. Patterson, Charles W. Pierce, William H. Roberson, Nora I. Smith, Star, Wm. G. Stephens, F. J. Tougaw & Co., Union Depot, Wm. H. Van Stone, John H. Westfall, Charles Williams, Winifred Herrin, Empire. Tailors—Joseph Bernstein, Walter F. Bono, Thomas Chapman, Edward Colman, Theodore Frank, John A.

Kapps, John Laakman, Frank H. Latshaw, Samuel Newcomb, Michael J. Ryan, Robert H. Schofield, John Somes, Chris Stier, George Schaller. Theaters and parks—Orpheum Theater, Star Theater, Grand Opera House, Red Mill Theater, Royal Theater, Harrison park, Columbia park, Harmonic park, Lakewood park. Tanners—Dubois Bros., Thomas Kilfoil, John Kotter, Charles Lauby, Henry Watson, Frank Boeckman Co., N. Smith & Sons. Transfer companies—Wm. Newcomb, Wm. H. Peebles, Russell Transfer Co., Michael Schwab, Vincennes Transfer & Storage Co., Johnson Transfer Co.

The wholesale and retail trade of Vincennes is high-graded, of large volume. Three wholesale houses alone do jointly a jobbing business of more than a million and half dollars annually, which figures are only slightly in excess of the amount accredited to several others. Post H of the Traveling Men's Protective Association, has over a hundred members, and at least 125 traveling salesmen who are eligible to membership have their homes here.

The territory on all sides, and easily accessible to Vincennes, contains quite a number of progressive towns, making the field for wholesale commercial operations very inviting. That the town is a most desirable locality for wholesale establishments cannot be denied. The ordinary expenses connected with the conduct of the business is much less than in the larger commercial centers, and railroad facilities are equally as good and freight rates just as low.

The retail houses—and they are quite as numerous here as they are in cities twice the size of Vincennes—are modern in every respect, and a great friendly rivalry exists among them in the matter of making attractive displays of their merchandise. It is a small concern here indeed that hasn't a floor walker, window decorator and "ad" man. All of the retail establishments draw a heavy trade from the rural districts surrounding the city in all directions, and from railway towns within a distance of from twenty to thirty miles, besides enjoying a liberal patronage from employes of the factories and mills, of whom a large number are skilled and high-priced workmen who live well and spend money freely. The army of operators, mechanics and laborers in the oil fields, just across the Wabash, who are also "good spenders," help very materially in swelling the daily receipts of the retail merchant. There is scarcely a street in the city that has not one or more retail stores; and all of them are apparently doing a good business.

The wage scale of all manufacturing establishments is high, and the mills and factories run on full time. This state of affairs is not only a boon to the laborer, but it is a condition which the merchant thoroughly appreciates. The laboring classes are among the desirable citizens of the community, and are always in sympathy with any movement put on foot to build up and advance the city's progress. They have in many instances provided themselves with comfortable homes of modern pattern, live well themselves, and endeavor to set an example for others to do likewise. Cap-



UNION DEPOT HOTEL.

ital and labor are in perfect harmony here, and such things as strikes and lock-outs are unheard of. Verily, the lot of the laboring man in Vincennes is a happy and contented one.

The field for operation afforded the wholesaler and retailer by the territory within a radius of thirty miles of the old town is large enough and of sufficient productiveness to make those now occupying it feel like welcoming with open arms any competitor who desires to enter it, providing he resorts to no methods that will detract from the present high character the trade enjoys.

MILLS, FACTORIES AND DISTILLERIES.

Not least among the important manufactories of the city are the grist and flour mills of J. & S. Emison (two), Christian Hoffman and Charles Thurgood. The combined daily capacity of four of the larger mills last year was about 1,600 barrels of flour and 1,400 barrels of corn products. The Broadway Mills, operated by Mr. Hoffman, were destroyed by fire on the night of August 5, 1910, entailing a loss of \$125,000. On the site which now contains only the ruins of the immense structure Joseph Pollock in 1862 erected the original Broadway mills. The establishment gained considerable notoriety in 1876 for having received at the Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, the first prize for best grade of flour. The product was displayed in cedar barrels, having glass heads, bound with brass hoops. The barrels were made by Joseph Pickering and packed by James Hensley, under direction of John Hatcher, head miller. The total quantity of grain bought in the Vincennes market every year represents about one million six hundred thousand bushels of wheat and one million nine hundred and fifty thousand bushels of corn. Much of the grain is hauled across the river from Lawrence county, Illinois. Great quantities of the flour manufactured at the Atlas Mills, by J. & S. Emison, is shipped direct from the plant to Glasgow, Scotland.

The distilleries—of which there are two—are large consumers of corn, the capacity of each being about 400 bushels daily. They are both very extensive plants, operated at an enormous cost. Seven large elevators, two of which are operated by the Emisons, make it possible for Vincennes, should conditions arise, to house the greater portion of the entire grain crop of both Knox and Lawrence counties.

There are ninety-five factories doing a retail business in Vincennes, while there are thirty-three which do both a retail and wholesale trade in and out of the city. One of the most conspicuous of these is the National Rolling Mill, which has been in operation about six years, during which period it has enjoyed uninterrupted success, neither financial flurries, strikes, depressions of business in other lines, or any other annoyances having interfered with its even tenor. The plant manufactures steel and iron bars of superior grade, as well as select by-products, and finds ready mar-

ket for its output. Work is given on an average to 260 men, and the force has found constant employment night and day ever since the mills opened for business. The annual wage account amounts to \$165,000 to \$200,000, and the tonnage in and out of the big factory is something enormous. The importance of this industry to the old town is incalculable. Its officers are Isaac Lyons, president; Herman Brokhage, vice president; J. H. Jones, secretary; S. N. Bradshaw, general manager; H. J. Boeckman, treasurer.

The Vincennes Galvanized Iron Works, of which Peter R. McCarthy & Son are proprietors, was established in 1875, since which time it has extended its trade over a wide range of territory. It gives employment to a dozen or more skilled workmen, pays in wages \$9,000 to \$10,000 a year, and does an annual business of \$50,000 or \$60,000.

The Vincennes Bridge Works, which make a specialty of steel and iron highway bridges, were established in 1899, since which time the plant has been enlarged to four times its original size. The products of the establishment are to be seen in nearly every state of the union. In recent years the concern has built more than two thousand miles of bridges in Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma and Indian Territory. Employment is given to a large force of skilled mechanics whose weekly wages amount to thousands of dollars. The company has a working capital of \$50,000, and is composed of the following gentlemen: John T. Oliphant, president; J. L. Riddle, vice president; Frank L. Oliphant, treasurer and general manager; B. F. Nesbit, secretary.

The Central Foundry, which manufactures iron soil pipe and fittings, plumbers' supplies, etc., occupies ten acres of ground, and is said to be the largest manufactory of its kind in the world. The payroll of the plant which employs more than 300 men, amounts to about \$250,000 a year; and its daily output is over fifty tons.

The* first general brewery in Vincennes was erected by the late John Ebner in the early fifties, and a portion of the building still forms a small part of the immense brewing establishment of Hack & Simon—Eagle Brewery. Today the plant covers two city blocks and represents an investment of more than \$300,000, gives employment to nearly a hundred men whose wages aggregate about \$75,000. The present output of the brewery is in excess of 25,000 barrels, in the production of which more than 30,000 bushels of barley and 15,000 pounds of hops are used. It is said that the revenue brought to the city from outside sources by the firm exceeds \$200,000 annually.

The Blackford Window Glass Factory is a model plant in every detail, and was built in 1903 at a cost of \$115,000. The factory employs about 175 skilled workmen—mostly Belgians—and operates day and night, about

*Prior and subsequent to that date John Kuhn brewed lager and manufactured yeast on the present site of St. John's Hotel, and Jacob Kautz was also a brewer on a small scale in an establishment located on the lot where the B. & O. S. W. freight depot now stands.

nine months in the year. The higher grades of its products (No. 1 window glass) are shipped to St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago, Cleveland, Saginaw, Indianapolis, Davenport, and to many points in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and in fact, to customers located in a large number of cities and towns throughout the central and southern states, at an average of two carloads a day. Besides the Blackford, there are two other glass manufacturing—Vincennes and Flint Glass Bottle—and when the three are in full operation their employes are paid on an average of \$27,000 per month.

The John Ebner Artificial Ice Factory and Citizens' Ice Plant, operated by the same company, and having a combined capacity of 120 tons daily, ship more carloads of ice than any other factory in the state. The first named plant was erected in 1880, since which time its manufacturing and storage capacity have been quadrupled twice. The Citizens plant was built in 1906. The Ebner plant's storage capacity for ice is ten thousand tons, and the cold storage capacity for apples is fifty thousand barrels. The purchase of apples by the Ebner company has done much to stimulate the growing of the fruit in this section as well as to provide for it a ready market and good prices at all seasons. The plant is located on a piece of ground comprising about twenty-five acres, and is one of the city's notable industries.

The Vincennes Paper Company was established in 1886 by Jacob S. Shepard and Mrs. S. T. Cattrell, of Urbana, Ohio. Mr. Shepard died in 1893. After a successful and uninterrupted operation of eight years, the plant was destroyed by fire in 1895. The year following it was rebuilt on an enlarged scale and equipped with the most modern and efficient machinery. Mr. A. M. Shepard, the present head of the establishment, became president of the company and it was incorporated in 1901, the year of the organization of the Vincennes Egg Case Company, which has a plant adjoining. The latter establishment uses board made by the Vincennes Paper Co., and has a capacity of about 3,500 fillers daily. The plant of the paper company consumes great quantities of straw from the farms of Knox and adjoining counties and waste paper from the city, converting these into a first-class quality of strawboard. The capacity of the factory is about thirty tons daily. The product is sold in all parts of the country, reaching westward to California and to all parts of the east and south and northward into Canada. The plant has been greatly damaged by fires on three different occasions, and was almost completely destroyed by a boiler explosion on July 30, 1906, in which Harry Borders, engineer, and Lafe Leighty, fireman, lost their lives. While the company is only capitalized at \$60,000, the plant and business is worth treble that amount.

The Vincennes Lumber & Planing Mills, forming a combination of completeness and convenience, established in 1890, carry every conceivable requirement for the builder's use. Their yards are located on St. Clair street, on the B. & O. S. W. tracks, east of the Union station. Upon the lumber yard tract, which consists of a space three hundred feet square, are

storage sheds 350 feet long. These are accessible from a private railroad switch by tramways operated in loading and unloading cars of lumber and building material. The facilities of the mill are such as to give contractors and other patrons the opportunity to obtain the most intricate and artistic specialties to be found anywhere in the woodwork line and materials of all sorts for interior and exterior buildings. In the lumber yards are handled annually about 300 carloads of material brought from a long distance, besides many hundred thousand feet of lumber cut from timber within a radius of fifty miles from Vincennes. M. A. Bosworth, H. I. McIlvaine, the Marion Hardwood Lumber Company, Klemeyer Lumber Company and William H. Leathers, all of which, except the last named, occupy more territory and operate on a larger scale than the Vincennes Lumber & Planing Mills, are also expert cabinet makers, and manufacture everything in the line of store, office, bank and bar fixtures, such as showcases, counter, shelving, etc., and also special window frames and doors, store fronts and interior equipments for churches, school houses and homes.

The Indiana Handle Factory, despite the fact that within the past five years it has been twice destroyed by fire, bids fair to become one of the largest and most important industries of the city. The plant was established here in May, 1901, after the manager, Thomas R. Welsh, had investigated quite a number of locations in Indiana and the west and south. The company has been an extensive buyer of ash timber, and manufactures all kinds of handles for implements, using the finest of machinery, the operation of which is very interesting. From fifty to seventy-five men are employed at the factory, from which carloads of its product are shipped daily to all parts of the United States. In addition to these shipments, every few days goods are sent in carload lots to England, Germany, Argentine, France, Central America and other countries.

The Vincennes Furniture Manufacturing Company, as the name suggests, manufactures furniture of different grades. Tables of all kinds from many varieties of wood are made, but a specialty of oak is used. Kitchen cabinets of different styles are also manufactured, as are cupboards and odd dressers. The company is now engaged in making bookcases that are considered as fine as any on the market, and for which there is a great demand. Large quantities of the product of the plant are sold at home while considerable is shipped to distant points. Within a short time a more handsome grade of furniture will be manufactured, and the facilities of the plant, already extensive, will be increased. The company was incorporated in 1902, and its present officers are: E. A. Ritterskamp, president; August Meise, vice president; August Schulties, secretary and treasurer; Andrew Entle, general manager.

The Nash-May Manufacturing Co., which established its extensive plant here in 1902, is equipped for all kinds of turning and wood manufacturing. Sash and doors are the principal output of the establishment, which makes shipments to all parts of the country. The plant is also prepared for the

manufacture of bank and office furniture, but because of the large demand for work in pine and cypress, and for sash and door patterns, the industry is not at present pushing the manufacture of furniture. Some excellent designs made by the firm are on display at the works and are attracting much attention from the trade. The majority of the large number of employes are skilled workmen, necessitating a heavy payroll. The capital stock of the company is \$45,000, and its officers are: Benjamin Niehaus, president; August Schulties, vice president; C. B. Duckwall, secretary and treasurer; R. G. May, superintendent.

The Empire Paper Company operates one of the costliest and most complete strawboard plants in the country. The company was incorporated under the laws of Delaware with a capital stock of \$125,000, and in 1904 completed the present plant at a cost approximating \$200,000. The smokestack is an attractive feature of the establishment. It is built of fire brick, stands 125 feet high, and cost \$4,000. The machinery is of the latest pattern, and includes eight 1,200-pound beating and one refining engine, and a 96-inch strawboard machine. The capacity of the plant is 45,000 pounds of strawboard per day, besides several tons of wrapping and finer grades of white paper.

The Vincennes Produce Company, which makes a specialty of fattening chickens on buttermilk, is one of the city's new industries. It receives and ships carloads of poultry every day, and has earned a high reputation in the markets of the east for the palatableness of its products. The poultry business, in both city and county, is conducted on a very large scale. The first man to introduce chicken hatching by artificial means was a Dr. Huffman, who operated a plant here more than fifty years ago. Twenty years ago Vincennes was the greatest poultry market in the country, except New York.

The Hartman Manufacturing Company was originally organized in 1899, and was incorporated in 1891 with J. H. Rabb (deceased) president, and Fred. Harsch, secretary and treasurer. The present officers of the company are Edward Watson, president; Louis A. Meyer, secretary and treasurer; and Wm. H. Willmore, general manager. The concern is an extensive establishment and enjoys the peculiar distinction of being the only factory in the country whose time is given absolutely and exclusively to the manufacture of cultivators and rolling coulters. Its output consists of all styles of riding and walking two-horse cultivators for cultivating corn, cotton, tobacco, potatoes and beans. There are a number of larger factories in the country making cultivators, which also make various other kinds of implements, hence the claim of the Hartman Manufacturing Company that they are specialists in this line, and can make a better grade of cultivators than any other concern is well based. The present plant was built in 1899, since which time has more than doubled, necessitating the addition of many new buildings. During the last few years the company has exported goods to South America and South Africa amounting annually to

\$25,000. The annual output of the plant aggregates in money more than \$100,000.

There are a score of other industries operating on larger or smaller scales than the ones briefly noted, including foundries, machine shops, wagon and carriage factories, etc., which it will not be necessary to comment on, inasmuch as the above will serve to convey to the reader's mind a fair idea of Vincennes as a manufacturing center.

CORPORATIONS AND PUBLIC UTILITIES.

The Vincennes Draw Bridge Company was incorporated October 13, 1869, with a capital stock of \$40,000 in shares of \$50 each. Later the amount of stock was increased to \$75,000. In 1875 the city took \$20,000 of this stock, and two years later increased its holdings by subscribing an additional \$25,000. In 1899 the city purchased all the stock, paying shareholders for the same sixty cents on the dollar, and made a free bridge, which is the avenue through which the great bulk of the produce of Lawrence county is brought across the Wabash to the Vincennes market. In 1843 the Wabash Navigation Company was organized for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Wabash so as to admit large steamers from New Orleans. The company built at Mt. Carmel a lock and dam of wood, which rotted within a few years and became a hindrance instead of aid to navigation. The stockholders, realizing they had made a bad investment, fortunately sold their shares to the United States, and the federal government replaced the old wooden structure with durable and expensive works of stone, costing a million dollars. In 1836, according to a statement by Mr. Cauthorn, "as many as 800 steamboats passed by Vincennes by actual count." Steamboats from New Orleans, St. Louis, Louisville, Cincinnati and Pittsburg were daily visitors to this port during the boating season and went as far up the Wabash as Lafayette. From 1840 to 1845 more than 200 boats carried on a regular traffic between Vincennes and various ports on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Between 1850 and 1860 steamboating on the Wabash was a profitable and remunerative business. In August, 1852, rails for the Vincennes division of the C. & V. Railroad were brought up the Wabash from New Orleans on five large boats. This was the same year that Spalding & Rogers arrived with their circus, giving performances on a very large boat called the "Floating Palace." In 1857-8 the aggregation came to Vincennes overland and went into winter quarters at Spaldingville. Hank Dearth, who several years later took up his residence here was driver of the band wagon, and drove forty horses. When William Lake's circus showed here July 4, 1863, Dearth was asked by the management to drive the band wagon, but declined the offer until assured that he would be furnished forty horses. Mike Sexton was leader of the band.

While steamboats navigate the Wabash at all stages of water, above and below the city, and bring to Vincennes the bountiful crops of the farms

along its banks, the stream has ceased to be the great artery of trade and commerce it was before the coming of the railroads. The advantages possessed by Vincennes as a railroad center are not generally known to those without her borders, and the magnitude of the situation is not fully realized by all who dwell within her confines. Five railroads form a junction at this point from direct routes north, south, east and west. By direct lines of travel the steel highways centering here lead to the Atlantic seaboard cities. Three of the roads having a terminal point here make direct connection with the great west and southwest. Two roads are direct avenues to the north, and two form a part of the great southern trunk lines. In short, all roads leading in and out of the city are either trunk lines or direct feeders thereof. The old Evansville & Terre Haute Railway (now a part of the Frisco system) extending from the south to the north, traversing Knox County for a distance of thirty-three miles, connecting at Evansville with southwestern lines and at Terre Haute with diverging lines east and west, as well as to the north and northwest, is a route of considerable importance to Vincennes. The Indianapolis & Vincennes Railway, a part of the great Pennsylvania system of railroads, traverses the county for a distance of twenty-five miles, running from Vincennes in a northeasterly direction, forming direct connection with all important through routes to the east and west here and at Indianapolis. The Baltimore & Ohio Southwestern Railroad, which made Vincennes a town of importance more than fifty years ago, is one of the greatest trunk lines in the country. It extends from the Ohio to the Mississippi river, and has numerous arteries running to the north and south. It traverses Knox County easterly and westerly for a distance of about sixteen miles, and at its terminal points makes connections with all important roads to markets of the east, west, north and south. The Cairo & Vincennes Railroad and the Danville & Southwestern Railway (both now a part of the New York Central) penetrate several eastern and western states, touching all of the principal cities of these sections and giving direct connections to the east and north. All of these rival lines of railways are lively competitors for business at this end of their respective lines and as a consequence the patrons here get the benefit of cheap and quick transportation not enjoyed by less favored sister cities. Freight rates to and from Vincennes for cheapness will compare more than favorably with those accorded Indianapolis, Evansville and Terre Haute, and are lesser than those obtained by many cities in the northern and southern sections of the state. The advantages of through cars for freight and passenger traffic between important cities, such as are maintained at Vincennes, make transportation easier and less expensive by obviating vexatious delays and transfers. The amount of money paid out monthly to the employes of these various railroads, aggregating thousands of dollars, readily finds its way into the hand of the manufacturer and merchant and eventually becomes a part of the working capital of the business community. Some conception of the importance of Vincennes as a commercial center

may be had by a reference to the business of the railroads done last year, which was not up to the standard of previous years. In twelve months the number of loaded cars sent out over the several lines aggregated about 25,078, carrying 1,592,000 tons. The number of cars received, loaded, was nearly 30,000, with a capacity greater than 2,742,000 tons.

For many years transportation facilities for passengers within the city were afforded through omnibuses, hacks and herdies, in which lines William Green, Frederick Graeter and Mass & Watson, respectively, were interested. The charter for the first street railway was granted October 24, 1881, to Charles Graeter, Frederick Graeter, their associates, successors and assigns, to organize themselves into a body corporate and politic under the laws of Indiana, under the name and style of the Vincennes Citizens' Street Railway Company. Fifteen thousand dollars was the capital stock of the company, which was officered by Frederick Graeter, president, and George W. Graeter, secretary and superintendent. The cars were drawn by mules, and the ordinance under which the right of way was granted restricted the fare to five cents each way and required that cars be run every twenty minutes between the hours of 6 a. m. and 10 p. m. In March, 1891, the Messrs. Graeter assigned their franchise to Allen Tindolph, of Vincennes, and Messrs. Jacob Griner and Benjamin F. Hudnut, of Terre Haute, when the trolley system for running cars was introduced. A few years later Hudnut bought Tindolph and Griner's interest in the plant and successfully operated the same until 1908, when he disposed of the property to S. A. Culbertson and S. S. Bush, of Louisville, Kentucky, who changed the name of the line to the Vincennes Traction Company. The system has over fifty miles of tracks, and preparations are now making to extend the lines to the south side, Vincennes' latest addition. The cars are run over a well-ballasted roadway, and from the plant that supplies electricity to propel them light, heat and power for private usage and commercial purposes is also furnished. The open arc lamps provided consumers by the company are of dazzling brilliancy, of which the headlights carried on the cars are a fair sample. The company is doing a heavy passenger traffic and rendering nice service, by running on schedule time, making connections with all trains, and carrying passengers to and from the parks and places of amusement in good season. A pleasant trip is provided in a ride from Lakewood Park to Columbia Park, a distance of about six miles.

The traction line facilities of Vincennes, for which the people of the township on May 19, 1911, voted subsidies amounting to \$160,000, will in the near future equal the steam roads for local traffic. Preparations are now making for the building of three different roads into Vincennes, viz.: The Vincennes and Interstate, with its terminal at Bridgeport, the center of the Illinois oil fields; the Vincennes, Washington and Eastern, with Loogootee as one of the terminal points, and the Vincennes North and South traction line of which Vincennes will be the central and Evansville and Terre Haute terminal stations.

The first gas light company was incorporated September, 1859, by Charles P. McGrady, W. H. H. Terrell and others, under the name of Vincennes Gas Light Company; charter to run for twenty years. In the early seventies, Joseph A. Daugherty, who imported the English sparrows to Vincennes, became owner of the plant, and as such in 1874 had a disagreement with the city council regarding the lighting of streets. The controversy ultimately led up to a point where Mr. Daugherty turned off the gas, leaving the city in darkness for more than a year. A few public-spirited citizens, seeing the necessity of relieving the town of its dark dilemma as well as an opportunity to make money, built a new gas plant, and on January 20, 1876, incorporated the Citizens Gas Light Company. The stockholders were L. L. Watson, M. D. La Croix, Joseph Pollock, Laz Noble, W. H. De Wolf, H. A. Foulks and George G. Reily. Dr. J. H. Rabb was president and George G. Ramsdell, secretary and treasurer. Until 1907, when Charles Schaffer, of Pittsburg, Pa., secured a franchise to furnish natural gas to private consumers at 20 cents per 1000 cubic feet and manufactures at 10 cents per 1000, the Citizens Gas Light Co. had a monopoly, and sold artificial gas at prices ranging from \$3.50 to 95 cents per 1000 feet. In 1910 the Citizens' Gas Light Co., which has changed its name to the Vincennes Light & Power Co., made arrangements with Mr. Schaffer to supply their customers, as well as his, with natural gas, since which time the use of artificial gas has been discontinued. Natural gas is preferable to artificial in both the home and factory, and its cheapness, as well as the advantageous qualities it possesses for culinary uses, illuminating purposes, as fuel, and for supplying motive power, make its daily consumption enormous. Its odor is scarcely discernible, and the brilliancy and steadiness of the flame produced by its ignition render it a most desirable illuminant.

The City Electric Lighting Company, which was organized in 1898, has just entered upon the fulfillment of its second contract for lighting the streets. The franchise provides for the furnishing of electric arc lamps, one hundred and seventy-one of which are of the 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ -ampere pattern, enclosed with alternating current, while ninety-seven are metallic-flame, 4-ampere lamps, having a direct current. All of the lamps are of 2,000 candle power and are lighted all night and every night, from sunset until sunrise, at an annual cost of \$14,370.16, which is \$53.62 per annum for each lamp. The city is as well lighted as any other in Indiana, and at less cost. The parks, engine houses, hospitals and bridges are illuminated with incandescent lamps, free of cost, by the same company, as is also the city hall. The plant of this company is an admirably equipped concern, and is supplying electrical energy for motors equal to 800 horsepower, besides furnishing current for lighting 25,000 incandescent lamps for private consumers. The scheduled rates for commercial lighting are very low and the service given is excellent.

The Vincennes Coal Mining Company, whose holdings have long since passed from the hands of the original owners, was incorporated December

17. 1872. The company operated mines at Edwardsport, of which property Christian Hoffman subsequently became the sole owner, sinking a fortune in the enterprise. Of the original incorporators only one—H. A. Foulks—is now living. The others were John R. Mantle, Alfred Patton, John H. Shepard and George Harris. The capital stock of the concern when first organized, was \$100,000.

The Vincennes Calorific Brick & Tile Company was incorporated by Franklin C. Clark, John R. Mantle and Samuel P. Ruble and Thomas Dayson in 1881. The plant, since its establishment, has several times changed hands, and is operated today by Brandon Clark, son of F. C. Clark. It has been greatly enlarged in recent years, and has a capacity today of 50,000 brick and a vast quantity of tile. The Prullage Brick Yard is a concern of almost equal capacity and the two manufacture annually about 10,000,000 of brick.

The Spring Lake Ice Company, incorporated in 1882, N. F. Dalton, president, was capitalized at \$30,000, and for ten years did a prosperous business. The Vincennes Traction Company acquired the ground formerly in possession of the Spring Lake Company, and have converted the same into a beautiful park, the lake from which the "frozen liquid" was carved being not the least among its many charming features.

The Steam Mill Company, the buildings of which were on the river front, occupying a portion of the ground now belonging to Harrison Park, and remaining in a good state of preservation as late as 1850, was at one time the most important industry in Vincennes. The enterprise, conceived by Nathaniel Ewing, John D. Hay, Benjamin Parke and others, was launched August 6, 1817. A quantity of land twenty arpents front and twenty arpents deep was purchased by the firm in Upper Prairie survey on which to erect the plant. The main structure was of brick, two stories high and 700 feet long. The concern was a saw and grist mill, and from the second story extended a log carriage-way to the river upon which logs floated down the river were carried by steam power into the mill. Persons traveling over the Terre Haute State Road passed beneath this log-way. Not far above the mill, on the same road, was a tall brick malt house, and still further up was a large distillery, at one time operated by W. F. Pidgion. The steam mill was equipped with four saws, driven by 200 horsepower engines, and had a capacity of 250 barrels of flour per day. The company issued bills of credit similar to bank notes, some of which are occasionally brought to light, bearing the signatures of N. Ewing, J. D. Hay, W. Felton, C. Small and Benjamin Parke. The enterprise proved a disastrous financial failure to many of the stockholders.

The Vincennes Tractor Company, one of the city's most recent industries, was incorporated May 10, 1911, and is capitalized at \$50,000. The officers of the company, who are virtually its promotors, are J. Napier Dyer, president; Frank L. Oliphant, vice president; Benjamin F. Nesbitt, treasurer; James Bradley, secretary. The other stockholders are Edward Wat-

son, Eugene Hack, Charles Bierhaus, Anton Simon, Herman Brokhage, Ray A. Graham, Jos. L. Ebner, H. B. Davis, R. M. Robinson, J. L. Riddle, J. T. Barrett, C. C. Winkler, Wm. McC. Alsop. The company manufacture gas engines, to do the work of ordinary traction engines, only the machines have greater horsepower and are geared for higher speed than the latter. In addition to hauling ten to twelve heavily-laden wagons over the road, the tractor engine is constructed to furnish motor power for threshing machines, corn shredders, etc. It is especially built for field work in drawing heavy plows, which are among the company's manufactured products. The tractor plant is one of the costliest manufacturing establishments in the city, costing \$175,000. It produces its own electric light and is provided with a great system of water works by means of which it is possible to flood its buildings in case of fire in a very short space of time.

The Vincennes Milk Condensing Company, of which John A. Risch is president and treasurer, and Wm. A. Beach, manager, was organized in 1908. Its stockholders are all men prominent in the business life of Vincennes. Its plant is as perfect as money and experience can make it, and the milk and cream sold by the company is as pure, sweet and harmless, after passing through the various processes of centrifugalization for the removal of dirt particles, and pasteurization for the extermination of germ life, as the snowflake on the mountain peak—undefiled, uncontaminated. This purity, this excellence and this positive guarantee against disease and death insure a pure food article. Every part of the plant, to which the management invites inspection, will bear the closest scrutiny. It is so perfect in conception, construction and effectiveness, that the company invites the public to investigate its claims for superiority. And what is true of its cream and milk is also true of its ice cream and butter.

The post office and federal building, erected in 1903-4, is one of the notable institutions of the city which has to do, more or less, with the business and industrial life of Vincennes. It is a substantial-looking stone structure of symmetrical proportions, located at the corner of Busserson and Fifth streets. The post office department, which utilizes the greater portion of the building, is open day and night for the accommodation of the public, and has a patronage numbering 35,000 people, of which a large number are residents of the rural districts of Illinois, just across the Wabash. It is built of Bedford stone, and required nearly two years in construction. The collector of internal revenue for the seventh district has headquarters in the building, and his annual collections amount to nearly \$5,000,000, the bulk of which is paid by the Murphy Distilling Company, the Old Vincennes Distillery Company and the Eagle Brewery. The first postmaster of Vincennes was General W. Johnson, a distinguished citizen and able man, of whom mention has hitherto been made, and whose commission was dated April 1, 1800. His successors, in the order named, have been as follows: Henry Hurst, April 1, 1802; Wm. B. Copeland, July 1, 1802; Wm. Prince, January 1, 1803; General W. Johnson, July 1, 1803;

Wm. Prince, March 31, 1812; John D. Hay, July 1, 1813; Geo. R. C. Sullivan, March 8, 1817; Samuel Hill, April 5, 1827; John Scott, September 7, 1829; James W. Greenhow, September 27, 1843; Elihu Stout, August 16, 1845; Lewis L. Watson, May 12, 1849; James Dick, March 26, 1853; John Moore, April 6, 1857; Hubbard M. Smith, March 28, 1861; Wm. N. Denny, April 8, 1869; Wm. D. Lewis, January, 30, 1882; James E. Kackley, May 26, 1885; Allen Tindolph, June 25, 1889; Royal E. Purcell, April 8, 1893; Thomas H. Adams, May 13, 1897; and John W. Emison, January 6, 1906, who is the present incumbent and who was reappointed January 20, 1910. For many years the Vincennes office was the receiving and distributing depot for the whole Northwest Territory, receiving mail matter for adjacent offices when mailing packages were made up for the important cities of the east. As the north and west became settled it remained a distributing office within circumscribed boundaries of these sections and continued as such until after 1864, when the postmaster's salary was regulated by the amount of matter handled by him, he being allowed a per cent for receiving and remailing the postal material. About this time, says H. M. Smith, the law was changed and the office became a salaried one, the amount being regulated and based upon the local business, and that law still obtains. *During the time that Hubbard M. Smith held the position of postmaster, the money order business was established, and the postmaster was allowed a small per cent upon the number of orders issued, this being the only perquisite additional to his salary. When the office was a per cent one, says Smith, unless the sum exceeded \$5,000 per annum, the postmaster received only the per cent, let it be little or much, without any allowance for clerk hire; if the business exceeded \$5,000, then he received a \$5,000 salary and clerk hire. According to our informant, this law was unjust and inequitable, inasmuch as the postmaster was sometimes required to pay out almost as much for assistance as his personal salary amounted to. During the Civil war, when the mails became heavy, \$300 was allowed for a clerk. The business demanded two assistants, and the postmaster was expected to make up the deficiencies for clerk hire from his own pocket. During the first years of the Civil war the postmaster paid out nearly all he received as salary from the government for the clerical force of the office, and but a mere pittance remained for his own services. But about 1867, the postmaster, in making his quarterly report, increased his expense account \$90, and the department was kind and considerate enough to allow same in his annual settlement. "As a matter of history," says Dr. Smith, "the writer should add a word about 'shin plasters,' as our postal currency was denominated during the Civil war. Some of the old inhabitants will remember that after the war had well commenced, all gold disappeared from circulation, and soon followed the disappearance of silver coin. The people were put to such straits for small change that a few men issued personal

*H. M. Smith, *Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes*, page 87.



CITY HALL AND PUBLIC LIBRARY

checks, from five cents up to fifty, one Watson, at Terre Haute, and one James, at Rockport, I think, supplying the demand. The government at last came to the rescue and issued postal currency of the denomination of five, ten, twenty-five and fifty cents. A batch of \$6,000 was sent to the postmaster here and he was held responsible for the same, in good money, whether it was burned or stolen. It was to be given out to business men for greenbacks as change. It did not prove a bonanza to the postmaster. But the tale is too long to tell, and I will only cite the reader to what was one of the 'tales of woe' incident thereto. In those days the older citizens will remember that the only money in circulation was greenbacks and postal currency, individual promissory notes, and counterfeit bills were not unfrequent; and all mutilated bills, whether treasury notes or postal bills, were required to be accepted for postage stamps by the postmaster, he being ordered so to do, and to transmit the same by mail to the treasurer of the United States, who was to return a draft in exchange for same to the postmaster. Postmaster Smith, by order, was compelled to comply with this unjust ruling as will be shown. He was fortunate in getting equivalents back after transmissions generally, but he was 'left with the pouch to hold' on one batch sent off to the amount of \$43. Although sent from his office in a through brass lock pouch for Indianapolis, the mail train was burned on which this pouch was being carried, and because no speck of the bills was found by the special mail agent, W. N. Tyner, refusal was made of payment to the postmaster. It was proved by witnesses that the money was mailed, and that it was wholly burned, but because no vestige of the bills was found Uncle Sam, who 'is rich enough to give us all a farm,' through his overscrupulous Secretary of the Treasury Spinner, denied justice to the postmaster. After many years, when principal and interest amounted to nearly \$100, the congressman from the Vincennes district succeeded in getting a bill for reimbursement before the House to the point of having it printed, and there it stuck. Correspondents all over the country took up the case, and all said a long deferred just bill was about to be paid by the government, in which opinion they lamentably erred. 'Corporations have no souls,' it is said, and the only consolation that the then postmaster now has left to him in his declining years, is the knowledge of his having stock in the father of all corporations—the United States Government—and he can advisedly say 'this is my government, if he is but a small junior partner.' His first experience in postage tax, says Dr. Smith, where the amount was paid in money (it being prior to the time of stamps), and according to the distance the letter was carried, when under 600 miles, and near that, was twenty-five cents per half ounce. Not having sent letters a distance exceeding 600 miles, the highest cost to him was that sum from Kentucky to Missouri. The drop in postage, from twenty-five cents for 600 miles, to two cents from San Francisco to Europe, a distance of at least 6,000 miles, is very perceptible, to say the least."

The Vincennes Board of Trade, with which body the Merchants' and

Manufacturers' Association and the North End Commercial Club acts in conjunction, was organized in 1883, when N. F. Dalton was elected president, Edward Watson, vice president, George M. Oxford, secretary, L. A. Wise, assistant secretary, and Jos. L. Bayard, treasurer. The first board of directors of the organization were John H. Rabb, Gustave Weinstein, Peter R. McCarthy, E. M. Thompson and Ed. H. Smith. In 1885 Edward Watson became president of the board, and filled that office for twenty-five years, during which time, through his personal and individual efforts, the institution did remarkably good work for the city by inducing manufactories to locate here and in otherwise bringing about results having a tendency to promote the growth and prosperity of the city. Owing to the pressure of business engagements Mr. Watson resigned as the executive head of the organization in January, 1910, William H. Vollmer becoming his successor. Mr. Vollmer, who resigned his position in January, 1911, to take up the duties of Treasurer of the State of Indiana a month later, proved himself to be a valuable man as president of the board. An illustration of this fact was had less than six months after he accepted the office at a meeting called by him and held in the Grand Opera House, when \$90,000 for a factory fund was raised in ninety minutes. Three days later the amount was increased to \$100,000. These are startling figures, indicating the enterprising, liberal and progressive spirit of the people of New Vincennes. As colossal as they seem, they are not more astounding than \$130,000—the gross amount raised within six days for the erection of a Young Men's Christian Association building, after Major Wm. Penn Gould contributed \$50,000 towards the enterprise.

Vincennes is not doing small things these days. Besides voting \$160,000 for interurban subsidies and assenting to the county commissioner appropriating \$50,000 for a soldiers' monument she has under consideration the building of a complete system of sewerage to cost a half million dollars and the construction of paved streets calling for the expenditure of many thousands.

And these are some of the reasons tending to show that there is no place in the West which offers better advantages in all departments of active life than the Old Post. To-day Vincennes is one of the most progressive and energetic towns in the state; and there is no reason why she should not be. With a population of 20,000 souls, comprising the most intelligent and thrifty people to be found in any community, business men's clubs having the moral and material support of the better element of citizens, bent on harmonizing, multiplying and developing her commercial, manufacturing and industrial interests, she is bound to forge to the front. In the midst of one of the finest agricultural sections in the world, with other natural advantages that few localities possess, educational opportunities unsurpassed, religious and social conditions equaled by but few cities of her size, a climate of salubrity that imparts a perpetual and healthful glow to the cheek, with raw materials of all kinds easily accessible, with

transportation facilities as good, if not better, than any other city in the country, and low freight rates which correspond with the schedules made for larger shipping points, she holds out superior inducements as a place in which to live and pursue business avocations, or to settle down to a life of elegant ease. She has attained proportions that permit her citizens to build homes on the gentle bluffs forming the banks of the Wabash, or upon the graceful hills further to the north, east and south, which localities provide most beautiful sites for private residences and are gradually being selected for that purpose. It is doubtful, indeed, if a more finely-proportioned division of river bluff, bottom and gently-rising uplands exist anywhere for the location of a bristling city.

If Vincennes had no other features of attractiveness aside from the rich and inexhaustible coal fields by which she is surrounded, she would still be more inviting to manufacturers than many towns which are clamoring for them by attempting to portray advantages they do not possess and offering inducements they can not deliver. The extensiveness of the coal fields have enabled the railroads to give manufacturers a thirty cent rate on that product to this point. It has made freight rates from Vincennes to New York practically the same as they are from Chicago to New York.

But coal is not the only desideratum to manufacturing establishments Vincennes has to offer. Natural gas as fuel has supplanted coal to a very great extent, and manufacturers who formerly used coal in unlimited quantities have learned that gas is cheaper and more desirable in other respects. Oil, which is obtained just across the river in such enormous quantities that an attempt to estimate its volume would be simply futile, could be substituted as fuel for both coal and gas in the event that either became exhausted; of which there is no likelihood, at least in the near future.

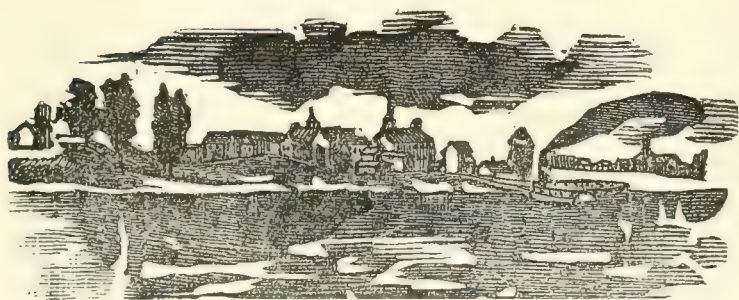
Oil is as essential to the manufacturing world as a tail is to a kite. And reference to the oil fields, of which Vincennes is only on the outer edge and, in all probability above the surface of the same pool that underlies Bridgeport, is apropos at this juncture. To those who have never given more than ordinary thought to oil production, and the immense fortunes that have been made and lost in handling the product, the figures will appear amazing, if not preposterous. Comparatively few people who have now been living in the Bridgeport oil fields (from which Vincennes derives incalculable benefits) for about five years realize the enormity of the industry, which has increased the land values of every acre of ground in Lawrence county more than one hundred per cent. The Bridgeport oil fields, within a few miles of Vincennes, are the most wonderful in the world, not only on account of their great productiveness, and because every well in the field possesses ten different formations of producing sand—(virtues not found elsewhere)—but because the volume of production is almost uniform from day to day and the staying qualities of each well is ever present. The first well in the Bridgeport field is just five years old, having been brought in by Gibson, Veach & Miller in May, 1906, on the farm of

Casper Lewis—an 80-acre tract, now having twelve or fourteen wells which have netted the owner over \$200,000 in royalties. The O'Donnell farm, on which the first well was sunk about four and a half years ago, has netted the owner in royalties \$300,000. As yet this land—which comprises 160 acres—has not been fully developed, having only twenty wells producing from 1200 to 1500 barrels per day. The Thorne farm, not at all desirable for agricultural purposes, yields its \$400 per day in oil royalties. "Doc" Rogers, who was a teamster in poor circumstances before the boom struck his neighborhood, is receiving \$4,000 a month off of thirty acres. Oscar Smith, from a sixty-acre lease, is collecting \$200 a day. Miss Jennie Seed, with only twenty acres, is making \$125 a day, and Isaac Boyd, Lute Miller, O. Baltzel, Joseph Griggs, F. P. Eshleman, and hundreds of others are receiving royalties from small and unproductive farms averaging from \$120 to \$450 per day.

The aggregate amount of money invested in pipe lines in Lawrence county will run up into millions of dollars. The Indian and Central refining companies have \$5,000,000 invested in their plants. The Ohio Oil Company's station, equipped with the largest pump in the world, having a capacity of 45,000 barrels per day, pumps oil direct to the Atlantic coast. Three contractors employed to drill wells in the Bridgeport fields use a hundred sets of tools valued at \$350,000, and they pay experts for manipulating them over \$2,000 per day. There are nineteen miles in the chain of wells on sectional farms in Lawrence county without a single break, many of the wells producing 1000 and some of them from 1200 to 1500 barrels daily. Two fast trains of five coaches each run on time from Vincennes every day for the transportation of men and machinery to and from the oil fields. Most of the machinery used, however, is obtained from four machine shops in the field, which manufacture engines and boilers, repair the same, and do heavy welding and blacksmithing, being equipped with steam hammers and electric cranes. These four plants, with their stock and appurtenances, are valued at \$300,000. There are also five supply stores in Bridgeport engaged in selling pipes, fittings, etc., which carry stock valued at \$500,000. Five lumber yards furnish the material for constructing tanks and rigs, and from \$25,000 to \$35,000 per day is paid to tank builders. In the neighborhood of 1500 wells are located in Lawrence county, and it cost \$7,500,000 to drill them, while it cost \$2,250,000 to build tanks to receive the oil. Since oil was first struck in the Bridgeport field over \$5,000,000 have been paid land owners in bonuses, and the royalties paid them on the production of the wells will total the enormous sums of \$35,000,000 or \$40,000,000, the Standard Oil Company alone paying from \$35,000 to \$40,000 per day to different oil producers. Fifteen hundred dollars a day is paid to teamsters. Roustabouts laborers earn \$75,000 per month, and for the same period pumpers and superintendents receive \$200,000. The reader has only been given an insight into the Bridgeport oil fields from a monetary standpoint. Attention has been called to this particular feature of the industry because it has, or, at least, did have, a direct bearing upon the commercial

life of Vincennes. Had the aforesaid fields not been in operation the panic of 1907-8, which was not noticeable in this city, would have made in all probability its presence keenly felt.

The future of Vincennes is assured, and it is only a question of time until she will rank with the leading cities of Indiana. We therefore drop the curtain on the scenes of sadness, darkness, despair, grandeur, goodness and glory characterizing the Vincennes of the past, and by the shades of the illustrious dead, through whose deeds of valor, patriotism and love of country we are permitted to enjoy the blessings that came from them to us as a nation, state and municipality, urge you of to-day to defend, uphold and protect these sacred heritages, and to extol the beauties and advantages of the old town, whose present fame and future glory will add greater lustre to the chapters of her brilliant history.



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